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There may exist among us a class of men who are quite indifferent as regards forming any conception of the world, and there is some justification in speaking of these men as devoid of religion; but perfect specimens of this class are seldom found. We may be disposed to say that the careless voluptuary is exactly in this state; but observation will reveal some system in his irregularities and expose the underlying principles of his conduct. These principles may not be consciously recognised by the agent; they are nevertheless operative in his life. If we make him reflect, he will recognise his own principles. In the case of the voluptuary we find that his religion practically amounts to a total blindness to the spiritual significance of the world and the higher satisfactions of the virtuous life. Virtue and moral progress are nothing to him. For the time being, there is no spiritual world for him, for he has no experience of it.

Of course, it may be objected that such men very often pay great attention to religious worship. It is possible that men, who go to the temple every day and spend large sums of money for religious and charitable purposes, may not hesitate even to commit murder, if they think it advantageous to themselves. In many cases, the apparent piety will only be hypocrisy; sometimes it may be due to mere habit. I know a priest whose belief in God and the efficacy of Mantras etc., is, according to his own admissions, highly problematic. Still, he is a tolerably strict observer of fasts and ceremonies. The force of habit has much to do with this. Pride and the desire to be distinguished from the common run of people also have a share in making him what he is. His life and his education have unfitted him for distinguishing himself very much in other ways. When these observances seriously interfere with his enjoyments, he has no scruples in overriding them.

There are some men who try to serve God and Mammon at the same time. I have heard people say that fasts and other religious observances are to be kept, because that will be a provision for the next world, if there is one.† These men often sacrifice honour and virtue for worldly advantage and believe they can gain the favour of

† In this connection, we may recall the story of the pious old woman who was observed by the clergyman of her parish to make a reverent courtsey in Church whenever the name of the Evil One was mentioned in the service. On being called upon by her spiritual adviser for an explanation of this strange proceeding, she replied: "Well, Sir, you see civility costs nothing; and after all, *you never know*." Ed. M. Q. R.

Heaven by cringing. Some persons, who according to their lip-religion, are believers in the perfect goodness of God, are known to offer oblations to God for giving them triumph in unjust quarrels. Evidently their words do not represent any real ideas in their mind. They have not realised what goodness means and it is not, therefore, in their power to believe in the goodness of God or of anybody else, in an effectual manner.

It is often the case that a man's religion is unknown to himself. This becomes easy to understand, if we keep before us the fact that the normally conscious portion of a man's mind is but a small fraction of his full personality.‡ A person may resolve to do a bad action; but the moment of action may reveal to him the vast gulf which separates him from any possibility of committing it. A man may apparently resolve not to omit doing an action the omission of which may amount to deliberate villainy; still, owing to the influence of his submerged character, he may forget to do the action which is to save him from responsibility for evil consequences. Suppose, a man is lying ill, and somebody to whom the invalid's death will be advantageous has access to the sick-room. The second man knows that the patient will die if a certain medicine is not given to him at regular intervals. The tempted person may, to all appearance, be a man of honour and may make himself believe that he will not sacrifice virtue to gain; but if he is of selfish character, he may unconsciously bring about the death of the invalid. He may send away the regular nurse and sit up with the patient, purposing to fulfil his obligations scrupulously; but it is quite possible that subliminal action may call away his attention to something else, and bring about the sad end. Many of our most important actions may be determined subliminally.

Let us next proceed to a preliminary explanation of the term Morality. Human beings alone are generlly spoken of as moral. Some evolutional writers ascribe morality even to such lowly organisms as the amœba. This, of course, depends on the meaning put upon the word. Such violence to the generally accepted meanings of words is inadmissible. It is useful to point out the fact that specific reaction to environment has its small beginnings in the life of lowly organisms; but it is misleading to speak of the amœba as a moral being.

The presence of an idea to be realised, and the expectation of certain consequences from certain actions, are essential for constituting

‡ Myer's Human Personality, Chapt. I, Section, 112.

conduct that can properly be called moral. It may be asserted that the conduct of some of the lower animals fulfils these conditions. If this is proved, we have no objection in regarding those animals as moral beings. Anyhow it will be admitted that ethics is in the main concerned with human conduct. Moral conduct implies some idea of an object conceived as a personal good.

It is said that all conduct results from character and circumstance, and hence, that action is not free but determined. The conclusion does not follow from the first proposition. It is quite right to infer that human conduct is free, because the only determining factor is character which implies the free agency of a self-determining subject. We are quite right in saying that any external condition forms a conduct-determining circumstance only through the action of the Self.

At this point, an objection may be brought forward. It is true that the specific nature of a set of circumstances depends on character; but this character is only a result of previous circumstances. Hence all action ultimately depends on circumstances. This argument is fallacious. The character at any stage depends on previous conduct and circumstances. But in the previous stage also, a character or self-determining subject was present which stamped its own nature on the conduct, and gave their specific nature to the circumstances. This element of character cannot at any stage be eliminated. Moral activity cannot be shown to be derived from any action or set of conditions which excludes the presence of a self-determining subject.

The word 'circumstances' has no proper meaning apart from some character. The same external condition may serve as different circumstances to different characters. The presence of a traveller with a large sum of money, on a lonely road, forms one set of conditions to the conscientious policeman and a totally different one to the highwayman.

Human action is free, and freedom of action is a necessary element in morality. This does not mean that actions are independent of motives but that the motive which determines voluntary action is self-caused. *A remark about the evolutional view of freedom and other kindred topics will not be out of place here* Evolutionists generally explain such facts, as obligation, duty, self and freedom by analysing them into what they call simpler elements of experience. It is necessary to guard against a very common mistake with regard to

this explanation. Some of the evolutionists think that they have analysed freedom, for example, into constituents which do not involve that idea. They claim, therefore, to have proved that freedom is not a simple fact of experience, but a complex and illusory phenomenon. *The fact is, they do not succeed in deriving the freedom of the will or any of the above mentioned facts from experiences which do not involve the ideas.* They only succeed in *showing the occasion of the rise of those ideas;* the facts themselves are ultimate and unanalysable. The mistake of supposing that the history of the rise of certain ideas constitutes the ideas themselves is so common among evolutionists that it may be called the evolutional fallacy.

An example will make my meaning clear. Mr. Taylor in his "Problem of Conduct" says, "The pure ego or subject is so far from being a primary psychological reality that one may fairly doubt whether it has any existence at all except in the imagination of philosophers.....If these conclusions are warranted, however, we are justified, I think, in asserting that the existence of the Eternal Self is inconsistent with all that scientific psychology has to teach us of the *actual growth* of personality, and the arguments by which that existence is proved fallacious and inconclusive."* This is directed against Green's proof of something other than Nature involved in the apprehension of Nature. Mr. Taylor's argument is based on an appeal to the history of "the growth of personality" as he puts it. But the history given by evolutional psychologists is only the history of the knowledge of Self. The phrase "primary psychological reality" may either mean a real and simple mental existence or a fact of experience from the beginning. All that the appeal to the history of consciousness shows is that the idea of Self is not a fact of experience from the beginning. This is not inconsistent with the position that the Self eternally exists. The knowledge of the Law of Gravitation, it is evident, is quite different from its actual existence. Similary, the knowledge of the freedom of the Will is something quite different from the free activity of the Self. This latter exists before the former. The idea of freedom is inseparable from the right conception of reason as the origin of experience.

It cannot be directly proved that the Self eternally exists. All that can be said is that on the best analysis of experience, this conception is rendered necessary. Our experiences, both moral and

* Chapter II, pages 80 and 81.

cognitive, imply the existence of a self-determining subject. An eternal and perfect Self seems to be manifesting itself through an animal organism. The question, why it is so manifesting itself, cannot be answered, for it amounts to the question, why the world as a whole is what it is. No explanation is, in this case, possible, for all explanation consists in the reference of a fact or group of facts to a wider system of facts. In the case of the whole system of facts, there is no wider system to which it can be referred. Hence there can be no explanation of the world as a whole or of the manifestation of the eternal Self.

We see then that knowledge which is the basis of Religion, and free activity which is the basis of Morality do both imply the same self-distinguishing subject. Morality implies cognitive processes, such as ideation and expectation, and cognitive processes imply free activity of the Self. This points to the correct view regarding the relation between Religion and Morality.

There are several ways in which Religion and Morality may be conceived as related. We will examine these in turn.

Morality involves contradictory ideals.‡ Religion is a partial reconciliation of these, though in religion itself we will at last come to contradiction.

The fact, that Morality includes self-regarding actions, and actions for the welfare of others, gives some plausibility to the position that the ideals of Morality are contradictory. But this apparent contradiction is due simply to our imperfect knowledge. By analysing ethical ideas we can arrive at a consistent system of practical knowledge. The opposition of interests is only between higher and lower views of personal good. There is a principle for choosing between conflicting ideals. The more comprehensive and the more satisfying conception of life and conduct is to be preferred, and the choice depends on our knowledge of the Universe and its laws. It is possible to reconcile the opposing ideals of ordinary morality by means of comprehensive knowledge. If Religion means only comprehensive knowledge, it is true that Religion reconciles the contradictions of Morality. But then it is not true that Religion involves contradiction.

It is maintained that very often there will be real opposition between the interests of the individual and those of the species even

‡ Taylor's Problem of Conduct, Chapter VIII.

in the lives of the lower animals. Sometimes the interests of the individual will be sacrificed for the interests of the species, and vice versa. If any one of the principles alone were predominent for a long time, the race, it is urged, would soon cease to exist. †

This does not seem necessary. All analogy points to the fact that some law of nature is operative in the actions of the lower animals. Owing to our imperfect knowledge, it may seem that there is only irrational compromise. The fact may be that their conduct is such as to advance their faculties. The object may be to fit the organism for the manifestation of the powers of an eternal and perfect soul.

It is true that even men are seldom impelled by such considerations; they may act without proper thought. But this does not show that irrational compromise is necessary in moral conduct.

We may, very often, be in a fix as to the course of action to be followed in a particular case. I may have very grave difficulties in deciding whether I should give a sum of money to another or not. Granting that I wish to do what will be the most beneficial thing on the whole, it is evident that I cannot even then easily come to a conclusion. This is what is meant by the statement. "The good will alone is absolutely good." Any course of action that I may choose will most probably have some admixture of evil. It is possible for us to will to do only that which will advance the glorious ideal of a perfected universe; but in order to have this good will, it is necessary to have knowledge of the highest sort. Our wills are not perfectly good, because we do not have the necessary knowledge. Again it is not in all cases possible for us to find out which course of action will help forward the object aimed at by the good will. This too is due to want of knowledge. I do not by this mean to urge that intellectual formulas can take the place of steady discipline in the formation of good character. All that is meant is that knowledge is the necessary condition of right conduct. On many occasion in the life of a man there will be apparent opposition between personal interests and duty to the society of which he is a member. The citizen-soldier, who sacrifices his life on the battle-field for the good of his community, is a high example. It may be said, that in this case, there is real self-sacrifice and not self-realisation. We have to admit that this kind of self-realisation differs from others, in the fact that it does not admit of any repetition of the same. The soldier gives up not only his

† Taylor's Problem of Conduct, chapters IV & VIII.

enjoyments but his life. There is real difficulty in reconciling public duty with personal satisfaction; but in the light of that complete identification of oneself with the object for which one gives up life, no such difficulty appears. It may, nevertheless, be said that such identification of oneself with the community is only an illusion. No, it is not an illusion, but one of the most important of truths. Modern researches have shown that our conscious Self is but a small portion of our full personality, and that the soul survives bodily death. Even when these truths are not consciously recognised, we can explain the sacrifice of worldly life, as prompted by the fuller personality in the back ground. That fuller Self is wiser than the fraction of itself which we are normally conscious of, and recognises that death for a just cause advances the spiritual faculties. It supplies motives to normal consciousness in the shape of theories about a future life, or of an instinctive realisation of the fuller life of the community as the agent's own. The theories may only be symbolic representations of the truth, in the case of persons whose culture is not of a high order. This seems to be the best explanation of the fact that there is wide-spread belief in a future life and in the value of self-sacrifice, even in the absence of convincing evidence.

Some writers say that morality of a high order implies self-sacrifice irreducible to self-realisation of any kind. Thus Taylor in his "Problem of Conduct" makes the following assertion:—"In every life that is anywhere touched with ethical nobility there are sacrifices, not a few for which no future personal compensation is expected or desired and these sacrifices gain all their dignity and sacredness from our conviction that the causes and persons for whom they are made are not convenient or romantic aliases for ourselves." This is high-sounding, but not sound. People who make such assertions do not seem to reflect on the consequences of such principles. Self-sacrifice is generally considered noble and rational only when it is made for religion or for the welfare of other beings. If the self-sacrifice is made for the glory of God, what shall we think of a god who wants others to sacrifice themselves to a good which is not their own! Such a god evidently is not worthy of the sacrifice. Let us now consider the state of affairs, when the sacrifice is made for a fellow-being. Of course, the sacrifice will be most worthy if it is made for a worthy person. Will a good man be able to bear the thought of another sacrificing himself for his (the first man's) sake? True morality can

only consist in the pursuit of the common good of all. It is the knowledge or the instinctive recognition of the fact that self-sacrifice advances the welfare of the agent also, that makes a good man admire or even tolerate self-sacrifice.

Again, the assertion is simply a begging of the whole question. It is unreasonable to oppose ethical nobility to self-realisation, without showing that the two are opposed to each other. I hope, the previous paragraph shows the absurdity of conceiving any opposition between self-sacrifice and self-realisation. The ordinary man's unwillingness to sacrifice his worldly enjoyments for higher objects is due to his imperfect knowledge of spiritual laws. The sentiment, which makes some natures sacrifice themselves for glorious objects, without conscious identification of themselves with those objects, has its rise in the greater wisdom of the subliminal self. To a man who knows the truth, or the general nature of the truth, about life and the Universe self-sacrifice and self-realisation are the same. The upshot of this discussion is that morality does not necessarily involve contradictory ideals and that the apparent opposition of principles is due only to imperfect knowledge.

We will next examine whether religion is based on contradiction. It is said that religion consists in the recognition that the world, as it is, is already perfect, and that it is only our want of knowledge that makes us think otherwise. Mr. Taylor takes advantage of the self-humiliation of the religious enthusiast to show that in the light of religious experience there is no difference between good and bad. All are equally guilty before God or better all are equally perfect. But in practice, the religious enthusiast too has to make a difference between the good and the bad. Hence, we find that there is a central hypocrisy in the religious life.*

It is true that in certain types of religious experience, there is self-humiliation; but there is also self-exaltation. On reflecting on his own former self, the religious convert is humiliated. When he identifies himself with the higher self, there is a sense of self-exaltation. This implies real distinction between the good and the bad. The proposition that the world is already perfect in the religious experience, we have to meet with a flat denial. To ordinary religious experience the world is

* Taylor's Problem of Conduct, Chapter, VIII.

the devil's and the sons of God have to wage never-ceasing war with the evils of life. Of course, religion makes even the ordinary man look with a certain degree of equanimity and compassion on sinners. This is because he recognises the real misery of the sinners.

There is another kind of religious experience which represents the world and evil as illusions. According to this religion, each human soul is really one with the Absolute. There is some plausibility in this case to say that there is no distinction between good and bad; but the truth is that here as elsewhere there is real distinction between good and evil. Evil according to this religion is that which tends to keep up the illusion and good that which helps man towards the realisation of the ever-existent all-knowing bliss. Morality based on this view is very rigid and exacting.

2. Another view about the relation between Religion and Morality is that Morality is the more important of the two and that the value of Religion consists in the fact that it supplies a popular sanction for Morality. Holders of this view think that the supposed religious experiences are illusory and that the nature of the Absolute is in the realm of the unknowable. People who profess to have known nothing about God and His will have been strenuous advocates of morality, and have affirmed and shown by their conduct that man's chief interest in life ought to be to lead a pure and noble life. The fact, that atheists like Bradlaugh and agnostics like Huxley were types of devotion to lofty moral ideals, conclusively shows that Morality of a very high order is possible without Religion in its restricted sense. We shall nevertheless, be correct in saying that their morality was only the practical aspect of their conception of the world and of human life. In this sense, their Religion and Morality were intimately connected with each other.

3. It may be held that Morality is wholly dependent on belief in God and in a future life.

Though it is not true that man cannot at any time desire an object other than his own happiness, it has to be admitted that on cool reflection no object which is not a personal good seems desirable. This is amply illustrated by the lives of men who are prudent and worldly. The only way to avoid narrow selfishness is to have a comprehensive idea of the true self or to appeal to the rewards and punishments of another world. There may exist some men of such harmonious character that they never find an opposition between duty and personal

enjoyments; but it is evident that the vast majority of men are strangers to such harmony. It has also to be admitted that the majority of men find the conception of a comprehensive Self including the whole Universe, quite unintelligible. Hence there is a necessity for an appeal to the rewards and punishments of another world. My opinion is that the particular rewards and punishments held forth by different religions are but symbolic representations of the truth. These theories are the instinctive forms in which the healthy human mind supplies sanctions for conduct which it subliminally recognises as its true good.

4 Sometimes, Religion and Morality are conceived as wholly independent of each other. This view is not explicitly held by any considerable body of thinkers; but the practice of many men seems to imply this view. Browning's "Johannes Agricola in meditation" expresses this view in a startling manner:—

"I have God's warrant could I blend
All hideous sins as in a cup,
And drink the mingled venoms up;
Secure my nature will convert
The draught to blossoming gladness."

A god who gives such warrants is not God. Whatever may be his power over me, one thing, he shall not make me do; he cannot make me worship him. If for this offence, I am doomed to hell, to hell I will go.‡ This view of God is crude and unscientific. It is an outrage on common sense. The necessity for the conception of God arises from the demand of reason for the explanation of natural and moral laws, not for their violation.

5. Others try to divorce Morality from Religion in another way. Morality, according to these, is a matter of reason and voluntary conduct. Religion is founded on faith and sentiment. Hence they are independent of each other.

To justify the conclusion, it has to be proved that reason and sentiment have no important relation with each other; but this cannot be made out in any way. They have something in common which is essential to each of them. Both imply a self-distinguishing subject, and both tend to bring the object-world into consistency with the subject. Reason tries to make the object-world its own by establishing natural laws; Emotion tries to satisfy itself by giving real existence to objects conceived by the subject. Reason and Emotion are, therefore,

‡ These excellent thoughts are expressed by J. S. Mill in his Examination of Hamilton.

closely connected with each other. Even in ordinary intellectual processes, emotion is a great factor. The process of differentiation, for example, depends on the quantity and quality of the attention brought to bear on the objects of observation. Attention depends on the interest that the agent feels for the pursuit; and interest is a form of emotion. The analysis of the religious sentiment will reveal the highly intellectual processess involved in it. The adequate conception of God is perhaps the highest effort of the intellect.

Human life is one whole; feeling, willing and reasoning are closely-allied powers of the same essential unity. We will express it more definitely. The different activities of the mind, all imply one soul and it is possible to predict from one of its aspects the nature of its other aspects.

The criticisms of the different views given above have to a great extent brought out what I consider to be the correct view on the subject. Religion comprises our conception of the Ultimate Reality in the universe and our attitude towards that. Morality comprises the ideal formulated and justified with the help of our knowledge of Cosmic Law and the form of conduct we pursue in order to realise the ideal. This statement can be illustrated even by the life of the primitive man. The primitive man's knowledge of the world is confined to the easily-accessible properties of the things around him, and he is affected with joy, terror, confidence etc., according to the relation of surrounding things to himself. The conception of his surroundings tinged with the predominant emotions awakened by the general nature of his environment is his religion, and the ideal of conduct consciously aimed at or implicitly present in his life will be his Morality. With widening experience, both Morality and Religion will become deeper, more refined and more comprehensive.

I shall now proceed to give a sketch of the conception of life which appears to be the best and trace, therein, the relation between Religion and Morality.

†Green has shown that the understanding makes nature, not only in the sense that our knowledge of nature is dependent on it, but also in the sense that there would be no such thing as nature apart from a self-conscious subject. Nature is essentially an unalterable system of relations. We can conceive of no relation which is not in and for a self-conscious subject. Hence nature exists only through the action of a self-conscious subject.

† Green's Prolegomena to Ethics, Bk. I Chapt 2.

Our mental life can be explained only by supposing that an eternally complete consciousness makes an animal organism, a vehicle for its manifestation. That eternal consciousness itself has no history in time. The individual human consciousness, which varies from moment to moment has a history in time. Our knowledge of successive phenomena implies something which is not in succession. These phenomena are what they are, because of the action of an eternal consciousness.

The Universe, then, is essentially spiritual. The human soul is what it is, because it is the manifestation of the Universal spirit. The object of human life is the Realisation of the Universal self.

From the progress that has hitherto been made in the self-realisation, we know enough of its nature to guide us in life. We know that life in the world, if properly used, increases the powers of the soul and aids in the satisfaction of our highest desires. The knowledge we acquire and the character we build up in this life do not come to an end with the body. The soul's survival after death is proved by well-attested facts † There seems to be a fuller co-ordination of experience-elements and more rapid progress after death. This is proved by the greater wisdom and power shown by spirits after death. It seems certain that human evolution is continued in the spiritual world and that, as we grow fitter to wield the higher powers, we get them. By cultivating self-control, courage and universal love, we proceed in the work of spiritual evolution.

The existence of evil in the world seems to be only a passing phase in human progress. We have no reason to believe that any soul will be condemned to eternal misery. The possibility of such a thing is inconsistent with the essential one-ness of spirit.

Such is the conception of the Universe and of human life, which seems justified by our present knowledge. In this scheme, Morality finds a firm basis. The moral life is shown to be in accordance with Cosmic laws. The opposition between benevolence and self-interest melts away in the light of the truths stated above. The welfare of each is indissolubly one with the welfare of the whole, for the spirit is all-comprehensive. Love thy neighbour as thyself, for he is really one with thee. If we do not realise this latter truth, the commandment seems unreasonable, and is difficult of fulfilment.

† Myers: Human Personality Chapter IX.

The ills of life, disease, poverty and oppression by the wicked fall lightly on us; we realise their insignificance in the bright hope we have of the fulness of the future life. We learn to look with kindliness even on the wicked man, for we realise his true nature. He is one with us; only, he has to be freed from illusion.

Immoral men are to be pitied. Conscious identification with the supreme is the only thing that can give us permanent self-satisfaction. Those who do not strive towards this consummation do not know reality and do not share in the highest bliss.

The ills of life serve a useful purpose in advancing spiritual power. ‡ A bicycle will not go forward, if its wheels are rapidly turned in the air. They have to be pressed on the hard ground which resists their motion, in order that the bicycle may go forward. By using our muscles to resist the action of opposite forces we become strong. Evil serves a useful purpose when we struggle against it and conquer it. Evil is not to be yielded to, for then, it does not favour progress but checks it. We are to struggle against evil, for, the struggle strengthens our higher faculties and leads to final self-realisation.

It is not of much importance whether our actions increase immediate worldly enjoyment or not. Worldly happiness is of but slight moment when compared to the highest self-realisation. By spreading education, we may often be spreading discontent and misery among the masses. They may be happier, so far as mere sense-satisfaction is concerned, without education; but knowledge is the necessary condition of their realising the true object of life. Hence any amount of worldly happiness can be sacrificed in order that men may attain the highest knowledge.

Our devotion to the moral ideal is very likely to be frail, if we think that in a few years, the knowledge we gather and the character we laboriously build up, will be no more. Even Herbert Spencer declares life under such circumstances to be unbearable. In his autobiography, he acknowledges the necessity for the belief in a life beyond this. We are now assured of the existence of the soul after death, and therefore Morality is reconciled to Reason.

These remarks serve to show the bearing which our knowledge of the laws of life and the Universe has upon our Morality. Religion and Morality are the highest aspects of human life and creatively determine all the rest. Religion is not blind belief or sentiment; but the response

‡ Mrs. Besant's Sri Rama Chandra (Introductory Chapt.)

of the soul to the sum of its knowledge concerning the Universe. Some men may be contented to have a conception of life and the Universe on authority; but it is still knowledge for them and not mere sentiment. Religion is based on intellectual belief; but it may be greatly influenced by emotions or sentiments. Hence the knowledge may be imperfect; but it is knowledge, nevertheless. Human life is not composed of irreconcilable elements, but can be reduced to one harmonious whole.

G. RAMAN MENON, M. A

TRAVANCORE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND COMPOSERS.

BY MR. T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI, B. A.

IN my last lecture I had occasion to notice incidentally the existence of the Dravidian system of music in Travancore in the indigenous form called *Sopanam* But beyond the fact of its existence, no further details about it were given. I propose here to bring together briefly whatever information I have been able to gather on the subject. From the existence of a number of *Ragas* of purely Dravidian origin and of certain musical instruments now extant and others referred to in books, it may be inferred that Music was cultivated as an art by the Dravidians from very early times and formed into a system. It cannot however be definitely stated to what extent the art was developed. Songs of course exist, mostly embodied in the local *Kathakalies* and also in the shape of *Pattus* or lyrics or national songs such as *Unjal pattu* (ഊഞ്ഞൽപ്പാട്ട്), *Thulla pattu* (തുള്ളൽപ്പാട്ട്), *Vanchi pattu* (വഞ്ചിപ്പാട്ട്), *Thiruvathira pattu* (തിരുവാതിരപ്പാട്ട്), *Badrakali pattu* (ഭദ്രകാളിപ്പാട്ട്), *Sasta pattu* (ശാസ്തൃപ്പാട്ട്), *Kurattipattu* (കുറത്തിപ്പാട്ട്), *Nanthuni pattu*, etc., (നൻതുണിപ്പാട്ട്) which have been set to Dravidian airs. Several Dravidian *Ragas* are at present traceable in Travancore, such as *Padi* (പാടി) *Indisa* (ഇന്ദിശ) *Indalam* (ഇന്ദളം) *Puranira* (പുറനീര) *Kanakurinchi* (കാനകുറിഞ്ചി) &c., to which allusion has already been made. Add to these some twenty other tunes adapted into the *Thevaram* hymns as collected by Nambi Andar Nambi in the eleventh century A. D. Does not the existence of so many *Ragas* (or *Pan* they are called in Tamil) point to the conclusion that the Dravidians cultivated Music to a noteworthy degree? It is not known how many more tunes were in existence. But it is highly probable that what are known as *Themmanku* (തെമ്മാങ്കു) or more correctly *Thenpanku* (തെൻപാങ്കു) which literally means 'the southern system' are remnants of the ancient Dravidian system of Music. The probability is heightened by the fact that they present no kinship to the Aryan system of *Ragas*.

One important fact that goes to show that the Dravidians carried the development of Music to a considerable extent is the appearance of word *Yal* (യാഴ്) in ancient classical Tamil works such as the *Thevaram* (തേവാരം) and *Tiruvachakam* (തിരുവാചകം). This is the name of the best of the Dravidian musical instruments and one which is said to have rivalled the *Veenai*, so much so that some lexicographers confound

Yal with *Veenai* of the Aryan system. That this is an error will be clear from the following verse from Manikkavachakar:—

"இன்னிசை வீணையர் யாழினர் ஒருபால்."

Here the author clearly refers to two distinct instruments in the same line which puts the separate existence of the *Yal* beyond the shadow of a doubt. Other references to the *Yal* are to be found in *Thevaram* as in Gnanasambandhar's poem entitled *Yalmuri*, another in *Silappadhikaram* where a detailed description of the *Yal* is given, which will further differentiate it from the *Veenai*. Lastly Kambar, a more recent author, refers to the *Yal* in the following stanza:—

"தண்டலைமயில்களாடத் தாமரைவிளக்கந்தாங்கக்
கொண்டல்கள்முழவினேங்கக் குவளைகண்விழித்துநோக்கத்
தெண்டிரையெழினிகாட்டத் தேம்பிழிமகரயாழின்
வண்டுகளினிதுபாட மருதம்வீற்றிருகுமாதோ."

There were four varieties of the *Yal* by name *Innisa'yal*, *Chakota-yal*, *Makarayal*, and one other. Kambar refers to *Makarayal*, probably because it was held to be the best or sweetest of the four varieties. It is not known whether the instrument is now extant, though it is said that it is in use in some of the *Adinams*. It is not now found to be used by the people at large.

The above facts will speak for themselves. The identification of Travancore *Sopanam* music with the Dravidian system is to be made not only from the similarity in the names of the tunes but also from an examination of the *Swaras* of which they are composed. Take the tune called *Indisai* (இண்டிசை), Tamil (இன்னிசை), which is still sung in Travancore, and it will be found that it is identical in its rudimentary gamut with a tune that is now passing as *Themmanku* in the eastern parts but which is really the *Innisai* (இன்னிசை) of ancient Dravidian music in disguise.

The other tunes prevalent in Travancore are not readily identified among Themmanku airs, and their identification requires further investigation. I believe they are sung in certain quarters in connection with the *Thevaram* hymns. I am also not in a position now to present the reader with illustrations of the Dravidian tunes employed in the *Thevaram* hymns. I can just give him a specimen of one of them, known by the name of *Kolli* (கொல்லி), and adapted to the following stanza. This tune, however, is not prevalent in Travancore.

Pan Kolli (கொல்லி) may, however, be illustrated by a stanza from *Thevaram* beginning with "பத்தனேபாடமாட்டேன்".

In the nature of things, it could not be that two systems of music, such as the Aryan and the Dravidian, existing side by side, could have continued long without each exerting some influence over the other. It is not at present possible to define the nature or extent of this influence with exactitude. Possibly the style of Aryan music may have spread a little over the compositions in Dravidian music; and on the other hand, the Aryan system may have incorporated into itself something of what was worthy in the Dravidian. I instance the *Ragas* called *Kurinchi* (குறிஞ்சி) and *Churutti* (சுருட்டி), words which appear to me to be purely Dravidian, though they may have gone to form compound words of which one part is a Sanskrit word, as in *Nattaikurinchi* (நாட்டைக்குறிஞ்சி). There are also Dravidian tunes with Sanskrit apellations, such as *Mekharagakurinchi* (മേഘരാഗക്കുറിഞ്ഞി), *Ghandaram* (ഗാന്ധാരം), *Kanakurinchi* (കാനക്കുറിഞ്ഞി). Aryan music in Travancore has partaken of the Dravidian style by constant intercourse with it. The long curves and the pathetic turns found in the practice of Aryan music here are a result of this influence. Kartiga Tirunal Maharajah and Prince Asvati Tirunal of the eighteenth century composed in this style. Gradually, there seems to have been an influx of the eastern style of music, particularly after the spread of compositions like those of Tyagayya, Dikshitar, and other composers. Tyagayya was a contemporary of the great Swati Tirunal Maharajah and his influence is to be traced from this Maharajah's time onwards. As I have already dwelt upon His Highness's compositions, I turn now to the musicians and composers who were contemporaries of that Royal composer.

Next in rank comes the celebrated Iravi-Varman-Tampi, himself a relation of the Royal branch, who lived between 1783 and 1856 and died at the age of 73. He was a gifted poet, the finish and beauty of some of whose compositions are hardly inferior to those of the Maharajah.

It would appear that His Highness, after composing his pieces, liked to show them to Tampi and set much value on his appreciation of them. Tampi thereupon lost no time in composing others of his own to the same air and showing them to His Highness. There was thus a literary league between them, which tended to encourage each other in the work. Tampi is said to have composed something like 500 pieces, only 25 of which seem now to be sung. It may here be remarked that a daughter of this Tampi known by the name of Kuttikunji Thankachi (കുട്ടിക്കുഞ്ഞിത്തങ്കച്ചി) was a celebrated Malayalam

poetess. His grand-son, Padmanabhan Thampi, is a well-known living painter.

Another contemporary composer of repute was Sivaramaguru, a Brahmin, familiarly known by the name of Kshirabdi Sastrial. His compositions are pervaded by a spirit of Vedantism, and he had the genius of conveying the highest Vedantic truths in the simplest garb—a simplicity bordering on colloquialism. The musical merits of his compositions are not high, but yet the airs are well calculated to make them popular. A few specimens beginning with ப்ரமேவஸத்யம், நித்யானந்தவெள்ளம், and ராமனில்லாதிடமில்லை, may be here mentioned. This composer is reputed to have possessed marvellous spiritual powers and great equanimity of mind. The story is told how, when a child of his died, he had the coolness to take the dead body and throw it over his shoulders and improvise a dirge while walking with it to the funeral place.

The dirge begins with the words "எல்லாம் ப்ரம்மமயம்"

It is said that the great Swati Tirunal Maharajah and his successor held this composer in high esteem. As to his date there is living testimony to show that he was in Travancore till 1031 M. E., corresponding to 1856 A. D. He looked forty-five when he was last seen and must have been a resident of Travancore at least for ten years. Latterly he retired to his native place outside Travancore.

Next comes Ponnayya, brother of the famous fiddler and singer Vadivelu, the most finished musician of the time of the illustrious Swati Tirunal Maharajah. Four brothers, Vadivelu, Sivanandam, Chinnayya and Ponnayya of the Nattuva caste, experts in four different branches of the art, came from Tanjore in the year 1010 M. E., (1835 A. D.) and received the Royal favour and patronage. Of these, the youngest, Ponnayya, was the only composer, and a gifted one he was. Some of his compositions are highly esteemed and are deservedly popular. He was equally at home in Swarajits, Padams and Varnams. I shall give a specimen of each. Swarajits are pieces wholly composed of Swarams and are helps to students in understanding the nature of Ragas. They form a set of exercises preliminary to the study of Kirtanams.

1. Swarajit in *Bhairavi* (സാ നി ധ പ മ ഗ രി സ.) This Swarajit is studied by beginners both in music and in dancing.

2. Padam in *Bhairavi* (സുദരി നെരസാണുടനീ.) This is a beautiful composition and has been imitated in Malayalam and Tamil.

3. Varnam in *Gambodhi* (സരസിജന.) This Varnam is very

popular throughout the Presidency. In beauty, stateliness, grace and melody, this takes rank with the best compositions in Hindu music.

Ponnayya has composed a great deal though many of them are being forgotten by professionalists, as in the case of the Maharajah's compositions, I believe, from want of a love of the art for its own sake. Many of them deserve a better fate.

The celebrated Parameswara Bagavathar was also a composer. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest musicians of Travancore, if not of the Presidency. His name is revered even to this day as the father of the later Travancore musicians, as Swati Tirunal Maharajah was that of the composers. Parameswara Bagavathar lived to the advanced age of 77 and saw the beginning and culmination of Travancore music of the century.

I shall deal with him as a vocal singer later on and confine myself here to his compositions. They are invariably highly elaborate and involved and difficult to be sung by the ordinary vocalist. They are, however, monuments of his subtle ability and mastery in music and deserve perpetuation, as such. The varnam, beginning with സരസ്സ, is a good specimen.

I have now, I believe, dealt with the chief, if not all, the composers of the time of Swati Tirunal Maharajah and shall turn to the musicians of his day, who in combination with the composers named above, contributed to make the reign of that sovereign the Augustan Age of Travancore music, as was happily expressed by His Highness Visakham Tirunal Maharajah.

First in order of time comes Govinda Marar, one of the greatest musicians of Travancore, famous for his meeting with the great Tyagayya of Tanjore. He was a native of Ramamangalam in Muvattupuzha Taluk. He is sometimes known as Shadkala Govinda Marar (ഷഡ്കാല ഗോവിന്ദമാരർ) in virtue of his extraordinary powers in singing the species of composition called Pallavi in six different scales of *Thala* or time. To make my meaning clear, a man who sings on the second scale or *Kala* compresses the Pallavi into half the space of time which he took to sing it on the first scale or *Kala*. To sing it on the third scale he would have to compress the Pallavi into one-fourth of the same time, and so on up to the sixth scale. It is hardly imaginable how one, with the ordinary powers of the human voice, could sing a Pallavi on the sixth scale except on the supposition that the scale of time fixed for the first is extraordinarily slow. But in the latter case the powers of measuring and regulating the time by a mere

mental estimate would be taxed and tested to the highest degree. So volatile, unsubstantial and evanescent is time that unless a reasonably short interval is allowed between two notes its measurement is likely to elude the grasp of the subtlest intellect. One is therefore forced into one of two conclusions, either that the voice of Govinda Marar was so highly developed as to enable him to sing a Pallavi with almost electric speed or that his powers of mental measurement of time must have been marvellous. It is highly improbable that he sang the Pallavi with greater speed than the best musicians of the present day could sing it. The only explanation therefore lies in the second alternative that he had very highly developed the mental power referred to. Govinda Marar belonged to the time of the great Swati Tirunal Maharajah and is said to have been seen in Trivandrum in 1006 M. E. (1831 A. D.) by Parameswara Bhagavathar, the first foreign musician of the century that settled in Travancore. Govinda Marar was probably in Trivandrum some years earlier. Impelled by a desire to visit the British parts, Govinda Marar, who by this time became attached to one Nallathampi Mudaliar, the then Vijarippucar of the Royal Stables and the paternal uncle of the late grand old man of Travancore Mr. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar, left Travancore for Palamcottah in company with Nallathambi Mudaliar. He lived with him for some years, and Mr. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar, to whose sympathy and kindness I owe all my information about this musical celebrity, himself saw the man and witnessed some of his performances. This was before the year 1838. Govindan Marar was at that year about 40 years of age. He sang with a Ganjira in his hand or a Tambur having seven strings, unlike the ordinary ones which have only four. Of the seven, three were *Saranas*, three *Panchamams* and one *Mandram*. This Tambur had a flag attached to it and is still reputed to be preserved at Pandrapuram or Pandrapoor near Poona where Govinda Marar is said to have died on his way to Benares. Periya Vaithi, another celebrated musician, is said to have travelled all the way to Pandrapuram to sing with this instrument and to have failed in the attempt. Mr. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar remembered how when an eminent musician from Ettaiyapuram came to Mr. Sulochana Mudaliar, the grand old man's father, and was distinguishing himself Govinda Marar was called in, who by his superior performance silenced the other musician. Nallathampi Mudaliar highly appreciated the talents of Govinda Marar and was so fond of him that he used to take him in his carriage and hear him sing during the drive. Nallathampi Madaliar seems to have presented

him with several thousands of rupees, not quite to the liking of his brother, together with a glass idol of Krishna, which was also taken by Govinda Marar to Pandrapoor. Govinda Marar was by nature independent, had little care for money, and had a thirst for glory and renown, and this seems to have led him to travel away from Travancore in spite of many temptations to remain.

I shall now give some details about the celebrated meeting of this musician with the great Tyagayya of Tanjore. Here again I am indebted for this information to the grand old man who, it is important to add, was till very lately one of the very few living men that had seen the great Tyagayya. I question whether there is another in Travancore who could boast the same. I may be permitted to digress a little here to note the circumstances under which the grand old man saw Tyagayya. Mr Mudaliar was barely 23 when he saw him. It was one fine evening in 1843 at about 5 o'clock in the little village of Thiruvaiyar when Tyagayya was sitting with his disciples in his house, that the young Mudaliar on his way from Madras to Palamcottah in company with his father paid a visit to the great composer. Mr. Mudaliar heard the disciples sing but not the master. After a short stay, the father and son returned. It was the news of the celebrated meeting of Govinda Marar with Tyagayya that lured Mr. Sulochana Mudaliar to pay a visit to Tyagayya. The grand old man gave me his personal impressions of Tyagayya, a few months before his death as far as he could remember at that distance of time. He was a tall, lean man of a brown complexion and this agrees with the description given by Raghupathi Bhagavathar who had it from Kannayya, one of the reputed disciples of Tyagayya, who spent the latter part of his life in Travancore. I need hardly say that I received the information of Mudaliar's sight of Tyagayya with an unconscious thrill. Imagine the feelings of a man who meets with one that could say he saw Shelly or Keats or those of a man living at the end of the 17th century who listens to the personal impressions of a man who saw Shakespeare or Ben Johnson. Such were my feelings. Now to revert to the meeting. It was, as I have already said, Mr. Nallathampi Mudaliar that took or accompanied Govinda Marar to Thiruvaiyar, about the year 1835. The circumstances of this meeting were narrated to the grand old man by his uncle himself and hence the particulars have a great degree of certainty about them. The celebrated musician Vadiveloo, of whom mention will be next made, was present at the time. Govinda Marar,

in the presence of Tyagayya, on being treated to the music of Tyagayya's disciples expressed his desire to hear Tyagayya himself sing Tyagayya ejaculated in Telugu "who is the man that can ask me to sing?" Apparently the audience were to listen only when he was disposed to sing of his own accord Tyagayya then enquired of Vadiveloo who was the man (pointing to Govinda Marar) that sat with the songsters with a flagged Tambur in hand. Vadiveloo said that he knew to sing a little. A Pallavi in *Punthuvarali* (പുന്തുവരാളി) was then sung round on the motion of Govinda Marar.

When it was the turn of Govinda Marar to sing it, all the other instruments had to be put aside and his Tambur alone could accompany So high was the pitch of the music. He sang it in *Shadkala*. All the musicians were dumb with admiration. Tyagayya remonstrated with Vadiveloo for saying that Govinda Marar knew to sing only a little. Tyagayya himself was so taken up with the music that he dubbed Govinda Marar as Govindaswamy and at the close of the performance he improvised a song on the spot, inspired by his admiration for Govinda Marar. The song was in the Raga named *Sreeragam* which is usually used for Mangalams at the close of musical performances. It begins with *Entharo Mahanubhava*--(എന്തരോമഹാനു ഭാവലു). The burden of the song may be rendered thus—"There are many great men in the world and I respect them all". The grand old man recollected his having heard this piece sung in Tinnevelly. It is now known to many who are familiar with Tyagayya's compositions and stands to posterity as a sweet remembrancer of the celebrated meeting.

Govinda Marar was small in stature, and afflicted with rheumatism which made him a cripple for life. There are several elaborate varnams composed by Govinda Marar and prevalent in the British parts, known by the name of Govindaswamy Varnams. They are not prevalent in Travancore, probably because they were composed after Govinda Marar's departure from Travancore whereto he never returned.

(To be continued.)

T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI, B. A.

OUR WOMEN.

By Mr. T. S. Rama Sastri.

THE condition of women in a society where custom is the supreme law and duty the end of progress cannot but be unsatisfactory. People in this country have been blind to the grand scientific truth that the elevation and the expansion of the individual is the goal of all civilisation and progress, and have systematically forbidden their women to have any independent existence of their own. Crozier reasonably attributes the degeneration of India to her defective social order which leaves no room for individual character and genius to climb and "reduces man to the condition of a thing and makes of his immortal spirit a base a material tool merely." Western science and philosophy, introduced into India as a necessary consequence of British rule, have to a certain extent shaken the foundations of Hindu society. Their study has dissipated the rigidity of our social code and leavened the upper classes with religious and social catholicity. The cry is not now unoften heard for religious non-conformity and freedom from social bondage. But the female members of our community are still forbidden to have any independent existence or individual play, and are treated merely as members of a large family, destined to serve and die for it. Duty demands, no doubt, that the members of a community should be interdependent on one another, but there appears no reason why, when duty comes in conflict with the elevation of the individual, it should not be defied. Duty is only a *means* sometimes to progress and not the *end* of it. "Would have the slave been free to-day," asks Crozier, "had he merely asked what his duty in life was?" He would have been told that the duty of his life was to obey his master and remain contented in the sphere of life to which it had pleased God to call him. It is quite unjust on the part of our men to glean for themselves every possible blessing from the civilisation with which they have been placed in contact, and leave their women steeped in ignorance and superstition. They have denied them the universal prerogatives of education and social intercourse and suffered them to die with their faculties undeveloped. Precluded by custom from every legitimate social communion, shut up in many cases within strict seclusion, and confined merely to the

drudgery of domestic work, our women have been reduced to the condition of human beasts. They know only how to minister to the physical comforts of their partners in life. The thirst for knowledge, ever present in humanity, seems to be absent in them.

> "House-hold stuff,
> Live chattels, mincers of each other's fame
> Full of weak poison, turnspits for the clown,
> The drunkard's football, laughing-stocks of time,
> Whose brains are in their hands and in their heels,
> But fit to darn, to knit, to wash, to cook,
> To tramp, to scream, to burnish and to scour,
> For ever slaves at home and fools abroad."

The Hindu wife is nothing more than a house-hold drudge, a daughter of superstition nursed on the lap of ignorance. The wife and husband in a Hindu family live in two distinct and separate intellectual spheres. The former is altogether uneducated, while the latter has reaped most of the benefits of English education. They are therefore rarely companionable to each other. They have no common aims and aspirations and their interests not unfrequently clash. The wife drags one way and the husband quite another, and their life is like a country cart yoked to a bullock and a buffalo, the former dragging it into the sun and the latter running into the shade. When talking to his wife the husband has to place, for the time being, his knowledge on the shelf, and avoid all such things that might require the exercise of reason. He discusses with her only domestic matters and eschews carefully questions requiring an informed mind to appreciate.

Some details regarding the nature of the daily duties of a Hindu woman, obvious as they may be to every Hindu, will not be, it is hoped, uninteresting to the general reader. The Hindu woman rises early in the morning and milks the cows. Curd is churned and butter prepared. The kitchen is then swept and cleansed with cow-dung water. After bathing she attends to her daily "Puja" which she performs either at the family *Tulasi* plant or idol. She then goes to the tank and brings water. Afterwards the children of the family are fed and sent to school. It will by this time be time for her to go to her kitchen and prepare food. Breakfast over, she cleans the kitchen and cooking utensils and retires for an hour's rest. But many duties still await her. The servants of the house are given some work and need superintending. Sometimes her growing daughters are to be combed and dressed. She has also to attend to the wants of her old

and sick mother-in-law, if she unfortunately has one. She prepares iffin and sends it to her husband. The evening has come and the approaching night brings with it another set of duties for her. She has to prepare dinner and arrange beds for the various members of the family. After meals she cleans the kitchen and vessels once more and retires to sleep. Her husband is perhaps a government official and returns home fully 'done up' by the drudgery at the desk. And can she cheer or console him? Her conversation, with all her teeming love or devotion, is never for a moment interesting or edifying. It is generally frivolous and inane and is emblematic of the emptiness of her mind. The usual occupation of our women is knitting and stitching. Hindu women are mostly their own tailors. They wear only sarees and simple bodices and their dress is simple. What the Western women lavish on clothes, our women do on jewels. The Hindu wife can never realise how a gown costs a thousand rupees. Nor can she believe that there are some women in England, France and America who spend annually millions on their dress. She has a great passion for self-gratification and ever troubles her husband for some new ornament.

> "With blandished parleys, feminine assaults,
> Tongue batteries she surceased not day nor night
> To storm him overwatched and weary out
> At times when men seek most repose and rest."

The poor husband yields at last through pity or effiminacy and probably runs into debt. Many a family in India has been brought to rack and ruin on account of the foolish passion of some women for jewels. Cases are also on record of Government officers pilfering funds for the sake of a stupid wife and of course going to jail.

The condition of a young wife in a Hindu family is peculiarly embarrassing. She can never except in the bed-chamber speak freely to her husband. She acts always under restraint and is often snubbed and held back. She is naturally coy and bashful and the presence of a grown up man or woman in the house is a special restraint on her free will. "A man makes himself ridiculous" observes Mr. R. C. Dutt, "if he speaks to his wife affectionately before a third person; and the wife is considered shameless who responds to such a familiarity. Young married people are brought together only at night and parted again in the morning as if their meeting were a clandestine one." The difficulties of a young woman as a daughter-in-law are many. The following Indian wifely lecture† will be of interest to our readers—

† Madras Times, November 1907.

"But, by-the-bye, I have a story to tell you, can you listen to it now? I know it is imprudent on my part to complain to you against your own mother. But how long am I to suffer like this? This house is being rendered too hot for me. I am overworked. I am more than vexed. Can there be a worse fate than that of a Hindu daughter-in-law? Why, your mother is more a devil than a human being. Old age seems to have deprived her of all good feelings. She is devoid of all sympathy. Can't you do anything to save your poor wife from the clutches of an ill-tempered unsympathetic old woman? Why not send me to my parental abode for a couple of months for a change? She has entirely forgotten she was once a daughter-in-law. But it is natural that the priest should forget his days of clerkship! I have become an unfortunate target whereat she aims all her keen shafts of foul abuse. If I comb my hair and dress properly, your mother comes to me and asks in all seriousness if I intend going to the theatre to become an actress. If I don't, she scolds me as an ill-favoured wretch, who is lazy enough not to care even for the daily toilette. If I wear my jewels, she complains I am showy. If I don't, she questions me if they were given me to be for ever hidden in a chest under lock and key. If I answer to her questions, she jumps and stamps her feet on the floor and calls me impertinent and disobedient. If I keep myself silent, she calls me a dumb ass. Anyway, I am at fault always. If I walk to the front there is a pit; if I walk behind there is a well. To add to my misfortune I have another enemy in your sister. She always complains to your mother against me for nothing. She calls me all sorts of names, and her only pleasure seems to be that I should be tortured. Surely, the sister-in-law is an "abridged edition" of the mother-in-law, and both try to fill the cup of the daughter-in-law's misery to the brim."

The Hindu wife loves her husband passionately. Her love is sometimes returned and therein she finds her complete happiness. Hindus marry their children while quite young. The younger the couple the greater the pleasure derived by the parents and the old grand-matron of the house is often the cause of such marriages. One peculiar and noticeable feature of Hindu life is that they love them whom they have been married to, unlike the Europeans who marry those whom they have loved. Of the sweetness of Love's young dream the Hindu wife has no experience. "The elements of romance which in European countries may idealise the nuptials of the humblest do not enter into her life." Courtship comes after matrimony and perfect intimacy is often

attained with singular ease by the husband and wife. But do we countenance infant-marriages on this score? The advocates of early marriage tell us that it lays the foundation of mutual love which will grow every day stronger and finally unites the man and woman into one. We do not deny that it does so in some cases, but in a majority of them it is a failure. Early marriage means marriage at a time when the parties do not understand each other or know what marriage is except that it is a big *tamash*. And it is possible that when the parties grow up they may not quite like each other. They may not in after-life find each other quite companionable and a want of true companionship between the husband and the wife is sure to blight the life of both. "It is sad to contemplate", wrote the *Indian Messenger* once, "how the poetry of life, how all the lofty and elevating idealism that keeps life sweet and fresh is dried up in many persons in India who have well commenced their careers." The evils of early marriage are too numerous to be slightly passed over. The parties are disposed of irrespective of their consent and inclination and something may occur, say a communicative disease in one of them, in the long interval before consummation which makes their relations unhappy and they have to suffer for no fault of theirs. If unfortunately the husband dies in the interval the poor virgin widow is condemned to perpetual celibacy. Looked at from a physiological point of view infant betrothal is objectionable because too early consummation of marriage is encouraged thereby. The effects of venery in the young on their future life are dreadful. "The effect of co-habitation at too early an age, before the physical development of the body is complete, is very injurious in both sexes. It prevents full and strong physical development of both, causes a lack of manliness and energy in the man, and exposes the immature woman to danger in child-bearing. The children of very youthful parents are probably less vigorous than those of matured parents: a mother who has to provide for the growth of her own body as well as for that of the child she is bearing is likely to starve both. It has been urged in favour of early marriage that the suppression of an important physiological function must be prejudicial to health, and, on this ground, marriage should take place in both sexes at puberty; but it is a matter of common experience to many besides physicians that sexual indulgence before bodily growth is complete is disastrous

to health."† Sister Nivedita attributes "the singular and frequent attainment of perfect (?) intimacy among Hindu couples" to early association. But she ignores the fact that the fountain of love whose romance idealises life by generating lofty emotions in the hearts of the sharers is prematurely dried up by early association. The passionate and devotional attachment of the Hindu wife to her husband whom she has been taught to look upon as next to god, is not love at all but a sort of reverence to superiors. She loves her husband in the same way perhaps in which the slave is said to love his master.

Again, here in India, youngmen whose minds have received new influences and whose intellects have been widened by the study of a new literature, science, philosophy and religion find themselves confronted, when they go home after finishing their University courses, by dense walls of female illiteracy and superstition. A man wants a real companion in his wife, and an illiterate wife can hardly satisfy an educated man's desire for intellectual companionship. There is a passage in Dickens' *David Copperfield* in which the writer compares Dora to an incapable wife. Are not most Indian wives Doras or even worse than that? The life of a husband and wife whose mental centres do not lie in the same plane can not but be sad; it gradually becomes dry, unattractive and soulless. The custom of early marriage in India explains to some extent why the Nautch institution condemned by so many people as a standing menace to morals still lives with so much vitality. The regret of the heart of a man or woman married to a person who cannot be loved for some reason or other cannot be suppressed, and, in India, the husband unable to find happiness in his union with a wife of crass stupidity necessarily avoids as much as possible the painfulness of a tete-a-tete and tries to find in the society of the Nautch-girls who were until recently the only women with any sort of education and accomplishment in India, the means of occasionally enduring the dullness of his home.

Education of women alone can, in any appreciable manner, alter this wretched state of things in India. Our homes are now blank pictures of female ignorance and superstition. Our institutions have become "levers without fulcrums". The question of Social Reform in India is half-solved when all women are freely and liberally educated. There has of late been a slump in politics and social reform is thrown into the back-ground. Politics has absorbed all the attention of our

† Personal Hygiene—The Elements of Sanitary Science—by Surgeon-Major C. J. McNally, M. D., D. P. H. (Camb).

leaders to the total neglect of other phases of our life and Indian activity seems to be running unfortunately all along one groove. As Mr. P. A. Wadia M. A. has lately said, what we want to-day is not political enthusiasts but ardent social and economical reformers—"men who can burnish up the smouldering industrial resources of the land, and men who can teach the people to assert their rights to social privileges which an oppressive caste system has but too successfully repressed up to now". How useful and pertinent would it be if our men should try and put in order their tottering homes before they aspired to build a nation. †

T. S. RAMASASTRI.

† It is idle, at this time of the day, to belaud one branch of national activity at the expense of another. Each has a merit and an importance of its own, and should on no account be pursued exclusively so as to tell upon the progress of the nation in other lines or to detract from the good names of the workers therein.—ED. M. Q. R.

THE SACRED KURRAL OF TIRUVALLUVAR NAYANAR.*

By Mr. Frederic Pincott.

THERE are two books in India which have taken entire possession of the hearts and minds of the people: the first of these is the *Ramayan* of Tulsi Das, which is known to every peer and peasant in Northern India; and the other is the *Kurral* of Tiruvalluvar, which is equally well-known throughout the south of the Indian peninsula. The authors of both these works were essentially moralists and monotheists, and their poems have moulded the characters and guided the lives of many generations of their countrymen. It is the pride of both poets that their works are absolutely pure; and it is creditable to the Hindu community that the two works, which are free from even an indelicate allusion, have become the most popular books of India, and for hundreds of years have held undisputed sway over the people. Of the two, the *Kurral* is much the older; for Tulsi Das died in A. D. 1624, whereas Tiruvalluvar flourished nearly 1,060 years ago. The date of the author of the *Kurral* cannot be ascertained beyond the rough limits of 500 to 1000 A. D. He was evidently too modest and devout to mingle personal details with the subject of his great poem. To such an extent was this self-forgetfulness carried, that his very name is unknown, and his famous poem is left without a title. The word *Kurral* means "short," and it has been universally applied to the poem because it is written in the shortest kind of verse known to the Tamilian people.

The *Kurral* consists of couplets, which share only seven poetic feet between the two lines composing them; there being generally

* This review of the great Tamil Classic, *Kurral*, first appeared in the *Indian Magazine* and was kindly sent to us by Dr. G. U. Pope, only a few days before his sad and universally-lamented death. The publication of this article in the *Review* had been thought necessary by Dr. Pope in order to prepare the public mind for the reception of the second edition of his world-known *Kurral* at which he had been engaged for some time past and which he hoped to bring out soon. But, Alas! for human resolves! The great scholar had to leave us ere he could complete the last work on which he had set his heart. Although the necessity for the reprint of this notice has disappeard in that the second edition of *Kurral* has now to fall through, we publish it first because it is intrinsically worthy of republication and secondly because we know of no higher way of venerating the great departed scholar than by fulfilling, in spirit and to the letter, the last of his wishes in the cause of his dearly-loved Tamil.—Ed., M. Q. R.

four feet in the first line and three feet in the second. The author of this nameless book is known as *Tiruvalluvar*, the meaning of which is "the revered priest"; but the word *valluvar* is applied only to priests of the outcast race, and hence we learn that the author was a Pariah. Beyond this fact, that he was one of the despised Pariahs, all we know about him is that he was a weaver by trade, and that he resided at St. Thome, a suburb of Madras, and had, as friend or patron, the captain of a small trading vessel. It was at Madras that the Apostle St. Thomas preached, met his death, and was buried; and it was here that a Christian congregation has existed from the earliest times. It is, therefore, by no means improbable that Christian influences may have operated on the mind of the author of the *Kurral*.‡ Such a supposition would explain the presence of some of the ideas, found in the poem.

The body of the book is divided into three parts, treating respectively of Morality, Material Prosperity, and Affection. This division into three is itself sufficiently remarkable, because such a division altogether excludes one subject which Hindus consider essential to such compositions: I allude to the attainment of *Moksha*, or final emancipation from existence, which is always included by orthodox Hindus in the theory of a perfect life. There can be no doubt that this omission was intentional; for the poet shows himself throughout to have been of a thoroughly practical turn of mind, and quite averse to transcendental speculations. When he alludes to emancipation, he says that "the mind which ascertains the truth, and reflects well thereon, need not trouble itself with questions of birth and re-birth." And again: "Those who here attain a knowledge of the truth will find the path which never re-conducts them hitherward." Such precepts as these plainly indicate that, in the opinion of Tiruvalluvar, if people attend to their duties in this world—that is, if they love God and love their neighbour—they need not trouble themselves about the future life. As he pithily expresses it, "Drive insatiate desire from the heart, and Heaven is at once attained" There was, therefore, no

‡ We do not know what purpose is served by indulging in such speculations especially as there is absolutely no positive testimony, either literary or traditional, to proceed upon. It is attempts like this on the part of Western Orientalists to trace everything good to some Christian source and to see nothing good outside the pale of Christianity, that go to shake their authority with the Eastern Scholars.—Ed., M. Q. R.

necessity for him to devote a section of his book to aphorisms on the special means for obtaining salvation, since a faithful adherence to the precepts he did write would accomplish the object incidentally.

The three parts of the book are subdivided into 133 chapters, each of which consists of ten couplets, making a total of 1,330 couplets, or 2,660 lines. Under the heading *Morality* there are chapters on the goodness of God, the praise of virtue, justice, forbearance, forgiveness, truthfulness, &c.; *Material Prosperity* comprises chapters on education, association, observation, industry, civil, military, and commercial arrangements, sports, medicine, domestic economy, and the poor laws; while *Affection* treats of the sweetness of love, and the priceless happiness of wedded life.

Dr Pope, the learned translator of the *Kurral*, thus summarises the early part of this remarkable poem, and his summary will help the reader to understand the methodical manner in which the poem has been put together, and will also present some of the ideas of the poet:—

"The whole scope and connection of Chapters v.—xxiv should be studied, to show the beauty of the life of the Tamil householder, as the South-Indian *vates sacer* contemplates it. The ideal householder leads on earth a consecrated life, not unmindful of any duty to the living or to the departed (v.). His wife, the glory of his house, is modest and frugal; adores her husband; guards herself, and is the guardian of his house's fame (vi.). His children are his choicest treasures; their babbling voices are his music; he feasts with the gods when he eats the rice their fingers have played with; and his one aim is to make them worthier than himself (vii.) Affection is the very life of his soul: of all his virtues, the first and greatest. The sum and source of them all is love (viii.). His house is open to every guest, whom he welcomes with smiling face and pleasant word, and with whom he shares his meal (ix.). Courteous in speech (x.), grateful for every kindness (xi.), just in all his dealings (xii.), master of himself in perfect self-control (xiii.), strict in the performance of every assigned duty (xiv.), pure (xv.), patient and forbearing (xvi.), with a heart free from envy (xvii.), moderate in desires (xviii.), speaking no evil of others (xix.), refraining from unprofitable words (xx.), dreading the touch of evil (xxi.), diligent in the discharge of all the duties of his position (xxii.), and liberal in his benefactions (xxiii.), he is one whom all unite to praise (xxiv.)."

Dr. Pope says of the *Kurral* that "in value it far outweighs the whole of the remaining Tamil literature, and is one of the select number of great works which have entered into the very soul of a whole

people, and which can never die;" and he confesses that "enthusiasm for the great Tamil poet has been an important factor in my life." With these feelings, the *Kurral* became a life-study to the learned translator; and he has laboured lovingly and successfully to open the treasury of this great work to the intellects and hearts of students. In order to reproduce something of the apophthematic character of the original, the translation is given in rhyming couplets, many of which are singularly happy in expression. Here are two which show how well Dr. Pope has reproduced the play on words found in the text:

"Who griefs confront, with meek, ungrieving heart,
From them griefs, put to grief, depart."

"One thing I beg of beggars all, 'If beg you may,
Of those who hide their wealth beg not, I pray.'"

The following couplets will give an idea of Tiruvalluvar's teaching, as well as of Dr. Pope's translating:

"'Tis easy what thou hast in mind to gain,
If what thou hast in mind thy mind retain."

"Of greatness, and of meanness too,
The deeds of each are touchstone true."

"If each his own as neighbours' faults would scan,
Could any evil hap to living man?"

"Who knows not with the world in harmony to dwell,
May many things have learned, but nothing well."

We should hardly have expected an author one thousand years ago to have recommended such advanced views of technical education as the following:

"As each man's special aptitude is known,
Bid each man make that special work his own."

Nor should we expect him to entertain such enlightened views of government as he here expresses:

"Not lance gives kings the victory,
But sceptre swayed with equity."

The following tell their own tales:

"Like tender fawn's her eye;
Clothed is she with modesty;
What added beauty can be lent
By alien ornament?"

"Of what avail is watch and ward?
Honour's a woman's safest guard."

"In lovers' quarrels 'tis the one that first gives way,
That in reunion's joy is seen to win the day."

"On me, because I pine, they cast a slur;
But no one says, 'He first deserted her!'"

These few specimens of the matter of the *Kurral*, and of Dr. Pope's pleasing method of presenting it, will be sufficient to show that the book is one of exceptional merit.

In addition to text and translation, Dr. Pope has enriched his book with a mass of explanatory notes, embodying the Latin version of Father Beschi; and he has also given a sketch of the grammatical speculiarities of the original, and a Lexicon and Concordance at the end. This carefully prepared text and translation will be of great value to students of the Tamil language; for there is no doubt that no one can pretend to scholarship in Tamil unless he reads and understands this masterpiece of Tamil literature.

FREDERIC PINCOTT.

THE STORY OF A RECENT CULT.

By Mr. Paul Daniel, M. A, L. T.

Of the several things that render the little kingdom of Travancore famous, one is its having produced the great religious reformer and teacher, Sankaracharlar, whose efforts to overthrow Buddhism and whose deep philosophical doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon the religious thought and life of all India. Though his name is held in reverence by Hindus of all denominations, for the herculean task he performed in the reform of their religion and for the depth of his speculations, yet hardly any one goes so far as to recognise in him the full manifestation of any of the Hindu triad. But the irony of fate so has it that a countryman of his from the extreme south, who uttered only a few words throughout his comparatively long life and those never univocal, who propounded no sublime doctrine, who combated no moral or religious error, who performed no remarkable feat, who was by no means a model of purity of life, should be adored as a second *Narayana* by many thousands in Travancore, South India and Ceylon, because he arrogated to himself divine knowledge and attributes, having succeeded in playing upon the gullibility of the ignorant.

It seems to be a weakness of the Hindu mind* that it allows itself to be carried away by anything out of the common run, anything that appeals to the religious sentiment, thus precluding the free exercise of the critical spirit which, in its extreme religiousness, it has come to regard as temerity bordering on sacrilege. Hence, the mass of low superstition in which the ordinary man and woman believes implicitly and under the incessant fear of which he sweats and struggles to escape the consequences, by various makeshifts. Nearly sixteen years ago, the streets of Nagercoil resounded with the pitiable cry of a weird, wildly-gazing, pitch-dark woman, who, hailing from the east begged in melting tones for a morsel of food, standing almost naked at a considerable distance from the houses. Exposure to the wind and

* We fail to see any Hindu characteristic in the weakness referred to. The want of a critical spirit and the predominance of sentiment over reason have marked the general run of mankind in all countries and at all times. Excepting a mere handful of educated intellects, over the rest superstition, in varied forms, still holds an unquestioned sway. We should think, therefore, that we would be more justfied in calling the weakness *human* than *Hindu*, as is here done.—Ed., M. Q. R.

rain and sun had little effect upon her charred system so that, by degrees she threw away the narrow strip of dirty rag that served to conceal her nakedness. This together with her meagre diet was enough to draw to her side admiring crowds, who swore that she was nothing less than a goddess. She had no more need to go a begging from house to house, for, she had now a number of votaries who offered her milk and fruits daily. And, when a few months after, the unrelenting angel threw at her the hated invitation and she had to accompany him throwing off her mortal coil, this last was sacredly entombed by her zealous followers. Over the tomb a dimly burning lamp now sheds its rays every night. But the search light of the critical spirit has not yet penetrated the life of the individual who was destined to become the object of worship of many a soul.

If some innocent beings, such as the deranged lady above mentioned, have obtained notoriety without canvassing or caring for it, others of an astute nature have secured it by practising upon the credulity of the ignorant masses in order to elicit the highest kind of fame imaginable. There have figured in the history of the world men and women whose ambition for fame in different fields has been insatiable notwithstanding their climb to the highest pinnacle of it; but none of them can be compared in arrogance to those who claim to be gods themselves. Of all the sins that human beings are liable to commit, there is none so heinous, so unpardonable so baneful in its consequences as arrogating to oneself the homage and adoration which the Almighty claims unto himself and which He would allow none else to share with him. Even those, upon whom such adoration was thrust, have not escaped the divine displeasure How then can those who wilfully posed for gods and acknowledged the worship and offering of men and women whom they had deluded into believing them to be so, escape the wrath of God? Yet, instances of this are not difficult to be found, especially in this country of ours where the conception of the relation of god or gods to the life and soul of every being is one admitting of innumerable grades in an extensive range.

Such an instance is found in the life and doings of *Muthukutti* who, from being a tree-climber in his boyhood and youth, was, in his latter days, exalted to the enviable position of the deity himself, by whatever name he may have been called. *Muthukutti* was born in the month of Masi, 1008 M. E., corresponding to February of 1833 A. D., in the little village of *Sathankoilvilai*, not far from Kottaiadi, four

miles from Cape Comorin. His parents being extremely poor, the family consisting of the father, mother and two sons, lived in a miserable hut and had a hand-to-mouth existence. The elder son who had a very pretentious name, for it was none other than that of the famous author of the immortal Tamil Ramayana—Kamban—was tending a small flock of sheep. While the lads were yet young, the father died, leaving the family in a condition of extreme destitution. Partly for this reason and partly because the pial schools of those days were few and far between, *Muthukutti* never had the privilege of sitting at the feet of a teacher. He was early required to help his brother in the shepherding of the little flock, and later on took to climbing as his work. In his boyhood he was observed to be a little eccentric, for he seldom associated with playmates or talked to them freely, but exhibited an unmistakeable leaning for solitude and silence. His early days saw little variation in his pursuits; day after day, he climbed the trees in the morning and went alone later in the day to the backwaters to catch fish, which together with jaggery formed his chief articles of consumption. He was short in stature, dark in complexion, had a stout body and bored pendant ears. Naturally dull and slow in his movements, he seldom cared to keep his person and clothes clean, as a result of which he was early subjected to an attack of rheumatism which developed ugly ulcers on the joints. Whenever the pain of these ulcers became so acute as to be unendurable he used to run to the vicinity of a well to the west of his house and roll on the heated sand. Not knowing how to rid himself of this dire disease, after months of thought, he decided to go on a pilgrimage to *Trichendoor* and visit the God worshipped there. Accordingly, with his mother, he trudged slowly on for days together, and having reached the sacred place he proceeded to the beach for a seabath. The mother missing her son in the crowd and fearing he might have been drowned in the sea went from street to street crying in a piteous voice, "Oh! my son *Muthukutti*, have you been washed away by the waves?" On the third day, however, she saw her son rolling on the ground in the corner of a street, stark naked. It is this incident which his followers have since construed into the first miracle he performed, the miracle of having hid himself in the bottom of the sea for three days. The people who saw him rolling naked considered him to be a sage who had attained the stage at which all clothing is a superfluity and began to serve him with what he wanted in that strange place. At this he was highly gratified. In deference

to his mother's wishes, they then put him in a cot and carried him to his native place. From this time forward, *Muthukutti* ceased to speak and was content to express himself by means of gestures. According to the saying that a prophet is not honored in his own place Muthukutti was little thought of by his own villagers, whereupon, in order to obtain the necesseries of life, he began to look most piteously at passers by, touching his lips when thirsty and his belly when hungry. Meanwhile the story spread that Muthukutti had performed the miracle above mentioned and drew a number of visitors to him. This was the turning-point in his life; for at this time a few men professed to be his disciples and began to describe his qualities and actions as those of a god. In confirmation of this, Muthukutti, whenever any one went to see him, most solemnly stretched his fore-finger upwards to heaven and then touched his breast. This was immediately followed by the interpretation of his disciples who said that he thereby indicated that there is but one God and that God is himself; that *Narayanaswamy* had become incarnate in *Muthukutti*.

To us who know the life of the man the gullibility of his votaries seems astonishing, but to them it was sufficient that anybody said he was an *avatar* of some deity and as a confirmation of that his behaviour was singular and eccentric. Muthukutti now became widely known and was visited by men and women from far and near who offered to him cakes, milk, sugar and fruits besides the adoration meet for gods alone. His own village-folk being still callous towards the new cult, he once rose up all of a sudden and, without a shred of cloth on his body, ran eastwards. While this stirred up abhorrence and laughter in some, a few others followed him to see what his progress meant and where he would be pleased to stop. Running a few miles he stopped at a place a little to the north of Cape Comorin where a shed was put up by his followers in which he remained for some months. When a *Pathi*, as his abode was called, was established there, he returned to his village and ran westwards in the same manner as he had done on the previous occasion with the one difference of direction, to a village near Pallam on the sea-coast. Soon a *Pathi* arose here too. Of course that in his native place being in the middle, the earlier and associated with his first revelations, was the chief of the three, though the other two were also frequently blessed with his visible presence. While he was in these *Pathis*, he often indulged in a kind of dance or gyration under the influence, it is said, of a

divine afflatus. We know the *Peyattam* or devil-dance with which one who is supposed to be specially susceptible to spirit-possession, satisfies the eager crowd offering to the devil, when the tomtom and the bow with jingling bells are struck in quick succession, so as to excite the irritability of the nerves and also its accompaniment of drinking blood, whether it be his own or that of the sheep or pig slaughtered. But our hero danced, though not so wildly, without the exciting causes and the nauseating accompaniments. That he appeared to be in a trance and was under a special influence was enough to draw to him impatient crowds anxious to ascertain their future in a variety of respects. Now too it is this anxiety to be pre-informed of future events that draws large crowds to the successors of Muthukutti who profess to have inherited the power of fore-telling the future from their master. In case of the master himself he seldom replied openly to the numerous questions put to him by his votaries but always grunted with peculiar intonations to differentiate them and the task of interpreting the grunting fell to his adept disciples. With the increase of his fame the number of visitors increased and with them his income also. He then put up a house for himself in the now famous piece of land called the *tope* of Narayana, the lord of the earth, and the premises are now called the north gate. After this, whenever he wished to go to the two places he had established he used to be carried in a palanquin.

His body having become strong and his resources plenty, he expressed a desire to marry whereupon his disciples secured for him the hand of a certain girl named Valliammai from Vallioor. She bore to him only one child and that a lame boy who died when yet young. Besides Valliammai he had seven concubines. Whenever women went to him for a blessing, especially with the object of obtaining children thereby, he singled out those who were beautiful and touching them with the wand in his hand, threw the sacred ashes on them. His disciples then told such women that they were in requisition by the *Swami* in order to boil his milk and present it to him. Many ignorant women yielded unhesitatingly, only to become ultimately the concubines of the Swami; but this ruse resulted in the high-caste women hitherto frequenting him withholding their visits altogether. Of those that were thus taken as his concubines three had already been married and the remaining four were virgins, of the latter of whom

one is yet alive. He has left behind him, besides a number of children and grand-children who have under their control the temple and the properties connected with it and the conduct of the special festivals. Whenever Muthukutti was pleased to dance, one of the virgins danced with him with her hands locked round his neck, a habit upon which he would have improved slightly if he had the opportunity of seeing Europeans indulging in that so-called social. On these occasions the disciples were always in attendance to interpret the choking sound he emitted through his nostrils. Such was the faith some women had in him that they eagerly swallowed the spittle he threw out on these occasions.

His disciples were twelve in number. With Muthukutti in the centre and twelve stalwart disciples around him, they could not but attract the attention of the public and draw upon them the envy of the upper classes. News of Muthukutti's doings reached the Government officials and through them the then Maharajah, who despatched three of his trusted peons to take to his presence the man in the south that was obtaining so much notoriety. At the sight of the peons with their gaudy livery and glittering badges the disciples took to their heels and Muthukutti was compelled to march singly to the capital to answer, before His Highness to the charges that had reached his ears. All alone he stood before his tribunal, but his resolute silence, silence which he would not break for anything, saved him. He was not, however, allowed to return to the scene of his labour before a few days' incarceration, during which time he succeeded in making his gaolers believe he was mad. As a mad man, therefore, he was driven out, for want perhaps of a lunatic asylum, an institution which has come into existence more recently. But the incident served to heighten the glory of our hero; for, as before the Trichendoor sea had no power to do him harm, so now according to his returned disciples the beasts of prey to which he was exposed could not do any harm to him, nor was he affected in the least when, as a punishment, a heap of chillies was burnt around him. Whether he was exposed to a devouring tiger or not, he was soon able to return to the spot he loved and to openly declare that he was *Narayanaswami*. Upon this open declaration, his influence grew by leaps and bounds with the result that thousands of persons offered of their substance with

him whereby he was able to purchase landed property of considerable extent. Though he now took to riding on horseback when going from place to place, yet he was shrewd enough to avoid undue publicity lest the sircar should be on his track once more.

His attitude towards Christianity is unaccountable. The London Missionary Society had begun to work in south Travancore only about a quarter of a century before the advent of our hero, and when one of its pioneers. the Rev. C. Mault, late of Nagercoil, spoke to him of Jesus Christ, he professed to have an inclination towards accepting Christianity and, what is more astonishing, paid a hundred fanams every six months towards the expenses of the mission. It is said that latterly he did not hesitate to proclaim that he was an incarnation of Jesus Christ and that like his predecessor he would rise up on the third day of his death.

His doctrines were few and simple, all comprised in the single statement that he was Narayana and his wife, Umayammal, a combination that strikes one as incongruous. Besides making use of his prophetic powers to draw crowds to him to ascertain their future he dispensed a milky-white mixture—chalky earth dissolved in a quantity of water—as a panacea for all the ills human flesh is heir to. Every patient who resorted to him was treated to a copious dose of this mixture, the disciples always urging them to quaff as much of it as their stomachs could hold. His answers to queries were invariably ambiguous. The following are samples of the answers with which he managed to satisfy his enquirers. When any one enquired of him if there would be rain soon, he, in his usual grunting tone, replied "earth will fall." His disciples, at once, added that the order had been passed and that he should return on the eighth day with offering to inform him of the fulfilment. If he returned accordingly and complained that there had been no rain the disciples said that that was exactly what the *Swami* had predicted, for, by the expression "earth will fall" he meant that earth would fall into his mouth, which being interepreted is he would be ruined for want of rain. If, on the other hand, he said there had been rain, his disciples exclaimed, "did not the Swami say that earth would fall and have not earthen walls around houses fallen because of the rain!" To enquiries about persons ailing from diseases his reply was that "the body will not last and life will not be destroyed." All his sayings were of an ambiguous nature. He was so acute at forecasting the changes of weather that whenever

there was the likelihood of a cloud arising and shadowing the sun he would say that, as his children (worshippers) were being scorched by the sun, he would hold an umbrella over them to relieve them of the terrible heat.

His end was by no means peaceable. With the increase of concubines, intrigues among them to appropriate his affection became common and he was drugged. This, at first, brought on acute dysentery and later on the old rheumatic complaint. Notwithstanding the careful treatment of two native physicians and sacrifices offered for his recovery, he died a miserable death suffering indescribable agony. He was interred in a square pit and arrangements were made to light a lamp on it every night. Some time after, the father of one of his concubines began to imitate him in his ecstatic trances and predictions, thus preventing the inevitable dismemberment of Muthukutti's brotherhood and the disappointment of his adherents. A decent sepulchre was built on the grave and a temple constructed with the tomb in the middle which has since become a place of considerable attraction. After the death of this man, the grandsons of Muthukutti became naturally heirs to the temple and its properties. These have made further improvements in the building and are conducting three regular festivals in the year, the chief feature of which is the drawing of a well-decorated car around the precincts. Of the three car festivals held in the months of Tye, Vaikasi and Alpasi, that in Vaikasi is considered the most important and is attended by over two thousand devotees, offering, it is said, about five hundred Rupees.

Kottaiadi is not the only place where Muthukutti is thus venerated nor are his lineal descendants the only *Gurus* to preach his divinity. Pandarams wearing earthy coloured cloths can be seen in many places in South Travancore who profess to be the human representatives of the *Swami*, and live upon the offerings of those ignorant folk who resort to them for information relating to the future. One comes across many such men in Ceylon, frequenting especially tea and rubber estates, on Sundays, when the rice required for the week is doled out to the coolies, in order to obtain a handful of the article for the ashes, of which they are provided with a goodly store. "Worship, yea worship to Narayanaswami and Umayammal" is their Shibboleth.

Such is the origin and such has been the progress of the religion

of Muthukutti which can now count as its followers many thousands in and out of Travancore. The shallowness of his present-day representatives and their inability to satisfy anxious inquirers who go to them believing that they really possess the power of prophetic prediction, are admitted by many of the followers themselves. Though the cunning disciples who gathered round Muthukutti to be temporally benefitted by being associated with him can be said to have done so wilfully and knowingly, will it be right to dispose of the action of Muthukutti himself in so summary a manner? Does not his life present a psychological phenomenon deserving of careful study? His early habit of exclusiveness, of shunning companions and playmates and of brooding over his own state or condition must have produced in him a sense of undue importance of self and a self-possession which would not desert him even when tormented by the agony of rheumatism or confronted by the threat of an angry sovereign. The place of pilgrimage to which he went and its associations, the legends of demigods which generally gather in thick clusters around such sacred spots, and the practices obtaining under the garb of religion, must, no doubt, have had a profound influence upon his already predisposed mental constitution. And when the ignorant rabble rallying round his naked frame paid him divine homage and began to speak of him as a veritable *avatar* his mind obtained for his fixed idea that external support which is all-powerful in every case of self-delusion. From this time forward, his sole aim was to act, in the best manner possible, the part of the God he was believed to be. His intellect and will are subordinated to this one aim; he rigorously observes self-imposed silence. Whenever he is obliged to speak he speaks as one who knows the present, past and future in terms invariably equivocal lest the people should detect a flaw and fall away from him. But the natural man underneath all this, at last, asserts himself so powerfully that the firm will yields the reins to the passions and the demigod ends his career as the weakest of weak mortals.

PAUL DANIEL, M. A., L T.

THE NAMBUDIRIS.

By Mr. N. Subbaraya Aiyar.

THE Nambudiris are the highest class of Brahmans in Kerala and form the aristocracy of the land. They are, as a class, the most orthodox, the most conservative, the most exclusive, the most unostentatious and to a certain degree, the most unenlightened of all the nations in the world. They are a rural people and a priestly race, and are pre-eminently the jenmis or owners of the soil in Kerala and the sole repositories of religious knowledge among the people. Mr. C. Achyutha Menon, Commissioner of the Census in Cochin in 1891, thus describes the Nambudiris, in his report—"Owing to their piety, their general intelligence, their wealth and their connection with all the royal and aristocratical families on this coast, they still receive a very ample share of the reverence and the privileges claimed for them in Manu. Their influence was supreme in state-coucils from time immemorial, but ceased to exist with the rise of the British Power in this part of India. Their importance in other respects also is on the decline. Their exclusiveness and conservatism are so rigid that no arguments or threat can prevail upon them to take kindly to innovations of any kind, and the result is that in these days of equal laws and keen competition they are elbowed out by other castes in almost every walk of life. They are in general, a God-fearing, truth-loving and law-abiding people and their simplicity and harmlessness are proverbial". Their office is said to be to teach the Vedas and Sastras and perform religious ceremonies. They are not allowed to trade or join in music, dancing and the like. Their women are called *antharjanams* or *akathammamars* (indoor matrons)

In ancient times the lives and persons of the Brahamans in Kerala were protected by the most severe laws. They alone were exempt from capital punishment which continues to the present day in the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, and their offences were treated with lenity. Judicial authority was to some extent entrusted to them and they gradually became the exponents of all laws—divine and human. It thus became incumbent upon all Rajahs and chiefs to be liberal to them and to feast them and make them handsome presents in all religious ceremonies.

The Nambudiri being taught from his infancy to believe Malabar to be his lawful inheritance and that to him alone pertains any

right to its soil, he looks with contempt upon all those beneath him and becomes the type of a thorough selfish man." *

The Nambudiris do not live in streets or villages as do the people in other parts of India. The houses of Nambudiris are called *Manas* or *Illams* and are generally situated on the banks of a river or the declivity of a hill or at places removed from public resort. His austere habits of caste purity and impurity caused the Nambudiri to flee from places where low caste men and women polluted him by their approach, and to select the site of his dwelling on the side of a river bank or on the slope of a hill or at places removed from public haunts. All that a Nambudiri looks to in selecting a site for his Illam is quiet and retirement. Every Illam is surrounded by a garden, a portion of which is dedicated to serpents, called *Pampunkavu* or *Sarpakavu* (Snake-shrine) and another portion is set apart for cremation.

Among the Vedic Nambudiris, there are Rig-vedis, Yajur-vedis and Sama-vedis. Like the Brahmans of other parts of India, the Nambudiris are distinguished by *gotras*, which indicate exogamous divisions. Amongst them, the males generally interdine but the females of the vedic classes do not partake of meals touched by the non-vedic sections. There is also no inter-marriage between the vedic and the non-vedic classes. The Nambudiris address one another generally by the name of the Illam. Sectarian distinctions do no exist among the Nambudiris. Their religious beliefs do not differ from those of the Brahmans of other parts of India. They worship Siva, Vishnu, Kali, Sastha, and other gods and trees, plants, animals and birds. No other class of people has such a strong belief in demons as the Malayalees. The existence of so many exorcists in all sections of the Hindu population of Malabar bears testimony to the fact. There are two Illams called *Kalloor* and *Kattumatom*, members of which are celebrated exorcists.

As already stated, in almost every garden in Malabar will be found a serpent-grove with images of serpents sculptured in granite. An orthodox Hindu in Malabar will not kill a serpent, even if bitten, for the general belief is that the least injury done to it will result in leprosy, ophthalmia, sterility &c. There is a Nambudiri illam called *Pampummakkat*, where there are serpent-groves all round the house with numerous images of serpents. The members of this house feed and nurse serpents and they are proof against their bite and poison.

* Dr. Day's Land of the Perumals, P. 302.

Hundreds of men and women belonging to the various sections of the Hindu population of Malabar, from Mangalore to Cape Comorin, go to this illam for worship and to get themselves cured of leprosy, sterility and other diseases. The members of this *mana* alone can remove a serpent-grove from one place to another or cut and use the trees therein.

Snakes are very numerous in Kerala and snake-bites are of frequent occurrence. It is only in Malabar that the Hindu science for the cure of snake-poison is studied and practised to a great extent. *Ko'kkara* Nambudiri is a well-known specialist. He "fore-tells the approach of a case of snake-bite and also predicts whether the patient can be cured or not".

Tradition has it that Brahma visited Kerala, that he directed all the people to wear the *Kudumi* (tuft of hair) on the fore-part of the head and that he introduced the Malayalam language and instituted certain reforms.

It is said that Parasu Rama has ruled that all Nambudiri women should carry with them an umbrella whenever they go out, to prevent their being seen by those of the male sex, that a Nayar woman called a *Vrishali* should invariably precede them, that they should be covered with a cloth from neck to foot, and that they should not wear jewels. These women are therefore always attended by a Nayar woman in their out-door movement and they go sheltering their faces from public gaze with a cadjan umbrella.

The dress of the Nambudiris of both sexes is very simple and consists purely of white cloths. The dress of the antharjanams consists of a coarse white cloth worn on the waist and another from neck to foot when they go out. The women do not cover the upper part of their bodies when at home. Their ornaments consist of a series of brass bangles for the hand, a golden necklace known as *Thalikuttam* and a peculiar kind of gold ear-rings. The males have usually two *Mundus* or pieces of cloth, one worn round the waist and the other put over the body. The women invariably and the men specially use cloths of Tinnevelly manufacture. The Nambudiri women do not wear costly ornaments. The men do not wear ear-rings.

Among the Nambudiris the eldest son marries and that is to perpetuate the family and he is thereafter called a *Grahasta* (married man). The younger sons generally consort with women of castes below them down to the high caste Nayar. This custom is sanctioned

by Parasu Rama and they are not on this account lowered in the social scale. Should they consort with a woman of a lower caste than a Sudra or with a Brahman woman, they are subject to excommunication. Among this people girls are invariably married after puberty. Infant marriage, though not prohibited, is seldom practised. Parents who are unable to pay dowries, keep their daughters unmarried for a long time or marry them in exchange. The restriction that only the eldest son can enter into legal wedlock is to prevent the diminution of wealth by partition of family properties. Should the eldest son have no issue the second marries and so on until the object is attained. In some cases the marriage takes place at a very advanced age in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining suitable husbands or the amount required for the dowry, which generally amounts to Rs. 2000. In the case of a woman dying without being married, the corpse undergoes all the ceremonies of marriage except that of consummation. The men married two and sometimes three wives, which is the maximum that a Nambudiri is allowed to have at a time, and they thereby become rich.

The birth of a daughter is considered a misfortune. Their closest relations are not allowed to see their women, who are "guarded with more than moslem jealousy."

Although there is but little difference in the essential doctrines between the Malayalees and the Hindus of other parts of India, the socio-religious organization of the former exhibits striking peculiarities in regard to the forms, practices and observances. These marked peculiarities in respect of rites, doctrines and ceremonies are said to have been introduced by Parasu Rama and modified and codified subsequently by Sri Sankaracharya.

We may now pass on to a brief consideration of the important religious ceremonies observed by the Nambudiris. Among the Nambudiris a few go through three of the four stages of discipline mapped out for Brahmans viz, *Brahmacharya* or studentship (the period during which they are engaged in the study of the Vedas), *Grahasta* (life as a householder or married man) and *Sanayasi* (life of an ascetic). The third stage of *Vanaprasta* (retirement into the forest as a religious recluse) is not practised at present by any. As far as the *Shodasa Kriya* (16 ceremonies) are concerned, there is no difference from what prevails amongst the other classes of Brahmans.

The first ceremony is *Jathakarma* or birth-ceremony which takes

place within 36 hours after the birth of a child. *Namakarana* or naming the child is performed on the 12th day. *Nishkramana* (Vathilpurapad) or the ceremony of taking the child out of doors to the foot of a tree, generally a jack tree, which takes place in the fourth month. In the sixth month *Annaprasana* or the ceremony of first feeding the child with rice is celebrated. In the fifth year *Vidyarambha* or initiation in the art of reading or writing is generally performed *Choula* or tonsure (the first shaving of the hair on the head) is performed in the fifth or seventh year. *Karnavedha* or ear-boring takes place in the fifth or seventh year. *Upanayana* or investiture with the sacred thread is generally performed in the eighth year. The boy now enters the first stage of his life viz, *Brahmacharya* or studentship. During this period he wears along with the sacred thread a piece of the hide of *Krishna mriga* (antelope) and ties round his waist the *Mekhala* (a triple string made of munja grass) and carries about him branch of *Chamatha* (Butea frondosa) till *Samavarthanah* or returning from his *Guru* or teacher after completing his vedic study, which generally takes place in the 12th or 16th year. During studentship the boy is not allowed to wear the usual *Mundu* round his waist, but is to put it on his shoulders or hold it in his hands. After the 20th year the eldest son marries and becomes a *grihasta* with the object of perpetuating the family.

The rules and observances of marriage amongst the Nambudiris differ considerably from those of the Brahmans of the Coromandel Coast. Their marriage law which is regulated by vedic texts is substantially the same as that of the East coast Brahmans, subject to local modifications necessitated by their special customs of family life."

Mr. C. Ramachandriah, late District Judge, Nellore, thus describes the marriage ceremony of the Nambudiris. "The marriage is negotiated on the coincidence of the horoscopes of the parties, a formal settlement of its terms takes place in the bride's illam before a solemn assembly of men on both sides, the bride-groom and his party escorted by a body-guard of Nayars with swords and shields proceed on the appointed day to the bride's illam and are received at the gate by a deputation of Nayar females clad like Nambudiri women with ceremonious exhibition of light and plate of charms called *Ashtamangalyam*, the bride and bridegroom each in separate chambers are treated to a sumptuous meal called *ayanioon*, after which they enter on the preliminary ceremonies and are equipped for the occasion, the bride-

groom holding a bamboo-staff and the bride a mirror and an arrow. The bride's father welcomes the bridegroom by washing the latter's feet and a Sudra woman, the proxy for the bride's mother, waves a pan light (*ayirathry*) before the bridegroom's face. He is then introduced to the wedding hall, part of which is covered by a screen having small holes to peep through, behind which the *Antharjanams* take their stand and enjoy the occasion by frequently uttering a shrill note as of birds (*Vaikura*). The bride is brought face to face with the bridegroom whom she honors by throwing flowers at his feet and presenting a wreath or garland. The bridegroom and bride are required to gaze at each other in turns during the recital of vedic hymns. The father then gives the dowry and the girl to the bride-groom whose holding her by the hand completes the ceremony (called *Oodakapoorvam*). The couple then walk forward a few steps and after offering oblations to the fire, start at once to the bridegroom's illam where the next three days of the marriage are celebrated. On reaching the illam, the wife is taken charge of by the elderly matrons and initiated in the household duties which consist of planting a jassamine shoot in the inner yard of the house and watering it with ceremony. On the fourth night, the wife serves food to her husband and then the couple retire to the bedroom. The bed is a grass-mat spread on the floor and fortified on all sides by small ridges of paddy and rice."

The *Penkota*, or the giving of the girl in marriage, takes place in the girl's house and this is followed by *Kutipokal* or *Kutivekkal* (taking the wife to the husband's house). Both the Penkota and Kutipokal are celebrated with grand feasts and presents to Brahmans. *Aupasanagni* or the sacred fire is carried from the wife's house to the husband's house where it is ever after maintained.

The other important ceremonies are *Garbharaksha* for guarding the unborn child from danger, *Pumsavana* in the third month for securing a male child and *Seemantha* in the fourth or sixth month.

There are certain other ceremonies, known as *Othoottu*, *Thrisandhya* and *Pancha sandhya*, at which the Vedas are recited three or five times by experts and grand feasts are held on those occasions.

(To be continued.)

N. SUBBARAYA AIYAR.

THE ARTS AND INDUSTRIES OF TRAVANCORE.*

By Mr. V Nagam Aiya, B. A., F. R. HIST. S.

ACCORDING to Ruskin, "Life without Industry is guilt, and Industry without Art is brutality.....but beautiful art can only be produced by people who have beautiful things about them, and leisure to look at them." This ideal was understood and maintained long ago in India from the times of the Puranic Rajahs of old.

The arts and manufactures of India which from time immemorial have brought fame and wealth from far off regions have remained the wonder and admiration of the world to this day. Whatever might have been the origin and whatever the uses of the traditionary Arts and Industries of India and their place in the industrial and economic life of her people, there can be no manner of doubt that history has given its impartial verdict in favour of their superlative beauty and excellence of workmanship. Western scholars have not failed to note this fact from a comparative study of the history of India with that of other countries and have given to the world the results of their observation in terms of sympathy and genuine admiration. In speaking of the Indian Arts and Manufactures, Sir W. W. Hunter observes:—

"In architecture, in fabrics of cotton and silk, in goldsmith's work and jewellery, the people of India were then unsurpassed."

Dr. Buist, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, speaking of the history of Indian Industry says in his 'Notes on India':—

"The carving of its wood work, the patterns, colours and texture of carpets, shawls and scarfs, admired for centuries, have since the Great Fair of the world, been set forth as patterns for the most skilled artificers of Europe to imitate. From the looms of Dacca went forth those wonderful tissues that adorned the noblest beauties of the Court of Augustus Cæsar, bearing in the Eternal city the same designation sixteen centuries ago as that by which cotton is still known in India; and the abundance of Roman coin and relics up to our time occasionally exhumed yet preserve traces of the early commercial connection

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between the two most wonderful nations in the world—those of the Cæsars and the Moghuls."

This capacity for artistic excellence which has continued to exist more or less to this day is not confined to any particular locality, but is to be found everywhere in India. The indigenous industries are carried on all over the continent. In every village until quite recently all the traditional industries were found thriving. The village community of India was a body corporate in which the artisans played an important part. The whole community was provided for, every man in it had his ordered place and profession. It was the stronghold of the traditional arts and industries. The occupations were hereditary and all persons following the same professions in course of time, crystallised into the several castes. When the arts and industries passed out of the village, the caste system still afforded the best defence against the encroachment of foreign fashions. By its tenacity and exclusiveness, the caste system has preserved the artisan classes from contamination and degeneracy, and the experience of ages gained in doing the same kind of work from father to son in endless chain of succession, has stamped a hereditary capacity for artistic work in our artisan classes. So much so that "the mere touch of their fingers trained for 3,000 years to the same manipulations is sufficient to transform whatever foreign work is placed for imitation in their hands, 'into something rich and strange' and characteristically Indian."

Though the indigenous industries were thus fostered and sustained, it was chiefly through the encouragement given by the ruling princes and chiefs and the cultivated tastes of the common people that the arts of India were brought to perfection. Every native ruler entertained a large number of excellent master-workmen in his palace. They had their salary and their daily rations for their lives from the exchequer and were provided with the materials for their work. It was under such court patronage that the arts and industries grew and attained a high degree of perfection. As was justly remarked by Coleridge, "the darkest despotisms on the continent have done more for the growth and elevation of the fine arts than the English Government. A great musical composer in Germany and Italy is a great man in society and a real dignity and rank are conceded to him. So it is with a sculptor, or painter or architect..... In this country, there is no general reverence for the fine arts; and the sordid spirit of a money-amassing philosophy would meet any proposition for the

fostering of art, in a genial and extended sense, with the commercial maxim *Laissez faire.*''

Since the advent of the European nations there came a change over the country; and when the country passed under British rule the over-whelming importation of the European manufactures which followed in their wake worked immense ruin on the hereditary native craftsmen. Under the British rule which secures the freest exercise of individual energy and initiative, the restraints imposed by caste exclusiveness became considerably relaxed to the marked detriment of those handicrafts, the perfection of which depended on the hereditary processes and skill. The foreign rulers of India patronised the European manufactures even at the expense of native industries. The Native rulers and nobles also imitated the ruling class in their tastes and filled their palaces and mansions "with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham-court furniture, with cheap Italian Mosaics, with French oleographs, with Austrian lustres and with German tissues and cheap brocade.'' The village artisans neglected by the ruling classes and chiefs and nobles and unable to hold their own against the fierce and merciless competition of the Western manufacturers, were forced to abandon their hereditary occupations and turn to agriculture or mass together in hundreds and thousands in squalid and insanitary surroundings to assist in the manufacture of goods with the aid of machinery recently imported into India.

There can be no question that machinery will eventually kill some of our handicrafts, but there are others to which manual labour is best suited and these will thrive and bring up a contented and fairly prosperous class of artisans if they are sufficiently patronised by the higher and middle classes.

That Travancore has long been famous for the excellent workmanship of her artisans may be gathered from the following extract from a letter addressed to His Highness the late Maharajah by Col. H. P. Hawkes, President of the Madras Committee of the London Exhibition of 1886:—

"We feel that the best and most striking exhibits will come from Travancore. Your ivory carving is beyond doubt the best in all India. Your jewelry is approached by none that I have seen. The steel work inlaid with gold is peculiarly interesting and judging from the photograph Your Highness is good enough to send me, your wood carving must be very fine.''

Such excellence has been due to the liberal encouragement and patronage of the rulers of the land. The occupants of the throne of Travancore have as a rule been personages of great learning and culture, and not a few of them have themselves been votaries of the arts they developed and patronized.

Travancore Music.

Music, according to Herbert Spencer, is the finest of the Fine Arts. As one of the Fine Arts, it received special patronage through successive Hindu dynasties and was practised and cultivated by *Pandits*, Princes and Princesses and by the well-to-do householders. Religion bound up as it is with every thing in India naturally exercised a most powerful influence upon music as upon other arts. "I have hardly known any festivity in the country," said the late Justice Sir T. Muthuswamy Aiyar, "domestic or national in which an important part is not assigned to music."

According to Mr. Day, a great authority on South Indian Music, Travancore owes to the influence of Tanjore much of its excellence in music and other fine arts.

The school of music in vogue in Travancore is the *Carnatic*. The Hindustani school has also been practised, but it has not taken a deep root here. It is now enjoyed only as a rarity. Besides these two systems, there is yet a third, known as *Soupanam*. It is an indigenous style of music peculiar to Malabar and Travancore at present and is apparently a trace of the once prevalent Dravidian music. Hindu music has from time immemorial been patronised by the sovereigns of Travancore. The names of many musicians who adorned the Court of Rama Varma Kulasekhara Perumal Maharajah who died 60 year ago are still remembered. That illustrious sovereign himself was a great musician and his compositions are still sung not only in Travancore but in countries beyond it. His nephew and successor Rama Varma G, C. S. I., was another great musician and singer. The most celebrated musicians of the day in Southern India, viz., Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer and Raghavier were pets at his Court.

Painting.

"Painting", it has been well said, "is the intermediate somewhat between a thought and a thing." The history of painting in Travancore is the history of the revolution effected in India in that branch of the fine arts through the labours of Western artists, an advance which has been kept up here by the genius of local talent.

That painting had reached a high state of excellence in India is clear from the old Sanscrit poets and dramatists. In Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* Dushyanta paints the picture of his banished queen.

Travancore has picked up the opportunity of internal peace, which British rule has given us, for the development of her arts. She has produced several painters of merit. And the recent Census of 1901 gave 919 as the number of painters for this little State.

The first impetus to painting on modern lines in Travancore was given by that talented Maharajah who has already been referred to above as the great musician and patron of music. His Highness invited one Alagiri Naidu, the best painter of the day, from Madura and trained the young Raja Raja Varma of Kilimanur (the great Indian artist's uncle) and several others in the art of painting. Ravi Varma, whose fame now extends to Europe and America, received his early training from his uncle.

For painting to be truly successful in India, "it must be national painting". The success of Ravi Varma's pictures has proved the truth of this statement. He was ably assisted by his late brother C. Raja Raja Varma who was equally distinguished in the art, and by his sister, yet unknown to fame. Ravi Varma's paintings won prizes in the following Exhibitions:—

(1) Fine Arts Exhibitions of Simla, Bombay, Poona and Madras.
(2) The International Exhibitions of Vienna and Calcutta.
(3) The Indian and Colonial Exhibition of London.
(4) The World's Exhibition at Chicago.

ARCHITECTURE.

The prevailing style of architecture is the Dravidian. Though the Dravidians were enthusiastic builders and embarked on the most splendid undertakings, yet all their efforts were devoted to the single service of Religion. The earlier specimens of the temples constructed on this style are the most perfect and the changes have been from bad to worse. Besides the temples in the Dravidian style, there are a large number of temples in Travancore, built on a model peculiar to Malabar, In architectural grandeur they cannot be compared with the lofty structures of the East Coast.

The construction of private buildings differs considerably from that on the East Coast. The typical 'Nayar' house is situated in a large compound enclosed by a wooden fence or mud wall with a thatched roof which is renewed every year, thus avoiding the expense of

re-building the wall often owing to the heavy rains. The extent of the compound varies with the affluence of the owner, but is large enough in the villages. Though it is considerably less in the town, it is impossible to find a 'Nayar' house without a decent compound. The gateway opening into the compound is surmounted by an imposing structure called *Padippura* a framework of wood thatched or tiled, sometimes very attractively and artistically done. The house stands in the North-eastern portion of the compound mostly facing towards the east. At the south-western corner lies the *Kavoo* or grove of trees, dedicated to the abode of snakes—a portion considered sacred. To the east of the *Kavoo* is the bathing tank with the *Kulappura*, a cool shed forming a canopy over the steps of the tank affording facilities for privacy and protection from the inclemency of the weather. There is also a splendid garden containing everything needed to secure to the owner all the necessaries of life. The cocoanut, the jack, the areca, the plantain and the mango trees are the most important ones to be found in every garden. The pepper vine is invariably seen clinging to these trees. Edible roots, such as tapioca, are to be found growing amid the clusters of trees and a tall *pezhu* fence at one corner bears the betel leaf vine. In the midst of this garden stands the Nayar house, on an elevated basement, generally 3 feet in height. As one enters the premises, the first thing that greets the eye is a well-built ante-chamber, the southern portion of which is an open hall with an ornamental plank ceiling above. At the northern end is a fine snug wooden room 10 ft. square. Both these are used by the *Karanavan* or chief member of the family who receives the visitors there. Beyond this is the big open yard called *Mittam* surrounded by a cluster of buildings. It is an oblong space not less than 30×40 ft. and is kept scrupulously neat. To the west of the open yard is the main house. The central portion of the main house is known as the 'Arappura,' a strong building entirely made of wood to secure the valuables of the house. It has only one door on the east made of massive *anjili* plank fastened by one or two terrific-looking iron locks known as the *Nazhipoottu*. The door leads to an open verandah in front bordering on the *Mittam* more than 6 ft. broad and of the same length as the *Arappura* itself. The plank ceiling of the verandah is elaborately carved. Behind the *Arappura* is a big *Nalukettu*, the

number varying according to the opulence of the Tarawad. These are provided with numerous comfortable rooms for all the women and children of the family, and the *Karanavan* seldom visits these parts of the house. On the north side is the kitchen, a detached building with an open hall for dining say 40 × 12 or 15 ft. In front of the kitchen to its east, is the well, from which water for drinking and cooking is drawn. The cattle-shed of the house is situated generally to the south or south-east of the main house. The *Tekketu* is a small building situated to the south of the main building and kept sacred for puja to the family deity. Every house has also a *Matam* where the Brahmin visitor is lodged and fed.

Sculpture.

Sculpture and architecture always go hand in hand and it is by the delicately sculptured images of Gods and Godesses in the temples that the architectural beauty of the shrines is judged. In the temple of Sri Padmanabha at Trivandrum there is abundant evidence of excellent sculpturing on stone.

Carving.

The art of carving has been known in Travancore for a long time. It is as ancient as the temple architecture, and a naturalistic style has sprung up in Travancore. Carving in stone has already been referred to in connection with sculpture.

The most common substance on which the workman can exercise his skill is wood, of which Travancore has an abundant supply. Wood carving has long been practised in Travancore in connection with the construction of temples in indigenous Malabar style and the construction of houses and other buildings. In the making of cars, palankeens and *Vahanams* required in temple services and processions and always richly, minutely and delicately carved, the carpenter displays his consummate skill and high workmanship. Teak is the most popular wood, but sandalwood with its fragrant smell being valuable is generally selected to show the delicate touches of the carpenter's tool.

When ivory carving was first introduced into Travancore is not exactly known. From the evidence that exists in the form of ivory works, such as palankeens, images of gods and representations of plants and animals, we are led to infer that carving in ivory must have been, if not indigenous, at least as old as the Aryan colonization of Malabar.

The most important work in ivory was a throne made for that great Maharajah who reigned between 1829 and 1847. This is an excellent piece of workmanship and still adorns the old Durbar Hall at Trivandrum. His Highness' successor, Maharajah Martanda Varma exhibited a still greater interest in the furtherance of the Art, and in 1851, His Highness was enabled to present to Her Majesty the Queen an ivory throne elaborately carved and set with jewels. It was exhibited in the great Exhibition of London of that year and was much admired. It is a beautiful work, thoroughly Indian in design and well worthy of the purpose for which it was intended. It has now found a fitting place in the State rooms in Windsor Castle.

Ivory carving is done in the Trivandrum School of Arts for the decoration of many articles of ordinary use such as the backs of brushes, hand-glasses, combs, book-racks, walking sticks, umbrella-handles, &c. The required ivory is obtained from the State forests themselves.

Besides wood and ivory, well executed designs are carved in cocoanut shells. The colour of the shell when polished is a fine dark brown, which becomes darker with age. The clean shells are subjected to elaborate carvings and mounted with silver, gold or ivory.

(To be continued.)

V. NAGAM AIYA.

THE CURSE OF KEHAMA.

By Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B. A., L. T.

IN the *Foreign Debt of English Literature*, Dr. T. G. Tucker, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne, has attempted to indicate how far English literature has owed to foreign literatures for its development and what influence, if any, it on its own part has exercised on others. In fact, he says that the object of his book is to offer a first assistance to the student of literatures in realising their interdependence, and traces the influence of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Celtic, and Hebrew literatures on the literature of England. The omission of the eastern literatures in the list is serious and cannot be passed over. The learned doctor must have known how from the time of Chaucer the romantic East has had her own charm for England and to what extent English literature has been influenced by the romantic history of Persia, the scientific fervour of Arabia, and the religious Philosophy of India. In these days of immense research and easy accumulation of materials from the distant corners of the earth owing to the self-sacrificing and indefatigable labours of the Western Scholars, the mythology and poetry of this land are found on the shelves of every respectable literary student, and the *Sacred Books of the East*, whatever their shortcomings in the interpretation of the oriental mind and spirit, are a library in themselves, containing as they do mines of information open to be quarried and utilised by every honest labourer in them. How Dr. Tucker has under the circumstances managed to overlook the indebtedness of English literature to the literatures of the Eastern or Asiatic countries cannot be made out.

About a century ago what the western world knew of the Indian mythology and folklore was little and even that little was a fifth-hand information and not at all free from the mist of ignorance and prejudice. Attracted 'to the land where flows Ganges and Indus' by the visions of its material wealth and prosperity, the European nations carried away its barbaric pearl and gold till England made India her own; but the spiritual opulence of this ancient land was till recently a sealed book to them. This fact, to a large extent, accounts for the

contempt with which the civilised nations of the western world have treated and do treat everything Indian. Even Southey, that omnivorous reader of everything quaint and strange and prolific writer on every subject imaginable, who in his early years had caught the passion of utilising a Hindu romance for an epic poem, was no exception to the prevalent vitiated taste. No man can be successful in his labours who has no wide sympathy with the object of his pursuit. The ambitious poet would dub the Hindu religion a false one, its fables monstrous, and its effects fatalistic, and yet resort to its lore for the matter of an Epic poem. Unlike Edwin Arnold and many others in quite recent times whose devotion to Indian literature is whole-hearted and sincere, the author of the *Curse of Kehama* derived his inspiration from Picart's *Religious Ceremonies*, a book that he had stumbled upon on the dingy shelf of one of his school-fellows and which professed to give descriptive accounts of religious ceremonies observed all the world over. Had he lived half a century later, we are sure that he would not have failed to appreciate the religions of the East but would have been the best exponent of the spiritual and ethical significance of every rite and ceremony current in this land of sages and savants.

The root idea of the poem is the efficacy of prayer, penance and sacrifice, irrespective of the disposition or motive of the person performing them, by means of which 'the worst men, bent upon the worst designs', have made themselves formidable and challenged the power of the supreme deities However high a man might elevate himself with divine favour, the prostitution of good intent can never benefit the wicked man. 'Curses, like chickens, come home to roost'. The evil powers acquired by a black heart will be detrimental to and destroy itself; and if the divinity that shapes our ends blesses a man with superhuman powers, it must always be held in mind that that specially favoured human being is but a tool, an insignificant tool, wherewith the maker has designed to accomplish His own purposes. Such was the case with Kehama.

Kehama, the almighty rajah of the Earth, had a son Arvalan. This young prince attempted to dishonor Kailyal, the lovely and holy daughter of Ladurlad. The girl's father in a rage slew the prince and brought down on his own head the Curse of Kehama. The curse was that the elements, nay Nature herself, should not do their duty by him; that water should not wet him nor fire consume him, that sleep

should not visit him nor death release him.† When the father was writhing in agony, a Glendoveer Ereenia, the beloved son of Kasyapa, father of the immortals, seized the helpless Kailyal and carried her away to his Bower of Bliss in paradise for safety.‡ Arvalan, 'out of the flesh' continued his amour, and borrowed the dragon-car of the witch Lorrimite to drag him thither. The dragons were unable to mount to paradise and landed him in a region of thick-ribbed ice. As a living daughter of earth, Kailyal was obliged to quit the Bower and returned to this world She was made the bride of Jaganaut, and Arvalan presented himself before her again. Then she set fire to the pagoda and Ereenia once more came to her rescue. Ereenia was set upon by the witch and carried to the city of Baly under the ocean. Ladurlad rescued his daughter from the flames and also her rescuer from the submerged city; for, according to the curse he had neither fire nor water to fear. The Glendoveer now craved Siva for vengeance but the god directed him to Yama, the Indian Pluto, who thought that the measure of iniquity was then full and made father and son inmates of the city of everlasting woe. During the absence of Ladurlad Arvalan appeared a third time before his lonely daughter but he was seized by Bali, Emperor Mahabali and Governor of Hell, and thrown into the bottomless pit. In hell Kailyal quaffed the waters of immortality, and Ladurlad prayed for vengeance against Kehama. Ereenia took Kailyal to his Bower of Bliss to dwell with him for ever in endless joy. Kehama, having grown too ambitious, set out for Padalon (Hell) to claim his domination there too. His appearance there was in fact the result of Ladurlad's prayer, and the end of the ambitious rajah was impending. In hell, Kehama asked why the throne of Yama stood on three pillars, i. e., was supported only by three persons, and got the reply that the fourth person was himself. He paid no heed to this prophecy and commanded the *amrita* cup or the draught of immortality to be brought to him, so that he might quaff it and reign there for ever. He did not know that the cup he drank of had contained immortal death; and when he emptied it, he was forced to bend his proud neck beneath the throne of Yama and become the fourth supporter. Charmed from fire, from water, and from death, Ladurlad used his curse to deliver his daughter and Ereenia from the clutches of their enemy and to compass the death of

† P. 23, The *Curse* of *Kehama*, Cassell's National Library.

‡ Canto vii.

Kehama. Thus the curse turned out to be a blessing, and virtue and chastity got the better of sin and lust.

The poem counts about two dozen cantos and abounds in magnificent descriptions * and moral reflections. "In the woof of the tale of Kehama's wrath are interwoven Sutte and Juggernaut, Siva and Yaman, the ship of heaven in which the heroine is wafted aloft and the oriental Inferno, Padalon (Pathalam), into which she is plunged down. The fluent verse bears us easily along, like a great eastern river, by torrid desert and perfumed garden, magical mountains † and subterranean chasms ‡ Scott thought he had read nothing more impressive than the description of the approach to Padalon § in Kehama."

This long and elaborate poem which teaches "the Master of Mankind to know even he himself is man, and not exempt from woe" celebrates the triumph of moral virtue and holy martyrdom, so that it is rightly said that the ethical spirit breathes in every line of it. "Through all the phantasmagoria of oriental adventure," observes Mr. Herford, "we detect the decorous English Protestant Southey, animating his hero with ideals of virtue and good sense caught from Epictetus and the Age of Reason."

The address to Love.

They sin who tell us Love can die:
With life all other passions fly,
All others are but vanity.
Love is indestructible:
Its holy flame for ever burneth;
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth...
It soweth here with toil and care,
But the harvest-time of Love is there." ¶

"which has taken the ear of the world, he himself declared to be claptrap: it is a sublimated mixture of common place and sentiment which always delights the multitude".

Southey seems to have thought too much of this masterpiece of his and to have laboured under the egotistical delusion that his fame rested on this epic as Dante's on his Divine Comedy. In his opinion

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* The Banyan tree; Kailasa (Calasay) &c.
† Mount Meru.
‡ The city of Baly, C. xv.
§ Cantos xxii—xxiii.
¶ Canto x.

it was a poem for the learned few, and not for the unwashed many; and he dreamed that though it might not be popular, it would certainly eternize his name. To quote his own words. "Few persons will like *Kehama*; every body will wonder at it; it will increase my reputation without increasing my popularity. A general remark will be, what a pity that I have wasted so much power"! Pity indeed that his amour propre and vanity did not survive the grave! It is surely to be pitied that the half-a-dozen *amés de elite* of his masterpiece have not striven to keep it up from oblivion!

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI.

RAMBLES IN WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN.

By Mr. E. S. W. Senathi Raja, l l. b., Bar-at-Law.

ALMOST all parts of India have a never-failing interest to the student of history. The history of India has a charm of its own, a fascination peculiar to itself. When did civilisation first dawn upon this ancient land? Who were the original inhabitants? Who were the Aryans? Who were the Dravidians? Where did they come from? Did they come from the north or did they originate in the submerged continent in the south which scientists affirm had at one time extended from the confines of India as far south as Australia. There is nothing either in the tradition or the antique legends or mythology of the Hindus to prove that the Aryans or Dravidians came from beyond the Indus. Iran or any of those regions near the Oxus which some modern philologists fix upon as the home of the Aryas finds no place in Sanskrit literature. On the contrary, there are customs, habits, manners, religious beliefs, like the transmigration of souls, social distinction such as the caste-system, which go far to establish, that the Hindu civilisation is purely an indigenous growth and that it is unique in being so essentially different from any other form of civilisation that ever existed, so much so that it differs even from those of our neighbours, the Chinese, the Persians or the Arabs. No authentic records have been preserved by the Aryans or Dravidians of their origin or development. The earlier one goes back into the past the deeper becomes the mystery of Hindu civilisation until it is lost in the dim mythologies of primitive man.

Apart from linguistic differences, the types of humanity which one meets with in Ceylon or Southern India, the Deccan and Western India, do not seem to me to differ much from one another. Aryans or Dravidians, the upper classes seem to be very much alike. In the Courts, Cutcherries and Public Offices and indeed even in the Congress pandal where people from all parts of India had assembled, one can scarcely distinguish the Brahmin from the non-Brahmin or say which is Aryan and which Dravidian. The lower classes, who work in the fields, are darker in complexion being always obliged to work under the blazing rays of the sun, and are somewhat coarser in features.

But there is no marked difference in type. It cannot be said that the lower classes, for instance the Ilavas (the toddy-drawers) of Travancore, have improved in physical features and complexion by infusion of Aryan blood, for the lower castes in the South and indeed all over India were looked upon with such contempt and loathing by the superior castes that not only to come in contact with them but even to approach them within a few yards has always been regarded as a pollution. In these circumstances it is inadmissible to suppose that there was infusion of Aryan blood among them. On the contrary among the lower castes, one finds men and women with such finely-chiselled features that they sometimes look "like Gods' images carved in ebony". What is still more remarkable is that the Mahomedans of India not even excepting the descendants of the Moghuls in the parts that I have visited look more like Hindus than any other race that I know of. The Nawab Fakr-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad for instance, who is admitted to be a descendant of the old Moghuls, did not strike me as bearing any resemblance to the Turks, Arabs, Persians or Egyptians that I have met with abroad. He seemed to me to be very good specimen of a polished Indian gentleman. Hindu ladies in Southern and Western India and in the Deccan are not relegated to the seclusion of the purdah and among them too the type does not seem to vary, though as a rule the Guzeraties are lighter in complexion than the others. Mahomedan ladies too, I mean such of them as are not immured within the walls of a zenana (as for instance the members of the distinguished Tyabjee family some of whom are as well educated and refined as the ladies of the best society one sees in Europe) struck me as being cast on a Hindu proto-type. The truth seems to be that in Hindustan the successive waves of immigrants or invaders, were comparatively so insignificant in their numerical strength, that in course of time, they were completely merged in the mass of the indigenous population and the original type has continued to reproduce itself. As to what that original type was, whence it came and what is the earliest period to which we can trace its existence in India are questions in regard to which various views have been propounded but none of which has progressed beyond the stage of mere hypothesis. But one thing is certain, that the type which is peculiar to India, which one meets with everywhere is, in the vast majority of cases, of a Caucasian and not of a Mongolian cast.

To one who has seen other parts of the world India of to-day, so far as the masses are concerned, is the same as it was twenty-four centuries ago—the India of the time of Alexander the Great. The Hindus have clung to their native institutions with a tenacity unparalelled in the annals of the world. The Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Persians and other ancient races whom Herodotus, the father of Greek historians, mentions in the same breath with the Indians, have vanished from the theatre of nations, but the Indians have survived and what is more remarkable have preserved intact some of their peculiar and unique institutions and religious beliefs. Even to this day after a hundred and fifty years of British occupation and of contact with a civilisation entirely different from their own, and after nearly a thousand years of conflict with and finally subjugtion by Mahomedan invaders from the North, the Hindus have preserved the essential peculiarities of their national life. In England, France, Germany or any other civilised European state the bonds which tie the people into a nation are chiefly common country, common Government and not infrequently common language, but two hundred and fifty millions of Hindus are held together even at the present day only by their ancient system of caste, each caste being sub-divided into innumerable sub-castes, clans and still smaller groups. Such has been the first impression produced in my mind after my rambles extending over three thousand miles in Southern India, Western India and the Deccan. Caste still holds the field. The average Hindu who has received no English education, and who has not left his village can scarcely understand even at the present day how any human society can exist without a caste system. Even religion plays only a part subordinate to caste. No Hindu troubles himself about the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of his neighbour's views on religion. In fact Hinduism as a collection of philosophical creeds is the most tolerant of religions, and as a practical cult there is no obligation on any of its votaries to attend temples on any particular days of the week or the month. It is purely optional with any Hindu to take part in any form of public religious worship or festival, and indeed the intellectual classes make no secret of the fact that idol-worship and festivals are the lowest forms of Hinduism and meant only for the ignorant. Indeed image-worship appears to have been the primitive cult of the aborigines and was not, except as a popular sop to Cerberus, much encouraged by the *Rishis* of old. For

says Manu—"Food given to a seller of the moon-plant becomes ordure in the other world, if offered to an image-worshipper, it is thrown away; if to a usurer infamous." But caste, however, is not so easily disposed of. It is one of those ancient institutions which has outlived its original purpose and usefulness. Under the ancient Hindu polity caste with us implied a division of natural family, an association for the division of labour, a co-operative society and a social distinction. As a division of natural family in primitive times when human society was in a joint tribal condition it drew closer the ties of natural relationship and obliged the members of each tribe to help their poorer or weaker relatives. As an association for the division of labour and a co-operative society, it limited the field of competition of each tribe in many walks of life, while it encouraged emulation within its ranks. Thus neither efficiency nor professional skill was wanting among the Hindus, for caste helped to hand down from one generation to another the results of experience and acquired skill in every branch of science, arts and industry. Till modern industrial developments of Europe with the help of steam and machinery came into the field Indian industries held their own and caste was certainly an agency that prevented the hard, pitiless and unlimited competition which now reduces thousands to ruin and misery by throwing them out of their old employments. By favouring inter-marriages among the members of the same class, it tended to a more equal distribution of wealth. In the theory of Hindu polity, the whole nation formed one body politic, each caste performing its organic functions. Caste in those days was in fact the tie which held together the machinery of Government and Society. But conditions at the present time have changed *toto cœlo*. With the advent of British methods of general education and the tremendous onslaught of Western commerical and industrial competition on our old handicrafts, the machinery of caste as a political and social bond has completely broken down. It has become as antiquated and unsuited for the progress of modern India as the stone-implements of the primitive man are for the development of modern industries. Men of all castes have taken to occupations and professional pursuits of all kinds. The Brahman does no longer devote his life to the study of the Vedas, to the performance of the six Karmas or to a contemplative life. The Kshatriya has no need to learn the arts of war, for the British Government

saves him from that necessity. The Vaisyas, the Sudras and indeed all other castes ancient or modern do not confine their attention to the traditional pursuits of their caste. Caste has therefore now no *raisond' etre. Cessante causa-cessat lex.* What then is its function now? It serves now as an apple of discord to accentuate differences between fellow-countrymen, and to prevent the freedom of social intercourse. It has lost all its power for good but it still retains much of its capacity for evil. It does not now hold together society as one body-politic, but it helps to disintegrate it. In this age when the spread of English education has brought with it ideas of common political and national aspiration, a distinction which serves no other purpose than an anti-social function cannot but be regarded as the greatest obstacle to national unity and national progress. Union for common national life is manifestly impossible when some men stand aloof and refuse to join in social intercourse with their equals and sometimes their superiors in every respect, on grounds of an imaginary social inequality. Even in the classic age of Hindu institutions such pretentions were never tolerated by the *Rishis* and other leaders of thought among the Hindus.

It was with no small pleasure, therefore, that I noted, that in Western India and the Deccan the trammels of caste are not so rigid as in the Madras Presidency. For then Brahmins and non-Brahmins of certain castes have no objection to dine together there. In the Southern Presidency Brahmins seem to follow the example of the Maldivians in the matter of eating and drinking. They close their doors at meal time, possibly for fear of evil eye. Even the rules of hospitality are reversed, for it seems that guests unless they happen to be the kith and kin of the host can only be fed on the crumbs that remain from the sumptuous repast of the host. The question took an acute form in Travancore not long ago, when the Brahmins in a remote town appear to have left the dining-hall in a body on a certain public festival day without partaking of their meals; not because they were asked to dine together with any non-Brahmins for that is too great a violation of the proprieties to be thought of, but because they were subjected to the indignity of dining at the same time as the latter in separate dining-rooms instead of being fed first! To people outside Southern India this may seem too trivial and absurd a puerility to give offence to sensible men; but in Travancore the matter was regarded as so grave that it had to be referred to the Government

for proper enquiry and decision, and I am informed that it formed the subject of a state paper. My Brahmin friends in Western India and the Deccan to whom I related this incident had a hearty laugh over the matter, and added, "that is why Madras is known as the 'benighted presidency' in India". The Maharatta Brahmins and non-Brahmins are as a rule more advanced in social matters than any other people in Southern India. The reason is not far to seek, for they are a military race who overran the whole of India in the last century and who might possibly have established a Hindu empire in the place of the crumbling old Moghul throne but for the appearance of the British on the scene. All classes, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, in Maharashtra had to fight side by side on the battle-field, to carry the wounded to the camps and feed and take care of them. It was impossible to stand on ceremony and to observe the niceties of caste etiquette on the field of battle and so the Mahrattas have not come under this baneful social aspect of caste.

The Indian National Congress has, it must be admitted, served as a revolving beacon light for the last twenty-three years to throw its rays of searchlight on many a hidden and ugly spot in Indian National life. Thoughtful men all over India have for more than a century perceived that caste system in India serves no useful purpose now but they despaired of ever being able to mend it or end it. But the Congress leaders were the first to take practical steps to combat the evil aspects of caste, to proclaim from house-tops that caste was incompatible with political unity of India or national aspirations, and it is the Congress that has given a stimulus to practical social reform on modern lines which is now going on all over India. There are, however, a few exceptions among Congress men who while they are "*extremists*" in politics are in the opposite extreme in regard to social progress. Minds that are not properly balanced are always in extremes. Logic has no place in their brains. They seem to forget that there is a correlation between the different sides of progress and that substantial political progress is impossible, unless social progress too goes hand in hand with the other. In this respect there are a considerable number of good and true men, men of wisdom and foresight, of whom India has a great many even now who are doing their best both by example and precept to lead their countrymen in the right path. Among others whom I had the pleasure to meet, I may mention as a notable example Rao Bahadur Lal Shankar Umia

Shankar of Ahmedabad who in addition to his numerous benefactions to the public, such as the maintenance of homes for widows and orphans, is also an enthusiastic social reformer. Nature has endowed him with such a benevolent disposition that he cannot confine his love only to one particular caste or class of his countrymen, though he has nothing personally to gain by social reform being himself a Brahmin of high class and status in his country.

But the greatest political and social reformer India has yet produced, one to whom all Indians look up with reverence and admiration, is no less a personage than the ruler, of the native state of Baroda. His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda is a born statesman. From his infancy, according to reports current in Baroda, the Prince gave signs of possessing high mental calibre. The late Maharajah of Baroda having left no descendant, it became necessary to adopt a successor from among the other members of the reigning family. Three boys, the present Maharajah who was then eight or nine years of age and his elder and younger brothers, were produced before the British Resident and Sir T. Madhava Rao the then Diwan of Baroda, that they might select one of the three and recommend him to the Maharani for adoption as the future sovereign of Baroda. The Diwan inquired, it appears, from the three brothers what had brought them to Baroda city. The eldest and the youngest of the brothers replied that they were sent for by the Maharani and so they came. When the second brother's turn came, he gave a characteristic reply which is as follows:—"I have heard that the throne of Baroda has become vacant and so I am come to occupy it and rule over Baroda". That kingly reply settled the question of the new Ruler of Baroda, for the Resident and the Diwan were both struck with the intelligence and ability of the boy and he was adopted as the young Maharajah of Baroda. The promise of childhood has been, in His Highness's case, more than fulfilled by the achievements of manhood, for, Baroda is to-day the model Native State of India in all that conduces to progress, and its ruler stands one of the foremost among the Princes of the world for enlightened statesmanship. He is a great traveller, a clear-headed thinker and an assiduous worker. With the practised eye of a keen observer, he has been able to hit upon the exact lines on which reforms should proceed, if India is ever to take her place

among the modern civilised nations of the world. His private life is exemplary for although surrounded by all the luxuries of an Oriental Prince and exposed to all the temptations of sensuality and self-indulgence, he stands unique among his compeers for his self-control and simplicity of life. By force of intense conviction he has become a practical social reformer, and he has particularly set his face against the tyranny of the caste rule, which shuts out to Indians one of the greatest avenues to progress viz., travelling in foreign countries beyond the high seas. The ceremonial pollution implied in inter-dining with non-Hindus, His Highness has flung aside with characteristic boldness and good sense, for it is not only a silly assumption of superiority over nations who now stand on a higher social, intellectual and political level than we do, but it poisons the springs of social intercourse among enlightened Indians themselves. In his arduous labours for the progress of Baroda and indeed of all India, particularly in breaking asunder the chains which ignorance and superstition have forged for centuries, His Highness is assisted by a staff of very able officers which his keen eye has chosen from among different races, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and Europeans. One of the ablest of his officers and one of the most enthusiastic of reformers, and withal a highly polished and loveable character that I had the pleasure to meet with, is the head of the Revenue Department of Baroda State—the Dewan Bahadur Samarth. In him I saw a Hindu gentleman entirely emancipated from prejudices and superstitions of all kinds. He had four times crossed the sea to Europe, and I think, he accompanied His Highness the Gaekwar on more than one occasion in his European tours. He impressed me as a remarkably enlightened, firm and conscientious administrator, and devotedly attached to his august master and yet one with a mind so high-strung and well-balanced that he would not confine himself to the role of a courtier only, when occasion required him to give what he believed to be wholesome advice in the councils of his Prince. To me whose mind had been stirred to its depth, during my stay in Europe by the sight of the power, prestige, knowledge, refinement and liberty of European peoples in contrast to our present degradation in spite of our numbers (300 millions) and ancient civilisation, to me who had been

dreaming in my student days at Paris to see at least one Native State in India where the Ruler and the Ministers will throw overboard the prejudices which priestcraft and superstition had fostered for centuries, and administer the state on modern lines of progress not in form only but in spirit, the visit to Baroda was a refreshing incident. There is the state, or at least the beginning of it, which I have been so long looking forward to and here is the Ruler who has come up to my expectations. My visit to Baroda I have come to look upon as a pilgrimage to a holy shrine, for, it is the state where true regeneration of India has first begun. I say true, because the impulse for progress in real earnest, in spirit as well as in letter, has in Baroda come from *within* and not from *without, as it is in other states.* All honour to HisHighness the Gaekwar, and may he live and rule over the happy state of Baroda for many a long year to come!

(To be continued.)

E. S. W. SENATHI RAJA.

INDIA'S OBJECTIVE.—IV.

By the Editor.

WE shall, in this paper, examine *seriatim* the arguments that have been generally brought forward to establish that Indians are not fit for self-government. Whether these arguments import complete truths, or the barest adumbrations of them, or it may be their utter absence, we shall be able to see in the sequel. Dr. Edmund Robertson, in his article 'Government' contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, places India on a par with Fiji and classes them as being both unfit for self-government. Although the Indian would not feel himself flattered by this strange, incongruous coupling he should admit that, with many, such assertions pass for an axiomatic truth of the highest possible certainty. But we know that generalisations about a whole nation by another nation are mostly defective, if not altogether deceptive. Let us, therefore, examine the question a little more minutely.

It has been alleged, not by many but still by some, that the Indian, as other Orientals, likes to be ruled by others instead of ruling himself. We think it hardly necessary to refute this conceit at length. It is too bare-faced a libel not only on the Orientals but on human race as well. To meet it as untrue is to pay a compliment to its author. A craving as the one as is here implied is *unnatural* and cannot be detected even in the brute-world. We fear we shall have to assure our readers that this argument is not of our creation but one seriously propounded in a book by a high military officer of North India whose conception of human life and duty seems to have been summed up in the two terms 'command' and 'obedience'. All that we can say is: We are only sorry for him, for he does not impress us as one who has known the best, the noblest, and the most loveable side of human nature.

It has been next stated that the Indian is not qualified for self-government, because neither by tradition nor by training has he acquired the aptitude for it. If by tradition is meant a system of belief or practice handed down from very remote ancestors, no race on earth can justly claim to have inherited self-government

by tradition. In every country of the world and even amidst communities highly advanced in civilisation, self-government is an institution of comparatively recent origin. The lesson of universal history, however paradoxical it may appear, is everywhere writ large that the Democracy of the present age had its birth in the Autocracy of the preceding. That the people were driven in the path of self-government more by the selfishness and short-sightedness of despots than by an inward hankering after liberty, more by the force of outward circumstances than by any innate impulse, is more than established by an appeal to facts. Such of the countries as have not yet been blessed with that ideal system of Government, Self-rule, have been, it is beyond question, arrested in their political progress at first by the peaceful sway of a succession of noble and heroic sovereigns and then by the spirit of sluggish stationariness such a sway begets and not by any slavish submission on the part of a whole nation. How entirely fallacious is this exclusive application to India of the argument from tradition will be made manifest by the history of the growth of the English Constitution, which supplies the proof that self-government so far from being inherited from their ancestors in all perfection and completeness is a slow growth to the Englishmen themselves and has been the result of centuries of struggle. And even this model of self-government has not, in the opinion of some thinkers, come up to the mark. It was Auguste Comte who observed that the English Constitution is hostile to human emancipation. But if by self-government be meant a national government as distinguished from a foreign, how can a charge like this be laid at the door of a nation which had produced such a splendid galaxy of rulers as Chandragupta and Asoka, Vikramaditya and Salivahana, Kanishka and Siladitya when the English themselves were scarcely out of the swaddling clothes of civilisation? Besides containing incontrovertible evidence for an established order of Indian Polity of a very high type, the history of Ancient India affords us glimpses of a happy, peaceful, and contented society before the advent of the foreign hordes. The plots, the counterplots, the civil discords and bloody revolutions which have tarnished the pages of the history of other lands or of later times seem to have had no place in the story of India in those halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty. True it is that at times the neighbouring chieftains or the adjoining clans entered into mortal conflict with one another, but this did not affect the relation between the sovereign and his people which was, if our literature is not all a

myth, the most cordial of any. Simply because the Hindu States have been vanquished in their bid for power against superior odds, it is extremely unsafe to infer that the state of the community under the native rule was anything but prosperous. By this time at least one should have learnt too well that internal peace by itself is no guarrantee of security from external foes. The alternative disqualification —lack of training in the art of self-government—speaks, we fancy, more to the illiberality of the rulers than to the incapacity of the ruled. To resort to a commonly-used illustration, vigilantly preventing a person from getting into water and then turning round and taking him to task for not having learnt to swim would be just as reasonable as to blame the Indians, as they are at present circumstanced, for not qualifying themselves by exercise in self-rule. The restriction of local self-government by holding the Municipalities and District Boards as it were in an official vice, the officialisation of the Universities, the curtailment, to some extent and in certain places, of the liberty of speech and writing, the resuscitation of practically dead laws for deporting citizens without trial, the preservation of a ruling caste, more exclusive than any we have known in this land of castes, hedged round with the Officials' Secrets and similar Acts not much better than the class-legislation of Manu, and at the top the promulgation of that most disappointing scheme of retrogressive "reform" whereby the masses and the educated classes have been left in the cold without a particle of representation while the territorial magnates nominated by Government and not by the people have been by a strange irony of fate constituted the people's spokesman, are surely not the ways to educate a people in the virtues of autonomy. Nor can one doubt the weighty responsibility resting on the shoulders of Government in imparting such education to the people. Says J. S. Mill: "The state of different communities in point of culture and development, ranges downwards to a condition very little above the highest of the beasts. The upward range, too, is considerable and the future possible extension vastly greater. A community can only be developed out of one of these states into a higher by a concourse of influences among the principal of which is the Government to which they are subject." But is it after all strictly true that the Indians had no training in self-government? The existence throughout the land of self-contained village-communities from the most remote times points however to a different conclusion. Granting for argument's sake that the

Indians have neither traditional aptitude for self-rule nor training in it, the utmost that can be inferred is that with their best efforts they could not have evolved an ideally perfect autonomous government. Where else we may ask in turn is such a perfect polity obtainable? Comparing the various autonomous Governments of the world from the great American Commonwealth downwards to the despised Zakka Khels who have their own tribal organisations to boast of, we shall see through what numberless gradations they range. Each system has its own merit relatively and should on no account be condemned for not coming up to the standard of absolute perfection. Since many of the self-governing bodies which occupy the lowest rungs in the ladder of political progress could be considerably improved by subjection to a superior and more highly civilized race, would any one outside the ranks of "sun-dried" imperialists advocate a foreign domination in their case? No doubt that great Philosopher Aristotle sanctions such a subjection in his treatise on *Politics;* but he sanctions also slavery! The Boer and the Philippino have still much to learn from the Englishman and the American; but have not the former with their bristling imperfections been given self-rule by the latter? Many of the republican states of South America would very likely be better for a little schooling under some one of the great Powers of the world; but can this be a sufficient ground why they should be wrested out of their course of slow natural development and driven along the path of precipitate progress? Hothouse methods can scarcely succeed on a large scale and will *never* in national affairs. And it is the only method which a foreign Government can adopt in the treatment of a race which it considers its inferior! We thus see that resort to the argument from tradition and training is not of any avail in the matter either.

It has been further urged that the Indians are not fit for any degree of self-government, because their ranks are divided into innumerable cells of caste and creed and have not that cohesion among their various component parts which should always characterise an independent political organism. This proceeds upon the assumption that a perfect homogeneity of the various units composing a political group is an indispensable preliminary to the enjoyment of self-government. Containing a shade of truth, the reason has been, naturally enough, magnified into a gross untruth. Autonomy, in fact, would be a mere name if the impossible condition of thorough homogeneity were

insisted upon. Why ? The course of evolution ever at work is towards greater and greater heterogeneity and human society, obeying the same law of nature, is seen to tend, minute after minute, towards wider diversity in the modes of thought and action. Vain is the attempt, therefore, to model modern societies on the primitive type of simple homogeneous groups. Of the various motives of cohesion holding together a political society, community of caste, of language and of religion are of importance; but they are not of supreme importance. The more it is known that politics has very little to do with one's caste, language or religion the greater will be the appreciation of the truth we have pointed out. 'Local propinquity' as springing from physical conditions and 'traditions of common association' in all national undertakings are two of the most powerful motives which serve to weld together the otherwise heterogeneous elements into a solid nation. They are, so to speak, the warp and the woof of national existence, stretched on the loom of a common historic past and of a distinctly marked geographical area. Does India furnish these motives of cohesion? Historically it has a distinctive past which successive dynasties of rulers have not succeeded in effacing; geographically too it has an equally distinctive feature of its own, hemmed in as it is between the vast Himalayan range and the sea. These have accordingly given a coherence to the inhabitants of this extensive country which has survived to this day many a national vicissitude. These powerful incentives to co-operation have, however, not been given due weight to by those of us who wax eloquent in descanting on the want of Indian unity. Turning to other countries, we see there are homogeneous groups of people, as those of Turkey, plodding along without self-government; and we have also the converse spectacle of a heterogeneous mass cohering into a single self-governing state as in Switzerland and Canada. Self-government, we may conclude then, has no causal *nexus* with the homogeneity or heterogeneity of a population, because homogeneity in itself does not mean union for political purposes nor heterogeneity disunion. Yet the fashion has come into vogue in painting the many social divisions of India to dip the brush in too sombre colours and spread one uniform gloom over the canvas without a single ray of welcome light to relieve it. The 'wild roar of carnage and confusion' we are called upon to imagine as resulting from the withdrawal of the British sovereignty could hardly be matched except by picturing to ourselves the nethermost

ring of Dante's *Inferno* or the lowest regions of the Indian *Padalon*. Not having the firm ground of facts to proceed upon in reading India's future fate, reason slackens its pace and imagination, taking the curb between its teeth, rushes headlong into the wildest of fancies, into the most grotesque of dreams. The moment the English leave our shores, the various castes and classes will, it is confidently predicted, relapse into savagery and will begin in right earnest to plunder, fight and kill one another to their heart's content. India will then become one huge *Kurukshetra* deluged in blood and fire and sad, unutterably sad, indeed will be her plight. Gruesome as this picture is, one need not, we think, grow so pessimistic after all. Thirty years ago Japan presented a spectacle not much differing from our present position with numerous castes and clans running as so many shafts into her social strata; but none of these, when the time came, stood in the path of her progress. In the case of India too, a brighter day of social regeneration may dawn on us, perhaps earlier than many of us expect. One thing, however, we should concede. Refuse as we may to receive the argument from Indian heterogeneity as an absolutely ingenuous representation of the case, we cannot but admit the shade of truth which this overdrawn picture seeks to convey to us. And it is this: that the racial and social divisions prevailing in the land should not be allowed to grow to such extent or remain in such intensity as to endanger the indispensable compactness of a political organism. The question before the Indian Reformer according to this view is not how to sweep these divisions off the face of the earth but how to correctly value them and subordinate them to the needs of higher interests which they subserve. It may be that in so valuing many people are apt to go wrong. They might mistake the means for the end and thus lose themselves in frivolous and fruitless controversies with their companions who may be able to keep the end steadily in view and keep it clear of entanglements with the means. It may be that when the differing parties are politically yoked together, difficulties will crop up; but they are such as to be boldly faced and overcome and not to be timidly fled away from. The so-called Reform scheme recently placed before the country by the Government of India has, above all, erred grievously in truckling to racial prejudices which ought to have been quietly allowed to die their natural death. Further, assuming that

the social, linguistic and religious divisions in our land create immense difficulties in the way of self-government, it by no means follows that self-government should be withheld *in toto* from the people. Half the qualification for self-rule lies in the meeting of difficulties, in the wrestling with them and conquering them and in the consequent hardening of grain in the national character. There is no royal road to self-rule and strangely our present rulers assure us that they are busily engaged in making such a road for the Indian political car to move along! What a vain attempt! Carrying the child in one's arms securely is certainly not the way ef teaching it to stand on its own legs and walk ; it should to some extent be allowed to tumble as best it could to learn how to walk steadily. Our fear now is whether the English are not showing a little too much solicitude in behalf of the Indian nation and whether by their present policy of taking the whole burden of government on themselves and not allowing the Indians to share it ever so little they are not crippling them and rendering them unfit for self-government in the long run. It is in cases like this that kindness becomes cruel. The manhood of no nation can stand this regimen for a century. If ever a nation were to escape from such a deadly experiment with its capacity for autonomy unscathed, it would mean that, by a special act of creation and against the ordinary course of nature, dependence pure and simple had borne the fruit of independence! It is evident from the foregoing remarks that heterogeneity in a population is no disqualification for self-rule, provided that the various principles of division hetrogeneity implies are duly subordinated to a higher principle of unity or a supreme common purpose; and that even if it were a disqualification, the most effective mode of grappling with the dfficulties of the situation would be from within and not from without. Self-help is not more imperatively necessary in individuals than in nations; for generosity which sometimes comes to the relief of incompetent individuals is conspicuous by its absence in international politics.

Next it has been said that the Indians are not fit for autonomy, because their masses are still uneducated and steeped in crass ignorance and superstition. Here too there is a soul of verity, but like most other partial truths it has passed for more than what it is worth. Very often has the worst reactionary taken his stand behind the

palisade of this argument and with the ostensible object of demanding due recognition of the claims of education has let slip no opportunity of shooting his arrows at the educated classes of the community. Very often has the name of the 'masses' been invoked to keep back the educated classes as if some radical antagonism had existed between these sections and that, in the absence of a foreign protecting power, the one would have clean swallowed the other like Aaron's rod of old devouring the serpents of the Egyptian magicians. Nevertheless very few will doubt that education, in the broadest sense of the term, is the Alpha and Omega of national uprising. Yet, what has been done to educate the nation, the voiceless and dumb millions, the submerged masses which seldom catch the eye of outsiders? Not much, in all conscience. Compulsory education is nowhere to be found except in Baroda; free primary education has not been extended to the requisite extent; higher education has been made a costly luxury; and technical education is, on the whole, neglected. And what little is given of these is vitiated to the core in not being *national* i. e. suited to the genius of the nation. Some idea may be formed of the attitude of Government towards this vital problem from the fact that the expenditure on education in ten years is *less* than that upon the Army in a single year! Well may Dr. Rutherford exclaim: "The small expenditure upon education in India is an apalling scandal and a terrible reflection upon British rule!" The very first condition for the cultivation of letters and arts is wealth said historian Buckle; and it is to want of wealth primarily that we should ascribe the ignorance of the masses. Various have been the causes that have contributed to the poverty of India and very long have these causes been operating Barbarian hordes had carried away even before the dawn of the Christian era untold treasures from this land of fabled wealth. Since then successive waves of more civilized but scarcely less avaricious invaders have swept over the land leaving marks of their spoliation. Commercial adventurers too came in thick swarms, individually and in chartered companies, and have silently accelerated the depletion of Indian money. A stream of foreign capitalists has also flowed into the land and has kept up a steady exploitation of its vast natural riches. Nor do these agencies show any diminution of their activity as years roll on. To add to these, a very costly system of administration—perhaps the costliest in the World—and an extravagant military expenditure absorb annually millions without any

adequate return. The exclusive pursuit of agriculture, the almost general dependence of an expanding population on unexpanding land to the general neglect of other industrial and commercial pursuits, the inveterate home-keeping tendency of the Indians having little spirit of adventure and no knack for exploiting other lands, have also been contributory causes in the same direction. Causes such as these have made India poor and in spite of the most emphatic of official denials we make bold to aver that poverty is deepening and becoming acute year after year. It is superfluous to state that, even if other conditions had favoured, such a state of things is not at all conducive to progress of education. But is it right, we ask, to defer the grant of even the smallest measure of autonomy—a government in whose councils the voice of the people is increasingly heard—till education spreads itself over every nook and corner of this vast country? If people themselves were to be the *immediate* instruments to control and direct the affairs of the state, a demand for universal popular education, however visionary, might be well justified. But in no modern governments is such an *immediate* popular control exercised or even desired although ultimately such power rests with the people. "The people ought to be the masters" wrote J. S. Mill, "but they are masters who must employ servants more skilful than themselves: like a ministry when they employ a military commander, or the military commander when he employs an army surgeon. When the minister ceases to confide in the commander, he dismisses him and appoints another; but he does not send him instructions when and where to fight. He holds him responsible only for results. The people must do the same. This does not render the control of the people nugatory. The control of a government over the commander of its army is not nugatory. A man's control over his physician is not nugatory, although he does not direct his physician what medicine to administer. He either obeys the prescription of his physician or, if dissatisfied with him, takes another. In that consists his security. In that consists also the people's security; and with that it is their wisdom to be satisfied." So we see it is not at all necessary that the people should possess a fund of political knowledge before they think of assuming the control of their affairs. But then they say that universal education is necessary to safeguard the interests of the masses from the invasion of the educated few, who occupy a vantage-ground by their superior knowledge and attainments. Now, unless we are prepared to keep down the present intellectual classes while the lever is being

applied to elevate the masses, there will continue between them the same intellectual distance then as there is now. Instead of having educated and uneducated classes we shall perhaps have, in their stead, highly educated and fairly educated ones. Even after the attainment of the ideal of universal education, there will still remain a class of intellectual aristocracy who will be head and shoulders above the generality of mankind. The wildest dreams of socialism are not so impracticable as the abolition of the intellectual difference between man and man. If the masses of the present day will be solely guided by the educated few even against their own ultimate interests, no less will the masses of the fancied educational millennium be in the hands of their more highly accomplished brethren. But again they may say "Oh! we do not want to metamorphose the common man into an intellectual prodigy, to create a Shakespeare, a Darwin, or a Spencer out of him; but all that we desire is that he should just pick up such a knowledge of the three R's as would stand him in good stead in the concerns of every day life." We confess we still fail to see how such a rudimentary knowledge can protect itself from the wiles and machinations of higher knowledge, if the latter took to them seriously We fail to see how the ignorance of the three R's will render a citizen blind to his material interests and make him fall an easy prey to the educated few. But why pursue this line of argument? The whole thing rests upon the absurd hypothesis that the educated classes have interests entirely distinct from those of the masses. The truth is: no such antagonism has ever existed or exists between these divisions. Nay, we think we are warranted in saying that a very considerable portion of the educated classes, as coming out of the masses, have identical interests with them. By-the-bye, who are the persons who frame this formidable indictment against the educated members? Are they of the same race as the masses? No. Are they of the same language and religion? No. Are they acquainted with their mode of life, their hopes and aspirations, their sorrows and sufferings? No. Are they in touch with them by association in a common work and for a common purpose? No. They come from a distant land, from a distinct stratum of society with no point of contact whatever with the people of the country. They come not to stay and cast their lots with the people but to quickly return to their native land. Nor do they, in the short sojourn they make in our midst, barring certain noble exceptions, mingle freely with the people, understand their

wants and create bonds of friendship and sympathy, as a class. And yet these are the persons who feel most keenly for the ultimate interests of the masses and apprehend evil at the hands of the latter's kith and kin, their educated brethren! To quote Mill again, "A governing class not accountable to the people are sure, in the main, to sacrifice the people to the pursuit of separate interests and inclinations of their own. Even their feelings of morality, even their ideas of excellence, have reference, not to the good of the people, but to their own good; their very virtues are class virtues—their noblest acts of patriotism and self-devotion are but the sacrifice of their private interests to the interests of their class". Few even of the most considerate and the most courteous members of the bureaucracy will be able to rise superior to this class-feeling, to this "interest-begotten prejudice" to use Bentham's expressive phrase. The charge against the Indian educated classes, therefore, comes with peculiar ill grace from them. It is quite proper, nay even necessary, that every well-wisher of India, European or other, should mercilessly expose the weaknesses in the Indian character with a view to remove them; but care should also be taken to avoid reading into it defects it is perfectly innocent of. The gist, then, of our remarks under this head comes to this: that the shibboleth of universal education cannot pass muster in a serious discussion of the question we are considering at present. Popular education is doubtless a condition of national advancement but by no means can it be deemed a condition precedent for the extension of self-government, restricted or extended, local or imperial.

We think we have considered at some length the arguments generally adduced against Indian self-government and hope to have shown that they are not capable of standing a critical examination. We are fully aware that we have not exhausted the arguments, for they are unhappily as many as individual fancy could suggest and ingenuity coin. It would be sheer waste of time to follow them in all their numerous windings. We confined our attention to some of the important ones, many of which contain a substratum of truth in them. Unfortunately, these grains of truth have become so distorted, being magnified into new dimensions, twisted into new shapes, and painted on with new colours, that one would feel puzzled and perplexed in failing to recognize the original features in the later contortions. No one can feel more than the Indians themselves the need of education; nor is it possible

for them to be oblivious to the advantages of the sense of a united nationality. But is it not carrying things to extremes to proceed from these plain truths to the conclusion that almost every unit in the Indian nation should be educated and should be in perfect accord with every other unit in the nation, before the question of self-government could be even broached, as if the self-governing nations in existence were models of perfection in such matters! As we have before this pointed out, insisting upon such an impossible condition as the above is in no way different from demanding the occurrence of a miracle. It is one way—and that too the most disingenuous way—of shelving the whole question of Indian autonomy. The difference between the Indian and the Englishman in respect of their qualification for autonomy may be one of *degree*; it is certainly not of *kind*. What one has attained one or two centuries earlier, the other nation has to attain one or two centuries later. There is no impassable gulf in this matter between the Orientals and the Occidentals. Yet the prevailing conception with a great majority of our English friends is that there is such a gulf. In the West Coast of Africa there is a republic called 'Liberia' formed solely by the liberated slaves. An English writer sneeringly refers to this state and calls it "that black parody of a whiteman's Government." The implication, of course, lies on the surface: that the blackman is by nature unfit for self-government. Not only is such an opinion a grave error but is also a mischievous one. Being the outcome of race-prejudice in the one class, it naturally evokes prejudice in the other. Nothing can be more unhappy than such a result.

Having considered the arguments mostly of the school of 'modified subjection' and found them not entirely satisfactory, it remains for us to consider the programme of proposals of the last school we have to deal with, viz., the school of modified autonomy and also the positive reasons which go to support it. This we shall take up for discussion in a subsequent paper.

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THE EPICS OF INDIA AND GREECE:

THE MAHABHARATA AND THE ILIAD.

By Mr. Thomas C. Rice, B. A.

THE evidence of language has conclusively proved the kinship between the race that centuries ago settled in north-western India, and became the ancestors of the heroes whose actions form the subject of the epic poems we now have in view, and the allied races whose descendants occupy the continent of Europe with the exceptions of Hungary and Turkey, and the polar regions occupied by the Lapps and Finns. But language is by no means the sole proof we have of this kinship. The mythology of these nations, before being modified by extraneous influences, their ideas of the ruling forces of the universe, their domestic life and their civilisation in the earliest stages, all show a kindred origin. We do not expect to find them exactly alike; but the originals from which each nation subsquently developed its own civilisation were almost the same. The subsequent variations were due to the dissimilar environment of the various races. Taking here for comparison the Greeks and the Hindus, the most nearly allied and the most closely situated of these races, as representatives of the West and the East, the Hindus were settled in extensive fertile plains, surrounded by millions of savages with whom they had nothing in common, on the banks of large rivers, in a region subject to a hot and moist climate, at least seven hundred miles from the sea, at the period when we have evidence of dawning of their national life. The Greeks in south-eastern Europe were settled in a number of small islands on the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor and on the adjacent mainland,

in a delightful and bracing climate, in the midst of scenery that gave a romantic and exquisitely poetical turn to all their thoughts. According to some historians* the ancient Egyptians were the people whom the Hindus most resembled, but our knowledge of the internal condition of this remarkable people is very scanty. We know that the organisation of society on the basis of caste existed among the Egyptians; they paid reverence to the cow, and their festival of the "lighting of lamps" ‡ must have borne a great resemblance to the *Dipavali*. But the Greeks, who spoke a language which in many respects was the nearest of the Aryan languages in structure to the Sanskrit, have left us a copious literature; and the poetry of the one nation which is the representation of its social existence and history may profitably be compared with that of the other. The religious life of the two nations presents points of intimate relationship. The *Zeus* of the Greeks has been identified by scholars with the *Dyaus* of the Vedas; *Varuna* with *Ouranos*. Indeed the worship of the elements was the common religion of the three Aryan races,—the Greeks, the ancient Persians and the Hindus. In their earliest form the three religions were alike, though in the later developments, each took a turn varying with the genius of the race. In its origin, the Sun, the Ocean, Fire, the Wind, the Earth, as personifications of the forces of nature, were the objects of worship of all three nations. The ancient Persians were accustomed to ascend the highest parts of mountains and offer sacrifices to Jupiter (*Zeus-pitar*)† and called the whole circle of the Heavens by that name. They also sacrificed to the Sun, Moon, Fire, Water and the Winds. This corresponds with the Vedic worship of Surya,† Chandra,§ Agni, Indra, Varuna and Vayu, the earliest Vedic gods. The Greeks from the earliest times developed an elaborate theogony in which we fail to recognise always these elemental deities. Their fertile imaginations invented ideas of revolutions in the regions of the sky inhabited by the gods similar to those they witnessed in their own civic societies. Sons deposed their fathers among the gods; these were again supplanted by their progeny and if we may fairly suppose that these celestial revolutions had their counterparts in the early Greek kingdoms on earth, the conclusion

* Mountstuart Elphinstone. *Hist. of Ind:* p. 48.

‡ Herodotus. Bk. II, 62.

† Herodotus. Bk. I, 31.

† Karna chanted Vedic hymns "with face directed to the east arms upraised". The Pandavas worshipped "the evening twilight". Udyoga Parva, Ss. 148, 146.

§ Of later origin; called also *Soma*

is obvious; they display a state of civilisation very far from refined; very far indeed from that reverence to parents, superiors and elders which the early writings of the Hindus represent as long established social amenities among them. The love escapades of the Greek gods as described by the poets, assuming them to be pictures of scenes witnessed in the courts of the Greek kings, represent a state of manners which the religious men who figure among the foremost characters of the Hindu epics would have looked upon with abhorrence. When the "Theogony" of Hesiod, supposed to be a very early composition, earlier than Homer, received its present shape, the old gods of the early Greeks, Ouranos and Saturn, had already been deposed from the godhead and degraded to the rank of inferior deities, corresponding to the Asuras, and a new race of gods had taken their place.† We recognise Zeus, the Father, at the head of the theogony. He is accommodated with a wife, Hera, in the same way as the later Hindu deities Siva and Vishnu. The brothers of Zeus are Poseidon and Pluto who reign over the Ocean and the Nether Regions, and correspond to Varuna and Yama. The sun and moon as Apollo and Diana occupy an inferior position. So, in the Hindu system, as set forth in the epics, Brahma appears further removed from the popular conception and his place is taken by Siva and Vishnu. Indra and the other elemental gods are reduced to the rank of inferior deities, though in some passages, these names would appear to be used as synonyms for that of the supreme being. These indications of a kindred origin in the mythology will prepare us for seeing many points of resemblance in the civilisation of the Greeks and the Hindus when we come to compare their poetical writings with each other. We shall find also a very divergent progress in the thoughts, the institutions and the social condition of the two races, starting from the same original, so that the Greeks who came in contact with the Hindus in the times contemporary with or immediately after those of Alexander the Great, while noticing points of resemblance to their own ideas in certain directions were struck with peculiarities which could not fail to attract attention.

Homer's epic of the Iliad was the model on which later epics were written. Virgil's Æneid was a close imitation of the Iliad and Milton's genius was nursed on the epic and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Virgil again was the model of the Italian and Spanish poets.

† The war of the gods with the giants was a common tradition of both the Hindus and the Greeks.

If we take Vyasa as the counter-part of Homer we notice the same originality in the composition of the Mahabharata. At the age when these poems were composed there could be no question of borrowings; the two poets followed each his own inspiration. The genius of Homer and that of the Brahmin poet of India were cast in moulds so entirely different that to many scholars a comparison between their productions would at first sight seem impossible; the two poems appear so dissimilar. In attempting to trace a parallel between them, we shall distribute our remarks under the following heads.

(1) The degree of civilisation reached in each country, at the time of the final revision, and, if we may use the term, "fixation" of the two epics.

(2) The state of religion in each society. The idea of God, of a future state, Hell, Heaven.

(3) The social usages as revealed by incidental allusions in the epics, under the sub-heads of

(a) Social organisation. The position of religious men. Social amenities.

(b) Death, marriage, coronation ceremonies.

(c) The position of women; their occupations.

(4) The usages of war; the weapons of war.

(5) The state of the arts and sciences.

(6) The state of morals, theoretical and practical.

(7) The *form* of the poems. (a) Contrast between the heroes; (b) The literary qualities of the poets and their use of Similes and Aphorisms. (c) Their claims to be regarded as epic poems. (d) The episodes in the poems.

(8) The dates of the epics. Their relative antiquity.

I. The historical portion of the Mahabharata relates events contemporary with the Vedas (B. C. 1200, according to the recognised authorities.) Homer lived at about 850 B. C, and he professes to narrate events that occurred many generations before. Making allowance for poetical hyperbole, we may fairly allow 1000 B. C. as the date of the siege of Troy; but the manners described by the two poets must be those they are acquainted with, and therefore those of their contemporaries. Taking the oldest narrative portions of the Mahabharata as contemporary with Homer or nearly so, the poem continued to undergo revision and enlargement until a period a few centuries after Christ‡. The narrative portion, dealing with the

‡ Dutt's *Mahabharata*; Temple Classics; see the *Epilogue*.

legends, might have been put together about the middle of the fourth century B. C. Homer's epic received its final form about 500 B. C. The story of the Mahabharata professes to relate what took place three generations prior to the time of the narration.[2] The earliest legends are of about the same age in both epics, but the state of manners and the arts described in the one (the Iliad) are earlier by a century and a half *at least* from the other, and *may be* earlier by five to seven hundred years. A comparison in this case of the state of manners and the arts would appear unfair to the Greek civilisation, as the more ancient; but bearing the fact in mind we shall be able to make due allowance for any apparent backwardness we may notice in the progress of the western branch of the race as well as to give credit for precocity where we meet with evidences of it. The historical portion of the Iliad makes reference to a war between two Aryan nations, long separated from one another, the Greeks and the Trojans; the cause being that a Trojan prince had abducted a young married woman, the wife of King Menelaus of Sparta. The Hindu epic relates the feud between two families of cousins for the possession of some land, ending in a sanguinary compaign of eighteen days on the field of Kuru-kshetra. That a sanguinary battle took place 3200 years ago at Kuru-kshetra or that the Greeks took and burnt Troy to the ground is no very remarkable circumstance. The incidents are quite credible; we have read of hundreds of such battles and sieges, and the story becomes altogether monotonous. We must conceive, however, in order to bring events into consistency with historical probability that the kings who took part in these wars were petty chieftains, ruling over small pieces of territory and the numbers engaged in the actions were far smaller than those stated by the poets. The amount of exaggeration is much great in the Mahabharata. The state of manners described is that of the poet's own age. The war of Troy took place many hundred years before Homer sang of it, but the manners of his kings, their clothing, their social amenities were those that the poet saw among his own contemporaries. When therefore Homer speaks of his heroes as entertaining one another; of a host offering his guest a luxurious seat, as in the embassy to Achilles,[1] when oxen are slain, and the flesh roasted in a spit over the fire, when large bumpers of wine are drunk in golden bowls, we have a picture of manners as they prevailed in Homer's time. The poet's art has coloured the picture. The carpets of purple and the golden bowls of his own age

[2] *Virata Parva*. S. 1, the opening.

[1] Iliad. IX 188-219.

have been substituted for the furniture of many ages ago when his heroes are supposed to have lived, which probably consisted of sheep skins and goblets of brass. What interests us here is to search these authors to discover what the thoughts and ideas of men were in those days about God and Nature, what were the clothing and occupation of the men and women, of kings and common labourers; what state of advancement had been reached in the practical and fine arts, what sort of houses and furniture they had. In merely narrating a battle the poet has considerable licence allowed him to exaggerate the exploits of his heroes, and this has been taken full advantage of by the Hindu poet and in a less degree by the Greek. That Arjuna or Krishna or Bhima slew hundreds of thousands of men by the might of their single arm, overthrowing elephants and chariots by hundreds, or that Achilles drove myriads of men into the stream of the Scamandros, by which the river-god felt insulted and very nearly drowned him, even if accepted as facts, are not the kind of facts we are here considering. But when we read in the same passage: ❀ "As when a field-waterer from a dark spring leadeth water along a bed through crops and garden grounds, a mattock in his hand, casting forth hindrances from a ditch, ... thus even the river-wave caught up Achilles",—a flood of light is thrown on the state of agriculture in Homer's time. So, of the Pandava warriors it is most important for us to notice that Arjuna wore ear-rings, that his complexion was dark ↓ that he was armed with a bow and arrow, and wore a diadem and gloves of iguana skin; that Bhimasena was armed with a mace "with eight sides made of steel and adorned with gold" ? that he hurled his mace from a sling, and that he was fair-complexioned, with "eyes of coppery hue;" that Krishna was armed with a discus thrown from a sling; that Krishna and Arjuna were "exhilarated with *Bassia* wine; their bodies smeared with sandal paste and decked with flowery garlands;" we have here a store of information regarding the apparel, armament and personal bearing of the heroes, and their remarkable racial characters. ↑↑ Here there is no room for, nor any question of,

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❀ Iliad, XXI, 227-262

↓ "My tenth appellation Krishna was given to me by my father out of affection for a black-skinned boy of great purity." *Virat. parv.* S. 44

"The sons of Pandu of coppery complexion". *Id.* 5.

? *Udyoga parv.* S. 50.

↑↑ Draupadi's hair was black and soft and her eyes were black. *Virata parv.* S. 5.

hyperbole. When we read of Achilles playing on the lyre we have to take notice of the fact that kings and princes of old prided themselves on being accomplished in music, and that a certain amount of progress had been made in the art. In comparing the stage of civilisation reached with that of India at the time of the composition of the Mahabharata we may notice the parallel in the use of the *Vina* by Uttara,[1] and Arjuna's skill in dancing and music.[2] We arrive at the conclusion that in the art of music the Hindus and Greeks had attained a similar stage. At what relative period we must conjecture from evidence derived from other sources. The Hindus had attained a higher degree of luxury than the Greeks. They were acquainted with sofas, seats made of ivory, silk and cotton stuffs, more metals than the Greeks. We do not read of temples in the Mahabharata. In the Rajasuya celebrated by Yudhishtira, there is no distinct indication of a temple, but a sacrificial compound is mentioned. The Greeks had no temple in their camp before Troy. Seeing that they had been encamped there ten years, if they were accustomed to temples, they had ample time for building one. Idols and paintings are mentioned in the Mahabharata. The likeness of the Rakshasa woman Jara is painted on the walls of houses to bring good luck[3]; the young man Chitraswa, the husband of Savitri, was skilled in painting horses; images are mentioned in the Hindu epic, in the allusion to "horse-faced Agni," in the hymn to Durga[4]; the "stony-image of Vishnu with gold within"[5]. In Greece, animals were sacrificed, but in India the sacrifices were only clarified butter[6]. The horse-sacrifice was an ancient rite of the Kshatryas to which we find no parallel in Greek customs; it was probably of Scythian origin.[7] We read "Vishnu said—'Let Indra offer sacrifice to me..... The chastiser of Paka (Indra) having performed the holy horse-sacrifice will fearlessly regain his dignity as lord of the gods."[8] Achilles offered human sacrifices

[1] Virat. Parv. 35.
[2] Id. 11.
[3] Id. 18
[4] Id. 6. When she is said to have been dashed on a stony platform by Kansa, the reference must be to her image.
[5] Udyog. Parv. 39.
[6] "Sacrificial animals" are mentioned in Karna's speech to Arjuna (Udyog. Parv. 140), but this refers to the *Suta* rites.
[7] Herodotus. Bk. IV. 61
[8] Udyog. Parv. 12

at the tomb of Patroclus. The king Jarasandha of Maghada is mentioned as having taken kings prisoners whom he meant to sacrifice to the god Shankara, but this was evidently a non-Aryan custom, reprobated by the Brahmins and punished by Arjuna and Krishna.

II The Greek idea of the gods in Homer's time is easy to understand. The gods formed a council like the assembly of nobles that met at the courts of the kings then reigning. Zeus was the president and chief of the gods, and around him were seated his wife Hera, the virgin goddess Pallas, the sea-god Poseidon, Ares, the god of war, Apollo, the sun-god, with the other minor deities in a full council. The court was held on the top of Mount Olympus. The authority of Zeus was supreme and absolute.[8] The Hindu ideas of the ruling powers of the universe were undergoing transition, all through the period when the Mahabharata was in course of enlargement; and it is difficult to form any clear idea of the hierarchy of the gods in the long period of probably 1400 years from the composition of the original ballads that formed the ground-work of the poem to the time of its attaining its present encyclopædic character. The Buddhist reform movement and the amalgamation of the Aryan with the Scythian, Tibeto-Burman and aboriginal tribes introduced various alien notions which coalesced with the original Aryan myths. The supremacy of Indra, Surya, Vayu, Varuna and Yama was beginning to be overlooked; Indra was beginning to take the position of a demi-god with whom mortals might presume to cope in war. The cleavage between the sects of Siva and Vishnu worshippers had just begun to take place. A grand festival in honour of Brahma is related as having been celebrated in the Matsya country.[9] The logical minds of the learned who composed the disquisitions on philosophy and morals of which a great part of Udyoga Parva is composed cannot be supposed to have acquiesced in the contradiction implied in a plurality of divine beings. It is more reasonable to suppose that only the name of the Supreme Being was changed from Brahma to Vishnu; just as in the earlier books of the Old Testament the name Jehovah comes to be substituted for Elohim. The heretical sect in Maghada

[8] The squabbles between the gods and goddesses and the bickerings between Zeus and his wife are mean and primitive ideas out of keeping altogether with the sublimity of the god-head as the Hindus imagined it.

[9] Virata parva, S. 13

ruled over by Jarasandha were worshippers of Rudra (Siva) and offered animal, and perhaps also human, sacrifices to their god. But the Pandus, urged on by Krishna, were bent on extirpating this sect of non-Aryan origin. But the worship of Siva had too much vitality to be put out. In Virata Parva S. 6, is given a hymn to Durga, the wife of Siva, the goddess "ever fond of wine and animal sacrifices". She is said to be the wife of Narayana and the sister of Vasudeva, the name of the father of Krishna. Nara and Narayana in another place are said to have been Rishis, who "by ascetic penances" had attained the godhead.* The catalogue of names that each god bears adds to the confusion. Durga is said to have been "dashed on a stony platform"† by Kansa, an ally and supporter of Jarasandha, who is a worshipper of Siva, the husband of Durga. We can only reconcile the contradiction by assuming Durga to be a goddess of the aborigines whom a later tradition elevated to the rank of an Aryan goddess. We have evidences in the Mahabharata of an opposition of worship, the Krishna-cult and the Siva-cult struggling for supremacy; and it was not without vigorous protest and a sanguinary struggle that the newly-introduced worship of Krishna could establish itself,—a fact indicated by the slaughter of Shishupala.~ The passages above quoted furnish evidence (1) that the alliances of princes of Aryan and non-Aryan race were based not on sympathy excited by a common religion, but on identity of merely worldly interests, (2) that authors holding very different religious tenets contributed to swell the mass of the national epic without attempting to reconcile the conflicting doctrines thus placed side by side.†† The Greek poet's ideas of the gods were very materialistic. They gave help to the heroes on the battle-field either by inspiring the divine energy into them, by fighting beside them in human form and encouraging them with their words, or else, the gods took different sides and fought with one another in their own proper form.‡ The Hindu idea was far more philosophical. Duryodhana says "The gods attained to their divinity for absence of desire, of envy, of covetousness and of enmity, as also for their indifference to all worldly

* "Brahma, the grandsire of the universe, is kind estructible and eternal. Those illustrious Rishis, Nara and Narayana, are of the same character. Of all the sons of Aditi, Vishnu alone is eternal." Udyoga Parv. S. 96.

† Virat Parv. 6.

~ Sabha Parv. 45.

†† Dutt's Translation of the *Mahabharata*, the Epilogue.

‡ Il. Bk. XX.

affairs.....The gods never like human beings engage in work".* Hence they cannot be reckoned on as allies in the forth-coming battle. The heroes of the Mahabharata indeed fight with celestial weapons, the gifts of Indra, Vayu, Agni, Yama, or any other of the gods; but this bears a natural interpretation, for we can reasonably suppose that the poet meant that the weapons shone like lightning, blazed like fire, had the speed of wind and carried death along with them.

The origin of the worship of Krishna finds its parellel in many countries in the worship of deified heroes, of Odin among the Norse nations, of Hercules among the Greeks; and in a refined and civilised society like that of the Romans, divine honours were paid to Augustus Cæsar. Krishna was a cow-herd, and the milk-maids of Muttra chaffed him upon the time when he stole their butter. In his youth he had played many pranks, such as carrying away the clothes of girls when they were at their bath. In those days it was no shame for a prince to tend cattle;** we read of many such instances, as of Paris and the other sons of Priam as well as of the sons of rajas in India. Krishna attained distinction by extensive conquests, by the overthrow of the adherents of rival faiths, by attempting to suppress animal sacrifices, by a generous and peace-loving nature, a kind of spiritual eloquence and the possession of certain magical powers that are just hinted at. In his youth he was fond of gaiety and fun, but as he grew older his character became more grave and solid, like certain other notable examples we have in history, as for example the English King Henry V. The Greek writers on India refer to the worship of Bacchus and Hercules. The Egyptian god Osiris the sun-god whose worship was confounded with that of Bacchus is said to have invaded India. The phallic emblem connected with the worship of Siva was also sacred to Osiris. His image was engraved with a ram's face, but other nations were permitted to choose other animal forms to represent him; hence in India the horse may have been selected to typify him. We read of "horse-faced Agni",† an image executed after the manner of the ancient Assyrian sculptures. There are many elements of the Siva cult which bear a resemblance to the worship of Bacchus.‡ Valadeva, the elder brother of Krishna,

* Udyog. Parv. 60.

** Shishupala objected to Krishna that he was not an anointed king.

† Virat. Parv. S. 50. The horse-sacrifice is connected with the worship of the sun-god.

‡ The ox was an emblem of Osiris, considered the same as Bacchus and the sun-god; so the Bull is sacred to Siva.

was a wine-bibber; but there were spiritual elements connected with the worship of Bacchus apart from the gross character which struck superficial observers. The adventures of Arjuna previous to the horse sacrifice bear a great resemblance to the twelve labours of Hercules. The club with which Hercules is represented as armed was the weapon of Bhima, not of Arjuna. The tree-worship of some of the aboriginal tribes was adopted into the Hindu religious system; for allusion is made to "a tree of vast proportions standing in a village worshipped by all." †

The Greek idea of a future state in the Homeric age was very vague and shadowy. They believed that after death the souls of the departed were ferried over the river Styx by the "grim ferryman" Charon, to the abode of the dead ruled over by Pluto, the Greek god anwering to the Hindu Yama. Then they were judged by the judges of the region, Minos and Rhadamanthus, and assigned various punishments proportionate to the nature of their guilt. The nature of these punishments is not detailed except in the case of a few exalted criminals like Sysiphus and Tantalus.* The common herd of the shades wandered about disconsolately, suffering no particular torment. The idea of the Hindu poet of the abode of Yama is far nobler. —"In that assembly house, there is neither grief nor weakness of age, neither hunger nor thirst. . . . . There can be no fatigue or any kind of evil feelings there. . . . . All kinds of enjoyable articles, as also of sweet, juicy, agreeable and delicious edibles in profusion that are licked, sucked and drunk are there". ‡ Compare with this Homer's description of Hades as given in the Odyssey. When Ulysses asks Achilles how he fares in the nether regions whither he had descended after death, the latter replies

> "Rather would I, in the sun's warmth divine,
> Serve some poor churl who drags his days in grief,
> Than the whole lordship of the dead were mine."

But even in the house of Yama only the more exalted spirits find a home. The common herd of *Pitris*, the souls of the departed, wander about like the shades in Homer's Hades, waiting for some body to migrate into, and propitiated by the rite called *Shardha*. According to the Hindu belief which had already established itself at the epoch of the Mahabharata the souls transmigrated into other bodies.

† Sabha Parv, S. 24.
* In Homer's *Odyssey*.
‡ Sabha Parv, S. 8.

We read,—"No doubt sins must have been committed by you in your former life,"† —which sins were punished by the soul being condemned to work out its salvation by a series of re-births. Again Draupadi says "I must in my child-hood have committed some act highly offensive to *Dhatri*"‡, to account for her sufferings in exile and in the palace of Virata. We must conclude that the souls we find assembled in the court of Yama were of those who had expiated their sins and were admitted to repose. The Hindu poet had a sublime conception of a future dissolution of the universe. The Greeks had no conception of a Heaven separate from the abode of the gods on the top of Mount Olympus, where no mortals had been admitted with the exception of Tantalus (as a guest), Hercules, the youth Ganymede, the cup-bearer of Zeus; and the Twin Brethren (alternately). The assembly house of Brahma, the Hindu Heaven, is inhabited by a few sages, but mostly by personifications of the senses, the elements, the Vedas, the seasons, the abstract virtues, &c. How much akin this doctrine is to Plato's theory of Ideas need not be pointed out.

The doctrine of an over-ruling Fate controlling both gods and mortals was common both to the Greeks and to the Hindus. Homer's idea of Fate was crude and materialistic, attesting the rudeness of the times when his poem was composed. To discover whether Hector was to die or live in the single combat between him and Achilles, "the Father (Zeus) hung his golden balances, and set therein two lots of dreary death, one for Achilles, one for horse-taming Hector, and held them by the midst and poised. Then Hector's fated day sank down and fell to the house of Hades."†† The Hindu idea was far more philosophical and modern. Drita-rashtra says "Man is not the disposer of his prosperity or adversity. He is like a wooden doll moved by strings. Indeed the Creator hath made man subject to Destiny."

The method of taking oaths among the early Greeks was very solemn. Agamemnon washed his hands, and calling Zeus, the sun, the rivers and the earth to witness, he sacrificed two lambs and poured a libation of wine to the gods, to seal his compact with Priam; but in India, the poor forlorn girl Amva, the daughter of the king of Kasi, merely touches her own head when she swears to the truth of what she was stating.

The belief in omens and auguries was common to the Greeks and

† Udyog. parv. 29.
‡ Virat parv. 20.
†† Iliad XXII, 194-227.

the Hindus. The seer Calchas relates an omen, how a blood-red snake sprang from beneath the altar when he was sacrificing at Aulis, coiled up a plane-tree near by, in which was a nest of eight fledge-ling sparrows and the mother-bird, and devoured them one after another. He concludes from this augury that after nine years' toil the Greeks would take Troy in the tenth year. (Il. II. 305-336). The narrative is strikingly similar to the omen that Ashwa-thama observes before he makes his bloody incursion into the Pandava camp. Ashwa-thama saw a large number of crows roosting in a tree at the foot of which he was sitting. Presently an owl came and killed the crows one by one without alarming the others. He takes this for a foreboding of the slaughter of the sleeping Pandus.

(To be continued.)

THOMAS C. RICE.

THE ARTS AND INDUSTRIES OF TRAVANCORE---II.

BY MR. V. NAGAM AIYA, B. A., F. R. HIST. S.

NEXT in importance to agriculture is the weaving Industry, and among all the materials of our textile fabrics cotton undoubtedly holds the first place. For a long time it has been cultivated, spun and manufactured locally, and every village has had families of weavers and spinners who supplied all local demands and needs. But cotton spinning has nearly ceased to exist as almost all weavers now use only imported twist.

The Izhavas, Saliars and Patnools are the chief castes engaged in weaving, but there are also a few other castes who follow this profession. The following is the form of the loom in use by the majority of the weavers:—

The principal parts of it are the sley, the healds and the reed. The sley with its reed is suspended by two cards from the roof of the house and the healds by two minor cards. The lower portion of the sley consists of a piece of wood two inches thick and almost circular in sections with a groove cut along the top for the reception of the reed. At each end a short upright is fixed and passes through slots cut in the upper portion of the sley. This is a piece of common grained wood about 3 ft. deep and $\frac{3}{4}$ ft. thick with a groove cut at the bottom to form a cup for the reed, to fix it in a vertical position. In the middle there is a handle for the weaver to grasp and beat up the weft with great force, after the healds have divided the warp. The healds consist of a series of loops linked together, the warp thread being drawn through the space formed by linking two heald loops. The shuttle, with the waft in it, is thrown, across by one hand and caught by the other and so on.

The weaving of silk and woollen fabrics is unknown in Travancore.

FIBRES.

PLANTAIN FIBRE.

The existence of fibre in the common plantain has probably been known in India from ancient times, but it attracted public notice only during the Crimean War, when owing to the stoppage of the importation of Russian hemp into England the Indian Government ordered an enquiry into the capabilities of Indian fibres. But nothing important was done in regard to plantain fibre owing to the abundance of other

fibre-yielding plants and also to want of some simple and efficient machine for extracting the fibre. A few years ago the Government of Travancore deputed one of its officers to Ootacamund to acquaint himself with the methods of extracting the fibre, but for want of a suitable machine much good did not result from this mission. When weaving was introduced into the School of Arts, the Government procured through its Forest Department fibres extracted from plantains grown in the State and asked the Superintendent of the School of Arts, Trivandrum, to test them with a view to ascertain their fitness for weaving purposes. A few experiments were made and the results of these experiments are noted below.

1. Of the 29 varieties of plantains grown in Travancore, the fibres yielded by 12 were found to be the best for weaving cloths of fine texture and those of the remaining ones were only fit for coarse weaving and cordage. The fibres are silky in colour and glossy and sufficiently strong for a thread.

2. A few native and tanning colours were tried and found successful in dyeing the fibre fast.

3. Washing with alkali commonly used by native washermen and with soda and soap were tried in the fibre and the fabric woven with it. These were found only to increase the strength and pliability of the material.

4. The fibre was found to possess peculiar advantages over other known varieties of fibres used for textile purposes. It possessed an almost exact resemblance to silk in the polish of the thread, which it is found to retain after it is dyed with any colour or boiled or washed.

5. The fibre needs no spinning operation like other fibres. It is ready for the loom after its extraction from the raw sheaths of the plantain trees.

The machinery for extracting the fibre used in the Trivandrum School of Arts is simple in structure, comparatively cheap and easily portable being small and light. It can be carried to the plantain gardens where the trees are cut and would thereby save large expenditure in transit of the raw material. The frame work is in teak The scraping blade and the squeezing fluted rollers are fitted paralled to each other at the top and are worked by two separate strong steel springs controlled by foot levers. The additional mechanism for squeezing with the fluted rollers which work in advance of the scraping operation gives greater pliability to the plantain sheaths and renders the extraction of the fibre much easier. The fibre thus

obtained can consequently retain the full length of the sheaths available, little or no breakage occuring in the process of extraction.

The machine-made fibre industry yields a good profit. An enterprising Indian of Tanjore who took the trouble of having some samples of the fibre extracted by him sent to London, found them valued from £ 25 to £ 35 a ton. He estimates the cost of extracting the fibre at Rs 55 per ton, and allowing another Rs. 35 for putting the same on the market, or Rs. 90 altogether per ton, he calculates the profits at nearly £ 20 to £ 25 per ton. He states also that an acre of plantain garden yields one ton of fibre on an average. It has to be remembered that it has been usual hitherto to throw away the sheaths after reaping the produce, and if this refuse should yield so much as £ 20 per acre the industry should be a very paying one.

Plantain trees of different varieties are grown abundantly all over the State, and in fact almost every Malayali house has its own plantain trees behind it in the garden. The extraction of the fibre is only a simple process and as it does not affect the edible and valuable portion of the plantain tree there is a vast field open for a new and paying industry which our capitalists will do well to put in hand before foreign capital steps in.

Cocoanut Fibre or Coir.

Malabar has been rightly called the "land of the palms" and of these the cocoanut palm is the most important and widely cultivated. The cultivation of the cocoanut tree and the preparation of its various products seem to be occupations specially suited to the Malabar Coast, its dense population, its minutely sub-divided holdings and its easy water-carriage to the market. Each man here lives under his own palm trees and every traveller by boat on the lagoon can see the domestic labour going on at each threshold, the whole family busy in severing the husk from the nut, in spinning the fibre into the yarn and so on. Of the several industries connected with the cocoanut, the Coir industry is the most important. The thick pericarp or outer wall of the fruit yields the valuable coir fibre of commerce. The fibre is tough elastic, springy, easily manipulated within certain limits and eminently suited for manufactures where lightness, cleanliness and great indestructibility are required. It will stand water, it is almost impervious to wind and wave, or to damp and rain. Care should be taken to cut the

cocoanut at the proper season. The fibre is much impaired by waiting for the nuts to arrive at maturity. The fibre is weak when cut earlier than is necessary and if later it becomes coarse and hard and requires a longer soaking and is more difficult to manufacture. The best season is to cut the nut in the ninth or tenth month. When the cocoanuts are cut the husk is separated from the nut and thrown into pools of fresh water and soaked for nearly two months. Travellers in boats can see heaps of these thrown into the backwaters along the way and easily recognize from the offensive smell emanating from the rotten material in those places where the cocoanut abounds. When thoroughly soaked the fibrous parts are easily separated from the wood by beating with a stick, resembling an ordinary ricepounder, but not so long, known as *Kuttuvadi*. This beating is invariably done by women. After separation the fibres are mixed and with the help of a rough country machine locally known as *rattu* (wheel) ropes are twisted. This is also largely done by women. The Izhavas are largely engaged in this business and their women are very dexterous in rope making. Of the uses to which the coir is capable of application, the following extract from a pamphlet issued by an English trader will give a fair idea:—

"Coir is found suited to the production of a variety of articles of great utility and elegance of workmanship. It was at first only used for stuffing mattresses and cushions, but its applications have been enlarged and its value greatly increased by mechanical processes. Instead of being formed into rough cordage only and mats made by hand by means of ingeniously constructed machinery the fibre is rendered sufficiently fine for the loom and matting of different textures and coloured figures is produced while a combination of wool in pleasing designs gives richness and the effect of hearth rugs and carpeting. Brushes, and brooms for household and stable purposes, matting for sheep-folds, pheasantries and poultry yards, church cushions, hammocks, cordage of all sizes and strings for nursery men and others for tying up trees and other garden purposes, nose-bags for horses, mats and bags for seed-crushers, oil pressure and candle manufactures are only a few of the various purposes to which the fibrous coating of the cocoanut is now applied." Coir string is universally employed in other parts of India in the construction of bamboo houses. To these properties has to be added its great power of withstanding moisture on account of which it is in great demand for maritime purposes.

Arecanut Fibre.

Besides the plantain and cocoanut fibres the arecanut fibre is also used in the School of Arts, Trivandrum, as a substitute for wool, in the manufacture of carpets. When dyed, it is hardly distinguishable from wool, and in fact, carpets woven with it look better and finer than woollen carpets while they are considerably cheaper. The discovery of the uses of this fibre is very recent and the work is at present confined only to the School of Arts, Trivandrum.

Oil-pressing.

Next to Coir making, oil-pressing, especially the manufacture of cocoanut oil, is the most important industry in the State. The cocoanut oil manufactured in Travancore is considered better in quality than that produced in other countries. Mr. Mackenzie, the late Resident in Travancore and Cochin, observed that a ton of cocoanut oil from here fetches in the London market a few pounds more than that exported from any other country.

The oil is nearly white in colour and is largely used by the people of Malabar in cooking. It has a very agreeable smell and preparations made with it do not get spoiled while they taste better and keep longer. The oil is also used as medicine either by itself or boiled with other ingredients and for burning lamps and anointing the body. It is said to promote the growth of hair. The fat yielded by the cocoanut oil is largely used in Europe for the manufacture of candles and according to 'Max,' in the *Capital*, "Experiments made in the Philippines show that the oil can be made to produce a high quality of illuminating gas free from tar." The uses of cocoanut oil are thus manifold.

The method of preparing it is as follows:—The ripe kernel of the cocoanut is cut off the skull and dried either by exposure to the sun or by artificial means. It is then known as Copra. The copra is cut into thin slices which are put into the Presses and oil is extracted therefrom. The apparatus of a native oil-press is very simple. It is made of the trunk of a large tree (either tamarind or jack) or a block of stone, which is hollowed into the form of a morter and planted on a raised ground. In this a big pole works as a pestle round and round. A wooden beam about 16 ft. long pressing at one end closely against the foot of this mill with loud creaking noise has an arm projecting upwards at about a third of its length, which is attached to the head of the pestle. The mill is driven by men or oxen yoked at the farther end of the beam who pull it round and round. Every village has a few of these

country mills and accordingly they are to be found scattered throughout the country. In addition to these country mills, machines for extracting oil worked by steam power have been recently introduced; there are three of them established at Alleppey; a mill has been newly started at Quilon.

Gingelly-oil is the next in importance. This is usually procured by giving the sesamum seeds frequent washings in cold water at first until all the brownish coloured matter is removed and they look quiet white. They are then spread to dry in the sun, after which oil is pressed from them in the same way as cocoanut in country mills. The oil has healing properties. It is used for burning lamps and anointing. Some use it for cooking purposes. This, however, is the custom of the Tamils not the true Malayali.

The laurel or *Punnakka* oil which comes next in importance is expressed from the seeds of the laurel tree. It is used mostly for burning lamps, but it gives a dim light.

The caster-oil is another important kind of oil. It is made from the large or small varieties of *Ricinus Communis*. It is an excellent laxative and is generally administered as a purgative. Oil that is made for burning lamps is expressed in the mills, but for medicinal use it is prepared by boiling.

The *Pultailom* or lemon-grass oil is in great demand in Europe. It has a very pungent taste and a strong odour of lemon. This industry may be said to have monopolised the trade in lemon grass oil in European markets.

Veppa Ennai, the oil of the seeds of the margosa is of great medicinal value. The following oils also are used as medicines. Peacock oil, Deer oil, Serpent oil, Pig oil or ghee and fish oil.

METAL WORK.

PRECIOUS METALS.

Gold and silver are superbly wrought. The making of native ornaments gives the goldsmiths ample scope for the display of their artistic skill, and their workmanship is much admired.

A gold girdle or Oddyanom made in Travancore the other day was the admiration of the Madras ladies, and they were positive in their statement that no Madras goldsmith could have shown such finish in work. The Oddyanom is a waist-belt worn by young women and this one was a small ornament weighing about £ 10 sterling, but the finish and the polish in it were unsurpassable; and this was the

work of a goldsmith who earned only a rupee a day.

All the rich temples of Travancore have a large number of gold and silver vessels. The big *Vahanams* of gold and silver of Sri Padmanabhaswamy's pagoda at Trivandrum amply testify to the great claim that Travancore has for artistic work in gold and silver.

Brass, Copper and Bell-metal.

Almost all the household vessels in a high class or middle class Hindu family are of brass, copper or bell-metal.

In Travancore bell-metal cauldrons and copper-cooking pots are made on a colossal scale as they are in great demand for the feeding-houses attached to the temples. Some of those in use in Trivandrum are so large that each can contain condiments to feed 5,000 persons at a time and so deep that a boy can swim in them if filled with water.

Iron and Steel.

Iron and steel are chiefly used for making agricultural implements, knives, razors, locks &c. Superior knives on the English model are manufactured in Travancore. The D. P. W. workshop does casting work in iron ; lamp-posts, pipes and other articles are cast there and most of the lamp-posts used in lighting the town of Trivandrum are those made in the workshop.

Carpentry.

In the construction of temples and houses, the native carpenter plays an important part. The *Tachchusastram* or the science of carpentry prescribes in minute detail the rules of construction. The chief or head carpenters who prepare designs for buildings and have charge of the execution of the works, know the whole of that science by heart. They are therefore the supreme authorities "on the dimensions of the rooms, the height and dimensions of the door frames, the inclination of the rafters and their number for the roof, the area of the open yards, the position of the beams and their sections ;" and indeed for every trifling detail to be followed in the construction. The abundance of good building timber found in the forests of Malabar and their extensive use in the indigenous style of architecture gives ample scope to the carpenter to display his ingenuity. The splendid wood carving for which Travancore is deservedly famous, which has already been referred to, owes its excellence to the dexterity and extensive technical knowledge possessed by the carpenters.

Boat-building.

A regular succession of lakes and backwaters connected by navigable canals and running in a parallel direction with the coast for a considerable length is a most remarkable feature of the Malabar coast. Almost all the important and busy towns in Travancore and Cochin are situated along this line of water communication and as might be expected every description of merchandize as well as the whole produce of the country is easily conveyed through backwaters in boats.

In marshy tracts and in most parts of North Travancore water is the only highway of communication and a *Vallam* or canoe is thus an indispensable adjunct to every house. Men, women and children go in these from one house to another or to the market or to their respective avocations in fields or elsewhere.

It is thus clear that there is a large demand for boats in the country. Accordingly we find that a large number of people are engaged in their construction or repair. The boats are of various sizes, from the small fishing boat, 8 to 10 ft. in length and 2 ft. in breadth, to the large handsomely fitted up and richly carved cabin boats used by Royalty and other high personages. Teak, *Anjili* and *Tambagam* are the most important trees used in their construction, *Anjili* being the best and most popular.

Mining Industry.

There has been no geological survey of the State. The only minerals now worked are the plumbago and mica. The plumbago has been pronounced to be of inferior quality, though two mines are being worked by the Morgan Crucible Company. The company pays a royalty of Rs. 4 to 6 per ton to Government, according to the quality of the ore and in 1079 M. E. (1903-1904 A. D.) the Sirkar realized a royalty of Rs. 11,134.

Mica is found at the bed of several tanks and in many places in the forests where water stagnates. But the quantity is small and the quality poor.

Besides these two, iron ore is largely met with; but there has been no organized attempt to undertake work in this line on a large scale.

Gold ore was found some years ago and tested, but it was thought not paying.

There can be no doubt that Travancore has a large mineral

wealth, but the mineral resources of the State have not been exploited as yet. The Government have now in their service two young men recently trained in England in mining and these youths are now engaged in exploiting the country. It is hoped that their labours will lead to the discovery of abundant and valuable mineral resources.

Manufacture of Salt.

Salt is a Government monopoly in Travancore as in British India, and in order to meet the wants of the people, salt is being manufactured by private contractors under an arrangement with the Sirkar according to which the expenses of the manufacture are borne by the manufacturers themselves. But the State carries out all the public works necessary for the general maintenance and improvement of the pans. The manufacturers sell all the salt manufactured by them to the Sirkar at a fixed rate. Locally-made salt is as good as the foreign stuff. Not long ago a private contractor was permitted to manufacture salt locally and very recently a company of private traders has been formed. It has already begun work with 100 pans and the produce is said to be of very good quality. At a recent conference of salt officers held under the presidency of the Dewan of Travancore, it was resolved that the State should eventually be made independent of foreign salt by encouraging home manufacture. The future of the salt manufacturing industry is thus full of promise.

Pottery, Bricks and Tiles.

Pottery is a very ancient and important industry. In the Hindu lore the profession is sanctified by Brahma the Creator being designated the chief potter. There are no houses in the country even of the poorest classes which do not use earthen pitchers, water jars, cooking pots, dishes and other vessels made by the potter. He is, by virtue of his calling, an important factor in the village organization.

The potter's wheel is a very simple and rude contrivance, and of this primitive wheel comes every day in every part of India, some of the finest pottery. It consists of a horizontal fly-wheel 2 or 3 feet in diameter loaded heavily with clay round the rim and put in motion by the hand. Once set spinning, it revolves for 5 or 10 minutes with a perfectly steady motion. The clay to be moulded is heaped in the centre of the wheel and the potter squats down on the ground before it. When a few vigorous turns are given, away spins the wheel round and round still and silent as a sleeping top, when at once the shapeless mass of clay begins to grow under the potter's hand into all sorts of

faultless forms, which are then carried to be dried and baked as fast as they are thrown away from the wheel. Any polishing is done by rubbing the baked jars and pots with pebble. The Indian potter shows thoroughly artistic work in his creation and the red earthenware pottery of Travancore is one of the principal varieties of fancy pottery in which artistic effect is sought to be produced. Some very fine pottery is being made in the Trivandrum School of Arts.

The round tube-like hollow tiles of the East Coast, used only in South Travancore, are also made in the potter's wheels. But the indigenous variety of tiles peculiar to Malabar are manufactured in the same manner as the bricks. The semi-solid clay prepared according to the *recipe* known to every potter is spread on level ground and allowed to dry for two or three days. It is then cut into the required sizes and shapes by a sharp-edged piece of wood or other instrument and left to dry a little more. The bricks of tiles are then collected and headed into a kiln constructed in the form of a rectangle with a number of holes on all the sides. Dry twigs and firewood are strewn at the top and at the bottom of the heap and also one or more layers inside it are burnt. After sufficient burning they are removed and are ready for use.

Toddy Drawing.

Toddy is a saccharine juice obtained by excision of the spadix or young flowering branch of the palmyra, cocoanut, sago, and other palms of which the first two are the most important. The process of drawing toddy is as follows. When the spadix is a month or a month and a half old, the toddy drawer begins his work by binding the sheath to prevent its expansion, after which he cuts about an inch off the end and then gently hammers the flowers, which are thereby exposed, with the handle of the knife or a piece of hard wood or bone. Finally he binds up the end with a broad strip of fibre. The hammering is repeated both morning and evening for 8 to 15 days, a thin slice being cut away on each occasion till the spadix is ready to yield toddy which can be easily recognized by the chattering of birds, crowding of insects and other unmistakable signs. When ready the end of the spadix is fixed into a small pot and a small strip of leaf is pricked into the flower to catch the oozing liquor and to convey the drops without wasting clear into the vessel. The juice exudes and drops into the earthen pot. It is collected every morning when the vessel is emptied and replaced as before and this is repeated daily until the tree is exhausted and yields no more. The yield will be about

half a gallon a day in the beginning but will gradually decrease, and after a period of about 40 or 50 days stop. The juice of the cocoanut tree is sweet toddy. In the early morning it is a pleasant drink, but it ferments towards night and is intoxicating.

Palmyra toddy is, though agreeable, inferior to the cocoanut toddy. It is very intoxicating and is largely drunk by the lower classes after a hard day's work in the fields or topes.

Sugar, Molasses and Jaggery.

Coarse brown or black sugar is made by boiling down over a slow fire the juice or toddy drawn from the palmyra, the cocoanut or other palms. Jaggery is the hardened lump of the thick waxy syrup which is obtained by boiling for a considerable time, toddy with powdered lime.

If sugar has to be extracted, the boiling ceases a little earlier than is required for the making of jaggery, and when it is warm, it is placed in baskets and allowed to drain. The watery portion that drops into a pan placed below is Molasses.

Cadjan, Mat and Rattan Work.

Cadjan umbrellas are a peculiarity of this coast, and no other part of Southern India produces similar ones. They are cheaper, last longer, stand rougher wear, and give more protection against sun and rain than cloth umbrellas, which are, however, fast displacing them, partly owing to the advantage of their being folded and partly to the fashion of the day. Cadjan fans are also largely used during the hot weather and they are very cheap. Cadjan leaves are also woven into rough mats.

Mats of North Travancore are made from the reed called '*Korai*' but only rough mats are so made. The leaves of the *Pandanus* are woven into very fine mats which are prized highly for their smoothness.

The rattan work of Travancore is noted for its skilled workmanship. The Neduvangad hills yield very good canes, and the Koravars all along the base are great experts in rattan work. They make boxes, plates, baskets and other useful articles. Wurkalay (Janardhanom) and the surrounding places are famous for this kind of workmanship.

The abundance of material and the superior intelligence of the true Malabar population are two great factors in favour of our industries and it may therefore be safely predicted that a great future of industrial development and prosperity awaits Travancore before long.

V. NAGAM AIYA.

MANIKKVACAGAR AND THE PROBLEM OF TAMIL LITERATURE.

By Prof. Julien Vinson, Paris.

IN the two numbers of the *Malabar Quarterly Review* previous to the last, Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar fully discussed the question; as my name occurs several times in his article, I ask permission to answer him, or better to express here my actual ideas about the matter, shortly as possible. I must declare, first, that I never pretended to be absolutely right and am always ready to confess my errors, when it is proved I mistook, as for example, in the case of Dr. Burnell's famous foot-note.

I must be allowed too to say that for long the Tamilians were devoid of what may be called the historical sense; they have no written history and all their records are thoroughly mingled with folklore, popular tales, religious events and mythic legends. Almost all personal names of old days appear as mere surnames or even nicknames; so, is it admissible that a child may have been called by his parents, as many great Tamil writers were, *Kakkeippadiniyar* "the sweet crow singer," or *Parimelalagar* "the superior beautiful" one?

Manikkavaçagar (*Sk. Manikyavacaka* "one whose speeches are precious jewels") is known as a great Tamil Poet, an energetic Saiva devotee, a valiant minister of the Pandiya king Arimarddana. Moreover he is said to have overthrown and converted some Buddhist priests who had come from Ceylon to Sidambaram. At what time then did he possibly live and flourish?

We are able to affirm that it cannot be delayed later than the tenth or eleventh century A. D. The Madras Government Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya, informs us, in his last annual report, that one inscription was lately discovered, in which king Vikramachola, about the year 1135, ordered a provision to be made for the singing of one of Manikkavaçagar's hymns *Tiruchchalal*. So, in the beginning of the twelth century, Manikkavaçagar was already a celebrated poet and a venerated holy saint throughout the whole Tamil country. He must then have been dead more than a century before.

Very little is to be got from the works of this renowned saint. And we may perhaps doubt whether he really is the author of all the poems which are ascribed to him. I was ever of opinion that the

Kalladam, for example, was composed prior to the *Kovei*; its style and metre appear more archaic, and we find in it many traces of the primitive manners and beliefs of the lower people, frequent allusions to conjurors, sorcerers, soothsayers &c., on the one hand, and of ghosts, goblins, evil spirits, vampires, on the other. Moreover, Tamil works cannot throw much light by themselves on historical problems because many modern writers have mistakenly copied out old authors, according to the rule later formulated by Pavanandi: "On what matters, with what words, in what way, high men—have spoken; so to speak, is the convenience of style."

"எப்பொருளெச்சொலி னெவ்வாறுயர்ந்தோர்
செப்பினரப்படி செப்புதன்மரபே."

But we may believe at best *Tiruvacagam* is Manikkavaçagar's work, and we must see at what period of Tamil Literature it is to be brought up. The problem, to be solved, must be examined at three points of view, viz., the literary, the religious and the historical one.

Some learned native scholars have said that the Tamilians had attained a high degree of civilisation and possessed a rich literature and a perfect writing system of their own, much before the Christian era, at a time when their country extended over a large space of land southward of Cape Comorin. But these statements have always appeared to me as a mere hypothesis, to which nothing affords the slightest support. No fragment whatever of a work, not a single remain of inscription, not even an original tale or tradition, can be produced in its favour. As regards writing for example, Mr. Burnell admitted that the *Vatteluthu* might have been directly borrowed by the old Dravidians from some semitic traders or travellers; but one cannot doubt now that it originated from the northern Aryan alphabets: the forms for *k*, *c*, *t*, the confusion of long and short *e*, and *o*, and many other particulars prove it unquestionably. It is almost certain that writing was introduced in Southern India in the third century of the Christian era, and we must observe the oldest documents are in the Sanskrit language only. Old grants and inscriptions generally contain two parts, an eulogistic, mythical and historical one in verse and an administrative or official in prose, sometimes in the Prakrit or spoken language. Later, vernaculars (Tamil, Canarese, Telegu) are used in the prose official part; still later, Tamil occurs in the poetical eulogy in the *agaval* metre which is known to be the oldest of all; more recent documents are found to be written in the Vernacular prose only. Are

we not authorised to conclude from this that the writers of these documents were originally strangers who generally became acquainted with local idioms and used them more and more? It is highly probable that the Aryanisation of South India was peacefully and progressively made. The Aryan immigrants, being principally Brahmans and warriors, settled themselves in towns and formed separate communities there; it was only by their intercourse with the native, in subsequent days, that they began to learn, use and write original languages and taught the native to write and compose literary works. The first Tamil, Canarese or Telugu writers were evidently Brahmans of northern origin and religion. Not one Tamil, Canarese or Telugu book now in existence is independent of Sanskrit.

Moreover, Tamil literature is nearly related to religious events. When we try to get a general view of it, we become bound to the necessity of acknowledging it must be divided in distinct periods, each of which corresponds to a special religious activity, but we must admit, before all, a preliminary, preparatory period; then came the time in which Jainas and perhaps Buddhists were flourishing; then, the Saivists grew up and began to engage in a long and violent struggle with these heretics; then Saivism became predominant. In later times we see Vaishnavas interfering, in the same epoch as so many Tamil Puranas were composed embodying many old local primitive deities, uses, superstitions and legends. The last period,—the modern one, can be considered as beginning with the arrival of the European settlers, about the end of the fifteenth century.

Now, let us turn to *Tiruvacagam* and other works of Manikkavacagar. They were evidently written in the militant period of Tamil Literature, viz., in the third one. But writing having been introduced in the Dravida about the third century, it cannot have become current and be applied to the Vernacular languages before the fourth; and the preliminary period, the *Jaina* period, which followed certainly lasted something on two or three centuries. So that, Manikkavacagar cannot have lived and written earlier than the seventh or eighth century.

Historically, Manikkavacagar was a contemporary of king Varagunapandya, whose name is quoted in his works; and this king is probably the same named prince who, as we know, ascended the throne in the year 862-863. Moreover, in the legends of his life, our great saint is said to have been the prime minister of Arimarddana

Pandya. Who this is we cannot decide, as he has not been yet identified. But he appears as the 61st or 63rd in the list of the 74 monarchs who reigned in Madura before the overthrowing of their power by the Chola. This important event took place under the reign of Rajendra Chola, towards the middle of the eleventh century; and if we assign, as usual, 20 years to each of the 10 or 12 kings who reigned between Arimarddana and Kun Pandya, the last independent sovereign, we find Manikkavaçagar must have lived at the beginning of the ninth century.

My conclusion will be then that Manikkavaçagar's age is very probably the just said ninth century (800—900) of the Christian era.

PROF. JULIEN VINSON

THE NAMBUDIRIS—III.

By Mr. N. Subbaraya Aiyar.

THE Nambudiris are governed in their social life by a system of rules called the sixty-four *Anacharams* of Kerala, (peculiar customs of Malabar) said to have been introduced by the renowned Parasurama and the great Vedantist Sri Sankaracharya. One version of the list will be found in the Indian Antiquary Vol. IV, page 255 "An *anacharam* is a custom peculiar to Kerala and not found prevailing in any other part of India." These anacharams lay down rules regulating bath, pollution, meals, marriage, inheritance &c., among the different grades of society in Kerala.

The most important of these *anacharams* are the following:—

1. Males should have fore-locks.
2. The eldest son alone should get married.
3. The other sons may terminate their studentship or bachelor's life by performing a ceremony called *Samavarthana*, after which alone can they consort with Sudra women.
4. Those who demand partition should forfeit caste.
5. Corpses should be burnt in the compounds of the houses.
6. Married men should wear only one thread.
7. Girls may be given in marriage even after puberty.
8. Widows should keep their locks of hair and not to perform Sati.
9. Sudra women should attend and serve food to antharjanams when in child-bed.
10. Women should wear white cloths.
11. Women should be sparing in their personal decorations.
12. Women, when accused of adultery, should be tried by a caste assembly.
13. Nambudiris should not bow to, or receive benediction from, one another.
14. *Sapindi* of parents should be performed at the close of the first year of death.
15. The anniversary of a deceased member should be performed on the day on which the star of his death falls.
16. An adopted son should perform Sradhas of his natural parents also.

17. Nambudiri women should not bore their noses.
18. Women in menses should not be required to keep themselves aloof.
19. Sradhas of paternal and maternal grandfathers and their wifes should be performed.
20. Nambudiris may shave even after meals.
21. They should not bathe in a tank with clothes worn on their person.
22. They should not bathe before sunrise.
23. They should not chew betel while in pollution.
24. They should not spin cotton.
25. They should not wash their own cloths.
26. They must observe *Deeksha* i. e., they must grow their hair for one complete year on the death of their father and mother.
27. Their women should not look at any person other than their own husbands.
28. Their women should not go out without a maid servant.

The rules which regulate the conduct of women amongst the Nambudiris are very stringent. When an *Anatharjanam* is suspected of adultery, the Karanavan or head of the house communicates the fact to his co-caste neighbours and the Vydeekan of the Gramam or village to which the female belongs. All persons implicated are then placed under an interdict and the woman is put in an out-house of the illam called *Anchampura*, under proper guard and the matter is reported to the king. The Vydeekan of the Gramam holds a preliminary enquiry, called *Soodrivicharam*, because the Vrishali or Sudra maid servant who attends on the woman is examined as the principal witness. The woman is thenceforth called in contempt a *Sadhanam* (a thing). The Rajah sends deputies or representations called *Akakoyima* and *Porakoyma* (the inner and outer representatives), Mimamsikas and a Smarthan. These constitute a Court of Enquiry or Punchayat, called *Smartha Vicharam*. The Smarthan Vicharam or court is held in an outhouse of the culprit's illam. The Smarthan then commences the enquiry, the conduct of which is superintended by the representatives of the Rajah and four Mimamsikas. The culprit is brought before the assembly and made to stand behind a curtain. The Smarthan then examines her and the witnesses. If she is found innocent, the assembly falls prostrate at her feet and asks pardon for the offence given her. If she is found guilty, a day is appointed to

pronounce and carry out the sentence, which is generally declared in a public place, in the presence of the woman. A Paradesi (Patter) Brahman whose services are engaged for the occasion, stands on a bench and, with clapping of hands, proclaims the verdict of the assembly to her and the public, viz., that she is found guilty of adultery and that she is outcasted. Immediately her face-sheltering umbrella and the covering cloth are snatched away from the woman and are destroyed then and there. She is considered as dead by her relations and funeral ceremonies are performed for her. After this the other members of the family perform expiatory ceremonies and purificatory rites as prescribed by the Vydeekan. A feast is then held in the Illam called *Sudhabhojanam* by which the other members of the Illam, under suspension, are readmitted to their caste privileges. The excommunicated woman is, in all cases, allowed the option of taking her abode at a distance from the Illam and living there upon the provision that may be made for her maintenance by the Illam or, to be fed at one of the Sirkar Choultries if the case occurs in Cochin or Travancore. She is also at liberty to live with her guilty partner.

If the outcasted woman has children, such of them as were born after the commencement of her guilty career, as found by the Panchayat are expelled from the Illam as *Kulathil pattavar* (children born of a polluted womb) and these innocent children are allowed to mix with Chakyars and Nambyars. All males suspected of having had illicit intercourse with the outcasted woman, are also outcasted, but only when their guilt is clearly proved.

The rulers of Cochin and Travancore issue the writs convening a Panchayat or committee of enquiry in the cases of offences committed within their territory. The Zamorin of Calicut and other chiefs and Rajahs also continue to exercise the privilege of issuing such orders in regard to cases occurring in Malabar.

Parasu Rama has ordained that among Nambudiris only the eldest son should marry and that the son born to him would be son to the family. If the eldest son has no issue by the first wife, he may marry again. If he is disqualified for an issue or dies without issue, the next younger brother may marry and so on until the object is attained. If the younger brother marries without justifiable grounds, the marriage shall not become invalid, but this is rare. If a Nambudiri has sons by the first and second wives, the son who is senior in age alone is entitled to marrry, regard being not had to the order. If

there are five or six unmarried girls in a family, the eldest son may marry three girls and his younger brothers may also marry with the consent of the eldest. If a son be born to one of the younger brothers before the birth of a son to the eldest, the younger brother's son alone will be entitled to marry in preference to the eldest brother's son.

The Brahmans of Payyanur known as Ammavans give their girls in marriage to Brahmans of other villages in due form and take them back to their own families. The children born to them do not inherit their father's properties, but only their maternal uncle's. They are entitled to perform their father's funeral ceremonies.

In Malabar the marriage of the Brahmans is of two kinds. The first is the ordinary form and the other is known as the *Sarwaswadanam*. When a Nambudiri Illam is in danger of becoming extinct it is a common practice to give the daughter of that illam in marriage to a Nambudiri and keep him in that illam. This is termed *Sarwaswadanam* marriage. It must be noted that the children born to him are not entitled to his tarwad property. But if there be no male issue in his family one of his sons born in the *Sarwaswadanam* marriage may be made heir to that illam. The eldest son in a family is not allowed to contract a *Sarwaswadanam* marriage.

All the eight classes of Nambudiris excepting those of Payyanur Gramam follow sucession in the male line or Marumakkathayam law of inheritance.

The Elayathus follow Makkathayam. The Moothathus are *Marumakkathayees* according to the Kerala Mahatmyam, but they now follow Makkathayam. *Karanavan* in Malabar includes an elder brother, father and others among those who inherit from father to son. Generally the Karanavan manages the family affairs.

The family of a Brahman in Malabar is salled *Santhathi Brahmaswom*. All the members of an illam excluding those that are married, are entitled to get food, cloths and other necessary expenses from the tarwad

Malabar law recognizes various forms of affiliation. They are (1) adoption, (2) appointment, (3) Sarwaswadanam. The last two forms are peculiar to the Nambudiris while the first is recognized among the Nambudiris and Nayars.

There are three kinds of adoption in vogue in Malabar, viz., (1) adoption by the hands, i. e., by the hands of the adopters (male

and female) the adoptee and the adopter's parents or guardians. (2) adoption by *Chamatha—Chenchamatha adoption*—by burning a pan of sacred grass. (3) adoption by merely taking into the family. There is no limit to the age or number of persons adopted.

An Antharjanam has the power to appoint a male as heir to succeed to the property belonging to her illam, in the absence of relations within ten or three days' pollution. The two powers which an Antharjanam is said to possess are (1) a power to appoint an heir to perpetuate her illam which is otherwise to become extinct for want of heirs and (2) a power to direct a Nambudiri to marry again especially for the illam on the understanding that the son, if any, born of that marriage, shall be heir to that illam.

The Nambudiris burn their dead. In cases of death by cholera or small-pox, they generally bury the dead. *Udakakriya* or funeral oblation in water, *Sanchayana* which consists in the picking up of bones from the funeral pyre and the daily *balies* or offerings of rice, are the chief ceremonies performed during the period of pollution which lasts for ten days. It has to be noted here that the Nayar Cheethian is an important factor in these ceremonies. The holy grass (*Kusa*) and the leaves of *Cherupoola* (achyranthes lanota) and gingelly seed have to be put into the hands of the Nambudiris by him. *Pindam* or offerings of boiled rice for the benefit of the departed soul is celebrated on the eleventh day with grand feasts. They observe *Deeksha* which commences from the eleventh day and terminates with the *Masom* ceremony at the end of one year. All the sons observe *Deeksha* on the death of their father and mother, which is not the case with other classes of Brahmans. During the period of *Deeksha* they perform *balies* and feed a Brahman daily and they are not allowed to shave, chew betel &c.

During the period of death pollution, the Nambudiris should avoid pollution by the touch or approach of low caste men and women and they are not allowed to eat anything except rice, fruits and roots. Ghee, milk and salt are prohibited. The widow should subsist upon fruits and roots alone during the period of pollution consequent on her husband's death.

Thus it is only among the Brahmans of Kerala that we find many relics of Vedic Brahmanism; it is only among this class of Brahmans that worship and propitiation quite in accord with vedic precepts are adhered to; and it is only these Brahmans—the Nambudiris—that

perform with scrupulous regularity and punctuality their daily ablutions and study and recite Vedas with accuracy. The life of the Nambudiri is still, as was of yore, regulated by well-defined rules based on religious ideas and any deviation, however insignificant it may be, is taken serious notice of and severely censured. There is religion in his baths and food; religion in his study of the Vedas and Sastras; religion in every one of his acts. In fact, the Nambudiri "lives in religion, moves in religion and has his being in religion."

N. SUBBARAYA AIYAR.

TOBACCO.

By Prof. K. K. Bernard, M. A.

"When all things were made, none was made better than tobacco; to be a lonely man's friend, a bachelor's companion, a hungry man's food, a sad man's cordial, a wakeful man's sleep, and a chilly man's fire. There is no herb like it under the canopy of heaven." —Ch. Kingsley in *Westward Ho!*.

Smoking is "a custom loathesome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs; and in the black stinking fumes thereof, resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."

King James I in *Counterblast*.

Many and diverse are the opinions expressed, and perplexingly conflicting the views held about the virtues and qualities of this most unique of herbs under the sun.* To the admirers of the "divine tobacco" (as Spenser called it) no praises are too high, no encomiums and eulogies too great to express the ardour of their enthusiastic appreciation of the virtues and soothing qualities of the plant; as Kingsley put it, "there is no herb like it under the canopy of heaven". One rapturous devotee addresses it thus:

"Tobacco, tobacco, preserver of my life.
Tobacco, tobacco, dearer than my wife!"

(I suspect there must have been something radically wrong about his marital relations). Whereas, to the anti-tobacco Leaguer and others of that ilk, it seems to be the very embodiment of all that is evil, and

* An apologue which neatly sums up the good and bad points of Tobacco may be given here. Once when the Prophet was taking a stroll in the country, he saw a serpent, stiff with cold, lying on the ground. He compassionately took it up and warmed it in his bosom. When the serpent had recovered, it said "Divine Prophet listen, I am now going to bite thee."

"Why pray" inquired Mahomet.

"Because thy race persecutes mine and tries to stamp it out.

"But does not thy race make perpetual war against mine?" was the Prophet's rejoinder. "How cans't thou, besides, be so ungrateful and so soon forget that I saved thy life?"

"There is no such thing as gratitude upon the earth" replied the serpent "and if I were to spare thee now either thou or another of thy race would kill me. By Allah I shall bite thee."

"If thou hast sworn by Allah, I will not cause thee to break thy vow" said the prophet, holding his hand to the serpent's mouth. The serpent bit him, but he sucked the wound with his lips and spat the venom on the ground. And on that very spot sprang up a plant which combines within itself the venom of the serpent and the compassion of the Prophet. Men call this plant by the name of tobacco."—Ed. M. Q. R.

the smoke of the pipe or cigar but a prelude to the fires of hell!

I am sure the reader is very much interested in this subject. If I am not mistaken, three out of every four men that shall read this article are consumers of the fragrant weed. I propose, therefore, to consider, for the delectation of the readers, the arguments that are adduced in favour of the gentle art of smoking, the reasonable explanation for the very wide prevalence of the 'tobacco habit.', as well as the objections that are brought against it on various grounds. Before proceeding to do so, however, I shall give a brief account, general and historical, of the plant itself.

Tobacco, as the reader is aware, is the dried and cured leaf of the plant Nicotiana, of the natural order of Solanaceæ. It was one of the articles whose knowledge was introduced into Europe by Columbus. In November 1492, a party sent out by Columbus from the vessels of his first expedition to explore the island of Cuba brought back the information that they had seen people with lighted firebrands in their mouths. The habit of snuffing was first observed by Ramon Pane, a Franciscan, who had accompanied Columbus on his second expedition. The plant itself was first brought to Europe in 1558 by Francisco Fernando, a physician who was sent out by Philip II to investigate the products of Mexico; and the seeds were brought to Europe by Jean Nicol, to Catherine Medici.

At first, the plant was supposed to possess almost miraculous powers, and was called 'herba santa', 'Sarca Sancta Indorum'. Ralph Lane, the first Governor of Vriginia, and Sir Francis Drake brought, in 1586 the implements and materials of smoking to Raleigh. The reader is, I presume, acquainted with the story of how Sir Walter was found by his faithful steward with a firebrand sticking out of his mouth, and smoke issuing out therefrom; and fearing that his master had taken fire, he poured a bucketful of water on his head. Raleigh it was who introduced the fashion of smoking into England; and, we are told, he smoked a pipe even a little before going to the scaffold. In the 17th century, the habit spread rapidly over Europe; and that, "in face of the most determined opposition of statesmen and priests, the "Counterblast" of a great monarch, penal enactments of the most severe description, the knout, excommunication, and even capital punishment".

Balfour, in the 'Cyclopædia of India' says, "In several of the countries to which it has been brought, its use has been opposed, but

it supplies some want of the human system, or affords some gratification which indicates a want. It has rarely caused injury, is believed to render alcoholic stimulants less requisite, and the general belief among physicians and non-medical men is, that it is useful as a narcotic stimulant where there is much mental toil."

It is stated in the 'Kulasat-ut-tawarikh' that tobacco was introduced into India by the Portuguese in the reign of Akbar. Jehanghir, in the 14th year of his reign, forbade the practice under penalty of having the lips cut.

In its physiological action, tobacco is a stimulant as well as a sedative. Dr. James Johnson, one time Professor of Chemistry in the University of Durham, and one of the greatest authorities on the things of common life, states that "the greater and first effect of tobacco is to assuage pain and soothe the system in general, which its lesser and secondary effect is to excite and invigorate, and, at the same time, give steadiness and fixity to the powers of thought."

I shall proceed now to consider the indictment that the anti-tobacco societies and other officiously philanthropic individuals have to make against what they call the pernicious and foul habit of smoking. The charges are that it causes decrease of mental and bodily vigour, anœmia, palpitation, intermittent pulse, weakness of heart, circulatory troubles, tobacco amblyopia (a particular affection of the eyes), &c., &c. 'In fact, if all the evil that is told of tobacco were true, the human race would have come to an end by now. We know a little of the evil, and it is generally the evil of excess, which equally applies to all the other necessaries of life; for instance, meat and bread. These latter, consumed reasonably are friends; when immoderately used, they are just as baneful, and quite as permanently injurious as even over-indulgence in alcohol.'

Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" had remarked centuries ago, "Tobacco, divine, rare, super-excellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all panaceas, potable gold and philosopher's stone is a sovereign remedy in all diseases, a good vomit, a virtuous herb if *it be well qualified, opportunely taken and medically used.* But, as it is commonly abused by most men, who take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purge, and the overthrow of body and soul.'

It must be remembered that much of the evil that is attributed to tobacco is really caused by the injurious chemicals &c., that are used in "faking" and flavouring inferior tobacco, specially in the

manufacture of cheap cigarettes and "bird's eye." Not infrequently we are told, the cheap cigarette is made of cabbage leaves cut up fine and "faked" with a strong infusion of old and refuse tobacco, nitre &c. No wonder if the smoking of such an article should cause harm!

I may state here, in parenthesis, that whatever may be the opinions expressed in this article on the general subject of smoking, I cannot but condemn most unqualifiedly, the pernicious habit of little boys and youths smoking the cheap and nasty cigarettes that are sold so largely for a nickel. I entirely approve of the U. S. Government, which has made juvenile smoking a punishable offence, and it would be no bad thing if a similar law were made applicable in our country as well, making the smoking of cigarettes by youths under sixteen a crime against society and the best interests of the community. The insidious nature of the evil arises from the smallness of the cigarette, the comparative shortness of duration of each individual smoke, and the habit of inhaling the smoke into the lungs.

With the above reservation (which I feel my duty to make, lest I should seem to encourage any juvenile reader of this magazine in his precocious smoking habit), I consider the reasonable use of tobacco (smoking) as not only not injurious, but helpful in many respects. But I shall commend my position to the acceptation of my readers more surely by quoting the statements of eminent doctors and others who have a right to speak with authority on the subject, than by merely giving my layman's opinion about it. Dr. Jonathan Perreira says: "I am not acquainted with any well ascertained ill-effects resulting from the habitual practice of smoking". Sir Robert Christison concludes; "In many individuals who use it habitually, the smoke has an exhilarating power in removing exhaustion, listlessness and restlessness, especially when brought on by bodily or mental fatigue. Again, Sir Lauder Brunton, the great authority on therapeutics, has shown the value of it to the brain-worker. Other medical men freely admit it to be an essential for the man of muscle strenuously working under privation.' All the war-offices in the world have come to realize its virtues in this last respect and serve it now as an indispensable item of the soldier's ration on active service.

But it is not alone in this respect that tobacco is recognised as of usefulness. "A leading French Magistrate regards it as an admirable peacemaker; a factor that makes for law-abiding among citizens." He says that during his long magisterial experience, he has never known

any violent crime committed by a man with pipe, cigar or cigarette in his mouth. Dr. Forbes Winslow, the well-known specialist on mental diseases, says, "In all my experience of more than a quarter of a century I never heard of any one committing a crime while smoking..... Smoking acts as a sedative to the nervous system and serves to soothe the passion, and quell violent instincts. If an individual were contemplating murder in cold blood while walking in the street and he stopped to smoke a pipe on reaching home, I should say that the effect would be that the tobacco fumes would soothe him down—and the murder would in all probability remain uncommitted.

What wonder, then, that smoking is persisted in. As Locke says "Bread or tobacco may be neglected but reason at first recommends their trial, and custom makes them pleasant". That smoking makes for sobriety cannot be doubted. An eastern traveller has told us that "it is a sufficient luxury for many who, without it, would have recourse to intoxicating beverages, merely to pass away hours of idleness". Another eminent authority in the 'Journal of the Statistical Society' thinks that "it can hardly be doubted that tobacco must, to a certain extent, have contributed to the sobriety of Asiatic and European nations". Finally, in the words of R. L. Stevenson, who says in his *Virginibus Puerisque*—No woman should marry a teetotaller or a man that does not smoke. It is not for nothing that this "ignoble tabagie" as Mitchelet calls it spreads over all the world. Mitchelet rails against it because it renders you happy apart from thought or work. To provident women this will seem no evil influence in married life. Whatever keeps a man in the front garden, whatever checks wandering fancy and all inordinate ambition, whatever makes for lounging and contentment, makes just so surely for domestic happiness.

PROF. K. K. BERNARD.

SOCIAL REFORM

By. Mr. K. Sadasivam Pillai.

THE very fact that an event which in a more enlightened society would have passed off as a common occurrence has, in our country, evoked much talk and more comment in the leading newspapers points to the still passive, if not actively hostile, attitude of the people towards matters social. I recall to memory the recent remarriage of Justice Mr. Mukherjee's widowed daughter. Despite the high position and consequent importance of that courageous innovator adverse comment was in no way wanting and even resort was had to the civil court to prevent, if possible, the remarriage of the widowed girl-wife. Had the family been one of ordinary status with less wealth, influence and moral support, it would have been, in all probability, hooted at and excommunicated and kept apart ever after from fire and water. No apology would, therefore, be needed for making an attempt to impress on the people the rationale of, and, impliedly, the necessity for, social reform.

The generality of mankind do not look beneath the surface of any topic and the usual way of dealing with a subject of this kind is by enumerating the many evils that are traceable to a given custom and prescribing what are thought to be suitable antidotes. In doing so, primary causes are confounded with secondary ones and the one principle which pervades through all the varied *forms* of evil is entirely lost sight of. Taking, for example, the existing caste system, the thousand and one evils which it has given rise to are dwelt upon and described with minute detail while the obviously more important question of the how and the why of these receives, if at all, but scanty attention.

With reference to what all-pervading principle are we then, to consider the subject of social reform? Are social reforms, after all, so very necessary for the well-being of a people as many think them to be? Considering the trouble, dissension and even physical pain which are always incidental to every act of innovation or purification would it not be consistent with wisdom and policy to let things alone grounding, meanwhile, our hope, on the silent but certain workings of Providence?

In our answer to the first question lies the essence of any reform

whatever. Apart from its teleological aspect, is there any law to which reform howsoever directed may be said to conform itself? We answer: "Yes. There is one law and that is the law of all progress." Social progress is but a limited phase of that universal progress which philosophers term evolution and as such it is governed by the same law. "From the remotest past which science can fathom," writes Mr. Herbert Spencer in his elaborate essay on *Progress: Its law and cause*, "up to the novelties of yesterday, that in which progress essentially consists, is the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous." Mr. Spencer subsequently modified his statement by introducing another element into the field—increase of coherence—so that he found that the line of growth is "at once towards complete separateness and complete union." Granting the law as conclusively proved in its entirety, we infer that, other things equal, whatever makes for heterogeneity and coherence makes also for progress and whatever arrests these arrests progress also.

Let us now apply this law to one of the institutions the reform of which occupies at present the energies of our 'go-ahead' men, to wit caste system. Let us see to what extent and in what degree that time-honoured institution has furthered or impeded and still furthers or impedes the process of transformation. When we have ascertained this we must be held competent to pronounce our verdict of 'not guilty' or 'guilty'.

Taking caste system, we can safely assert it to have been in existence in some incipient form long before legislation gave it definiteness. Its subsequent legislative recognition should have endowed it with permanency and this permanency should have gradually given the impetus to the increase of heterogeneity. The proximate effect of caste legislation was, therefore, decidedly towards heterogeneity. Take, for instance, the Brahmin with his matutinal ablutions, his routine of incantations and prayers, his freshly-cooked non-meat diet, his clean and sufficient clothing, the regular exercise which he took under the form of daily worship and the comparatively lettered ease or amusement in which he spent the hottest part of the day. While making possible a large amount of personal comfort, these special causes would fit him for intellectual pursuits; ample time could be spared for meditation, thought and study and thus the seeds would be sown of Metaphysics, Ethics, Medicine, Astronomy and Occult Science.

Contrast this with the hard conditions of the Sudra's existence. His whole life would be one round of menial service. Scanty fare,

insufficient clothing, hard, prolonged work, perpetual bondage and obedience to another's will would produce effects the very opposite of what would be in the case of a Brahmin.

Take again the case of a Kshatriya. Following a profession of which the sword and the javelin were the necessary adjuncts he would acquire hardihood, rude chivalry, self-reliance, aggressiveness and suppleness and agility. The gods he adored and propitiated would be quite in keeping with the horrid nature of his profession. Physical strength being his chief requirement, he would adapt his food accordingly. He would evince no inclination for those higher pursuits which gave to the Brahmin's life all its spiciness. While depending on the state or his employer for the satisfaction of his temporal wants he would have to consign his spiritual advancement to the care of his spiritual overlord, the Brahmin.

Time would intensify the dissimilarities thus caused and what were once conventional distinctions would become natural ones. The acquired characteristics might induce constitutional changes which would be transmitted to the offspring. Faculties which had been constantly exercised would be further developed while faculties which had lain dormant would become extinct gradually. Cleverness and efficiency in certain modes of activity would be combined with dullness and inefficiency in other modes. The manufacture of implements and tools would be excelled in by the artisan class but despised by the other classes. The more interdependent the classes grew on each other the more their capability would be in certain respects and the more their inaptitude in others; there would thus be further divergence from the points of similarity. Thus far the transformation would be heterogeneous.

It must, however, be noted that it could not have been wholly a case of dissimilarities. On the other hand, the common forms of worship, the observance of common ceremonies and the common customs of enforced widowhood and child-marriage would produce identical results in all the castes. There would also be a tendency for each caste to approximate itself to the caste just above it by imitation and a decided bent would be given for the formation of very similar characteristics. Even at the present day one cannot fail to observe the persistent efforts of the lower castes to reach what they believe to be the higher level of the more favoured castes. Not only as regards customs but even in many of the minor details of life do we find an incessant struggle to rise upwards. How many have not laughed

at the feeble efforts of the social pariah to accustom himself to the refined language of his superior in caste? How many have not appropriated to themselves higher caste titles who have no birthright to it? What sacrifices are not made to intermarry into a family of a higher standing? All these are evidences of the subtle causes which should have operated in producing innumerable similarities. One common characteristic would be the parent of many characteristics and each of these latter would give birth to many more of a like nature. Add to this the further fact that the restrictions imposed by rigid customs could only arrest all tendency to heterogeneity. However strong might be individual proclivities towards dissimilarity, the conditions of existence would compel the conformation of individuals to the enactments of society which could not be practically disregarded with impunity.

Among the individuals composing each caste the tendency would be towards homogeneity. Widely as the castes themselves would differ from each other, there would be repetition of the same moral and intellectual characteristics among the former; so that at the end of a sufficiently long period during which the similarities had been repeated times out of number a Brahmin would remain characteristically a Brahmin, a Kshatriya, a Kshatriya, and a Sudra, a Sudra. Partaking of the same kind of food, practising the same kinds of arts, following the same kinds of occupations and living under nearly the same conditions, they would develop in themselves a great many similar attributes to the detriment of others equally important. The cringing selfishness of the Brahmin, the loud-mouthed aggressiveness of the Kshatriya, the calculating parsimony of the Vaisya and the servile obsequiousness of the Sudra would become the common characteristics of the castes which they represented.* The priestly class would be intellectually superior to, but physically inferior to, the fighting class; the reverse would hold in the case of the fighting class; while in both respects the serving class would lag far behind. More than this, even the physical constitutions of the individuals of each caste would be so similarly modified as to render them liable to specific forms of disease.

It has been shown that the immediate effect of caste legislation was in the line of heterogeneity. Could progress, then, be held to

* Whatever be the truth of this generalisation, the writer will allow us to interject that not only in vices but also in virtues have the castes probably developed a characteristic similarity within its own ranks and a striking dissimilarity to the members from outside.—Ed, M. Q. R.

have been furthered on that account? Our reply is in the negative. Real progress implies not only the increase of heterogeneity but that of coherence also. In the absence of the latter, heterogeneity will make but for dissolution.

Let us now see whether the increase of heterogeneity thus caused was accompanied by the requisite increase of coherence. Doubtless, there was interdependence of the different castes on one another but this interdependence was only in respect of those activities which conduced directly to the general up-keep of society. The Brahmin catered to the spiritual craving of the people, the Kshatriya fought the national battles, the Sudra tilled the soil for both and himself, while the Vaisya carried on the commerce of the country. But in their daily intercourse, in the exchange of the amenities of life, each class stood alone. There being no feeling of kinship among the different castes and their interests and pursuits being of ever-diverging character, no sense of nationality could be fostered. Each member of any one caste was a unit without any attraction for the corresponding member of any other caste. All mutual intercourse being thus precluded, each caste set up its own division of labour. The Sudra had his own dhoby, his own barber, his own carpenter and blacksmith, his own village shop-keeper, his own priest who officiated at ceremonies and his own slaves. His intercourse with a member of any of the higher castes was hedged round with ceremonies. He would never feel at home in a Brahmin's house. He could not address a member of that class in terms of intimacy much less of friendship. Mark, for instance, the current way of a Sudra addressing a Brahmin. The Sudra makes his obeisance addressing him as 'swami' and the Brahmin reciprocates it by invoking a blessing on the supplicant. Their respective posture and terms of address point to their original relationship of master and slave. Between these two, who stood in such relationship, could there have been a community of interest except what directly related to the safety of both? No other kind of relationship could have existed among the members of the other castes and their subdivisions. The homage which the Sudra instinctively paid to his Brahmin overlord he would extort from those inferior to him, and any sign of refusal or reluctance would subject the militant member to social degradation or even to personal chastisement. Under these adverse circumstances there could never exist coherence or solidarity and in its absence no increase of heterogeneity could make for real progress.

The same defect would prevail among the various subcastes. The

interests of each subcaste would be at variance with those of other sub-castes so much so that in course of time they would come to possess very little in common. With the increase of homogeneity among the units as shown before and with the gradual decrease of coherence among the aggregates, dissolution that is degeneracy could be the only possible alternative. Its process might for the time be suspended by other influences at work, but in the long run homogeneity would assert itself resulting inevitably in dissolution.

It will be seen that the like effects are produced, perhaps in greater intensity, in respect of the Indian women. The deterrent influences to which they are subjected begin in the impressionable period of girl-hood and end only with their death, so that more in the case of women than in the case of men are those influences productive of homogeneity. Consider what a large number of girls are brought under the pressure of identical customs, early marriage, enforced widowhood, and life-long seclusion and consider also how similar the consequences must be. The first arrests the growth of mind and body, the second limits in an equal degree the scope of complete living, while the third throughout life causes the same narrowness of aims, aspirations and outlook. The superstitious beliefs they are born to, the ideas of duty that are instilled in them, the methods to which they are accustomed in training their children and the pastimes and amusements which they have access to—all exhibit the same striking similarity. Original differentiations excepted, their household drudgeries which are of a piece in all the castes tend to cause the same internal modifications the outward expressions of which are, therefore, so very similar. To cite a single illustration, the Indian women's graceful mode of walking which so much pleases the eye of a foreigner is due to their habit of carrying water-pots in a peculiar fashion. In the Brahmin mistress who claims an Aryan descent as well as in her non-Aryan maid-servant the mental and moral traits are almost identical. A Hindu widow, whichever caste she may belong to, has to face the same rigidity of life even in its minor details which, in sufficient time, engenders similar characteristics. Add to these causes their illiteracy and the ignorance in which they are forced to spin out their web of life and you will agree that there is small cause to wonder at the striking parallelism they exhibit.

K. SADASIVAM PILLAI.

TRAVANCORE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND COMPOSERS—III.

By Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, B. A.

I shall next deal with Vadivelu Nattuvan, an eminent vocalist, fiddler, and dancing-master, who was attached to the Court of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maha Rajah. A native of Tanjore, he is said to have first settled in Travancore in 1005 M. E. (1830 A. D.) along with his three brothers already referred to. While in Tanjore he was probably known to Tyagayya who was in Tiruvaiyar, six miles from Tanjore. Some even say that Vadivelu was Tyagayya's fiddler for some time. That he was present when Govinda Marar met Tyagayya, seems evident from the testimony of the late Mr. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliyar. His settlement in Travancore was probably some time later. He seems to have won the favour of His Highness, who appreciated his music so highly that he became the court musician on the very handsome salary of Rs. 110 a month. A hundred rupees in those days was something like Rs. 700 at the present day. (It was a time when Tahsildars and Munsiffs were paid Rs. 30 & 40), and the other musicians between Rs. 10 and Rs. 35. This great disparity in pay shows what value His Highness set upon Vadivelu's music. Poetry and Music was the very atmosphere in which His Highness lived and moved and had his being. Dewan Subba Row was himself a musician, and the late Mr. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliyar was present for several musical entertainments at the Dewan's quarters wherein Vadivelu took part. Mr. Mudaliyar remembered him only as a fiddler, probably he never heard his vocal music. Unfortunately, that was not a time of phonographs, otherwise, we should have had transmitted to us some specimen of his vocal performances. Nevertheless, we are not altogether destitute of means of forming to ourselves some idea of his style of singing. As Vadivelu seems to have had some hand in composing the Varnam with the initial words *Sumasayaka* (സുമശയക) to which we have already adverted, we have in it a specimen of his vocal music. That Varnam stands out from among His Highness's compositions with a distinctiveness of style that reveals foreign authorship. Unlike the other Varnams, its Pallavi (or burden) is decked with beautiful variations, variations which bespeak some acquaintance with the compositions of Tyagayya. Indeed, it is definitely known that Kanniah Bhagavatar, one of the disciples of

Tyagayya, when he first came to Trivandrum, sought an introduction to His Highness the Maha Rajah through Vadivelu, and it was then the rule that any musician who desired to have an interview with His Highness must first sing before Vadivelu and satisfy him. Vadivelu himself mastered a few of Tyagayya's compositions from Kanniah Bhagavatar, and sang them before His Highness. His Highness was so much pleased with the songs that he gave Kanniah Bhagavatar a ready interview, and the story goes that His Highness after some time despatched Vadivelu with instructions to invite Tyagayya himself to his court. Vadivelu accordingly went to Tiruvaiyar, and engaging a lodging in the very street where Tyagayya lived, he so captivated the people with his singing that the news reached Tyagayya through his disciples. Tyagayya at first gave little credence to the flattering reports of his disciples about Vadivelu's music. But the high merits of the singer was so dinned into his ears that he was almost involuntarily attracted towards Vadivelu's lodging-place to hear him sing. The report goes that he was so highly impressed with Vadivelu's singing that he invited him to his own house and made him sing His Highness's compositions. Tyagayya expressed admiration for His Highness, particularly as the songs were devoted to the praise of the very deity that he worshipped. Vadivelu in the course of his conversation took occasion to express to him His Highness's wishes to have Tyagayya as his guest. Tyagayya seems to have courteously declined the invitation for reasons which he deemed impolitic to divulge. The fact seems to have been that Tyagayya, during the latter part of his life, refrained from paying visits even to the Maha Rajah of Tanjore, and, living in his dominions, Tyagayya naturally shrank from accepting the invitation of an alien prince, when he had voluntarily cut himself off from his own sovereign. Disconcerted in his object, Vadivelu returned to Trivandrum with the news of the unsuccessful termination of his mission.

A cloud appears to have settled on the hitherto amicable relationship of Vadivelu with His Highness, and during the latter part of his life, Vadivelu lived like an exile at Haripad though His Highness permitted him to draw his usual allowances. He returned to Trivandrum sometime afterwards and died there in the year 1020 M. E. (1845 A. D.)

In appearance he was dark-coloured and lean and squint with one eye. His voice was melodious and powerful, and his singing is said to have been unrivalled by any musician of a later date, not even

excepting the great Raghavaiar. A Thillana composed by him in praise of His Highness is still extant.

Vadivelu is said to have been the musician who first introduced the fiddle in Travancore. He seems to have arranged the curriculum of music to be sung in the temple at Haripad. His singing as evinced by his only Varnam that appears to be extant, was grand and sublime, highly refined, and showed an exuberance of the imagination characteristic of a born musician.

Maliakal Krishna Marar was a musician who followed in the wake of Govinda Marar. He came to Trivandrum during the reign of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maha Rajah and paid his first visit to Parameswara Bhagavatar, who being taken up with his music, introduced him to His Highness. He was a finished musician and could sing with equal facility Varnams, Kritis, and Pallavis. He sang with the Dravidian instrument called *Idakka* (ഇടക്ക) in his hand. The *Idakka* (ഇടക്ക), though only a percussion instrument, is capable of producing all the seven notes of the gamut. The instrument is used in some of the temples of Travancore. He was known to Vadivelu. He was presented with a pair of bangles and a flag to be attached to his Tambur as a mark of honour. Latterly he is said to have gone to Tanjore, and nothing further is heard of him.

Meruswami was a celebrated Katha-performer of the time of the illustrious Swati Tirunal Maharajah. He was a Maharatta Brahmin of Tanjore and was also known by the name Kokilakanta on account his mellifluous voice. He first settled in Travancore in 1008 M. E. (1833), was attached to the palace and was in receipt of a monthly salary of Rs. 100. He lived up to the year 1045 M. E. (1870).

Katha-performance is a religious narration accompanied by recitations of lyrical pieces or hymns by a chorus of singers led by the Chief performer. Meruswami sang in a high pitch of voice and with great accuracy. Owing to his strict adherence to principles of purity in music, Meruswami never indulged in musical variations. His lyrical pieces were invariably devotional. He was accompanied by the celebrated drummer Hari Rao. Meruswami was able to adopt new airs to some of His Highness's compositions but he composed nothing original. The songs beginning with *Bajaseenakrimbatha* (ഭജസീന കിംഭത) in *Kalyani* (കല്യാണി) and *Viyabinabhai*(വിയഭിനഭൈ)in *Parasu* (പരശു) may be given here as specimens.

In the early part of the year 1036 M. E (1860 A. D.) His Highness Ayilliam Thirunal, the then Elaya Rajah, got down another

Maharatta Brahmin Lakshmana Gosayi by name, and entertained him as an additional Katha-performer under the name of Maha Meruswami. Rumour has it that Maha Meruswami was called in as a formidable rival to Meruswami who was not amenable to the requisitions of the Elaya Raja. The style of Maha Meruswami was a little more diversified with musical variations than Meruswami's. While Meruswami was accompanied by a chorus of singers and instrumentalists forming his staff, Maha Meruswami had only one singer to accompany him and his own son was the drummer. It is said that Maha Meruswami's voice would range between four octaves which is an extraordinary feat.

Parameswara Bhagavathar, a Brahmin of Palghat, who in 1008 M. E. at the early age of 18 visited Trivandrum in connection with a festival and who was heard to sing in the temple by His Highness Swati Thirunal Maharajah, was retained in His Highness's services and was later on enrolled as the chief among the court musicians. He became greatly attached to His Highness by dint of his merits in music and the possession of a sweet and melodious voice. He was of great assistance to the Maharajah in singing and teaching his compositions to the other court musicians. He lived to the good old age of 77 and his reputation as a musician has spread far and wide. He was the guru of the talented Raghava Bhagavathar, one of the greatest singers that Travancore has ever produced. In festivals and entertainments before His Highness, Parameswara Bhagavathar invariably took the lead. He was in more respects than one acknowledged to be the head of the musicians and was revered by all. As a vocal musician he occupies a lofty place. He was also versed in instrumental music. In singing the species of musical elaboration called Thanam, Parameswara Bhagavathar stands unrivalled. It is remarkable that he retained the sweetness and melodiousness of his voice till the very last. Indeed his only rival in these respects was Mahavaithi. I have already made reference to his merits as a composer. He left two sons Mahadeva Bhagavathar and Ramkrishna Bhagavathar who are both talented musicians and both father and sons are noted for their extraordinary spirit in singing Pallavies and their scientific knowledge of the art.

It is worth mention that Subba Row, the Dewan of His Highness Swati Thirunal Maharajah, was himself a musician versed in Swarabit and drum. He is reputed to have been His Highness's Guru in the Swarabit. It is said that he was also a master of the drum in which

he would accompany His Highness. He used to have frequent musical entertainments at his own residence, in which, as we have seen, the celebrated Vadivelu took part.

Besides the musicians above named there were others whose names I give below:— 1. Kalkulam Bhaskara Bhagavatar, 2. Bhutapandi Subbu Bhagavatar, 3. Kuniyur Sesha Bhagavatar, 4. Palghat Sesha Bhagavatar, 5. Palamcottah Annaswami Bhagavatar, 6. Karamana Muttuswamy Bhagavatar. 7. Tanjore Venkatarama Bhagavatar.

This closes the history of Travancore music during the time of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maha Rajah. I need scarcely mention here that the deep and personal interest His Highness took in Hindu music gave a great impetus to the development of the art. In this connection, it may be added, that His Highness did not forget to encourage the development of the kindred arts of poetry, painting and ivory-carving.

We come now to the reign of His Highness Marthanda Varma (Uttradam Tirunal Maha Rajah), who ascended the musnad in the year 1023 M. E. and reigned up to 1036 M. E. , a period of 14 years. From a musical point of view, His Highness's reign was almost eventless, as His Highness interested himself more in the devlopment of the indigenous drama called *Kathakali*. This art indeed flourished to a remarkable extent, His Highness's own courtiers taking part in the representations. His Highness of course allowed the existing daily routine of music being followed without hindrance. As some of the musicians and composers who flourished during his predecessors' time continued their work during this reign, it might be said that the history of music during this period consisted of the personal achievements of these musicians. No separate mention about them, I think, is called for here, as they have been dealt with already. I shall then merely name them for facility of reference. They were :— Kshirabdi Sastrial, Parameswara Bhagavatar, and Meruswami. There was however one composer peculiar to the period viz., Kulathu Bhagavathar, and as a specimen of his composition may be given his Kamash Swarajit.

The next period covering the reign of His Highness Ayilliam Tirunal Maharajah was as regards music one of the brightest epochs after that of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maha Raja, brightest I mean as regards the practice of music, vocal and instrumental, and not as regards compositions. Indeed, taken all in all, the practice of

music could not be said to have been in anywise less noteworthy than it was during His Highness Swati Tirunal Maharaja's time. Some of the most brilliant Travancore musicians flourished during this time. The figure of the famous Raghava Bhagavatar looms in our vision. He was surrounded by some of the ablest musicians that Travancore has produced such as, Kalyana Krishna Bhagavatar on the Veenai, Mahadeva Bhagavatar on the Violin, Kunjaroo Rajah on the Swarajit, and Kittu Bhagavatar on various instruments such as Swarabit, Veenai, Violin, Jalatarangam and vocal music. It was the period of Raghavaier's brightest achievements. It must be remembered that the cause of this great outburst in the practice of music was here again the personal interest and patronage of His Highness, his own accomplishments in music having been of such a high order as to call forth the encomiums of the best musicians of the day. Once, when Mahavaithi was singing a pallavi before him, His Highness, seeing that none of the court musicians ventured to compete with him, himself offered to sing the pallavi and sang so well that Mahavaithi cried out in admiration, "Had we known that Your Highness was such a master, we musicians should have shrunk from singing before Your Highness. It was lucky that we anticipated that knowledge." No wonder then that His Highness threw his heart and soul in the development of music and most liberally patronised its votaries. The musicians of this period fall under different classes according to their proficiency. In the first class may be named Parameswara Bhagavatar and the five or six musicians already referred to, Parameswara Bhagavatar being as usual the veteran leader of the whole band. Raghava Bhagavatar was born in Vadaseri near Nagercoil about the year 1000 M. E. and died in the year 1048, M. E. He was a disciple of Parameswara Bhagavatar. After completing his course of studies in music at an early age, he left Travancore for the British parts and by listening to the great musicians of the day, in various parts of the country, developed his own dormant powers to a wonderful degree, those powers which were to make the halls of Rangavilasam ring with his superb music. After sometime he returned to Travancore, was enrolled as a court musician and settled himself at Haripad, where he married.

About this time (i. e., in the year 1042 or so), the celebrated Mahavaithi Bhagavatar of Tanjore visited His Highness and so highly distinguished himself that it was felt that such music could not be matched in Travancore. His Highness sent for Parameswara

Bhagavatar and through him despatched letters to Haripad, inviting Coimbatore Raghavaier to the court, for, at this time, Raghavaier came to be known by that name, because of his long residence at Coimbatore. In a few days, Raghavier made his appearance in Trivandrum and was introduced by Parameswara Bhagavatar to His Highness. Now came the time for the famous competition between these two great musicians, and every body eagerly looked forward to the occasion which should decide the fate of Travancore. One afternoon at 2 P. M., all the musicians assembled under command at Rangavilasam. There were also present the following men of learning:— 1. Elattoor Ramaswamy Sastrial, 2. Ragavaiengar Sastrial, 3. Kadayam Subba Sastrial, 4. Tiruvisanallur Ramaswami Sastrial, 5. Meruswami, and 6. Anandaswami Gosayi, son of Mahameruswami, and others. The accompaniments were Violin by Mahadeva Bhagavatar, Veenai by Kalyanakrishna Bhagavatar, Mritangam by Sethu Rama Rao and Somasi Bhagavatar. Those present were all attention. Raghavaier elaborated the *Raga* called *Sankarabharanam* and sang a Pallavi in it in Adi Talam which ran thus:—*Vinavayya Panchanadeesa* (വിനവയ്യ പഞ്ചനദീശ) &c. The singing closed at about 5'o clock but was resumed at night at about 7 and lasted till half past 10. *Kalyani* was elaborated by Mahavaithi and a Pallavi in it beginning with *Tharaka Brahma* (താരകബ്രഹ്മ) was sung by both the musicians. Elaboration is not a field for competition; at least, the field is so wide and undefined that the power of imagination of the singers cannot be so accurately gauged during elaboration, as when their manœuvres are placed constantly in juxtaposition as in singing Pallavies, where the Avartanams or turns limit the scope of the imagination to the scale of Tala fixed. In elaboration, each singer displays his own peculiar style of singing, but things never race to a conclusion. A Pallavi, on the other hand, is a bit of musical strain, or, sometimes the burthen of a song, to which each singer is bound to return after the exhibition of the flights of his imagination, limited as it will be to the scope of the specific scale of time or tala fixed, and to leave the next turn to his opponent, wherein the latter is free to surpass him, if he can, in the fecundity of his imagination. The turns give each singer an opportunity to concentrate his best powers at a given point, and he who is palpably the inferior collapses in a longer or shorter interval, relinquishing the field in favour of his more successful rival. Thus the man who flags at the last is taken to have yielded the palm to his competitor. The collapse may be due to want of

speed, or vocal agility, or exuberance of imagination, or precision in *Tala*. The Pallavi is therefore an unmistakable test of ability. Where abilities are equal or nearly so, the rivals hold out long.

To return to our subject, how shall I describe the scene of that famous musical combat, wherein the greatest of the Eastern singers was pitched against the greatest or to be greatest singer of the times in Travancore? Shall I compare them to two prowling, fierce lions that, shaking their proud and shaggy manes, rush against each other, like the furies, and fight to the death? Or, shall I liken them to two Roman gladiators, feeding the eager curiosity of the spectators with the giant exhibitions of their strength? How can I picture to you the excellence of their singing? Shall I say they were two musical fountains sprouting perpetually, rising one above the other and falling in magnificent showers on the greedy ears of the audience? Or shall I say they were two sky-seeking musical rockets which, leaving the sullen earth, one after the other, coursing through the silent air and reaching their point of culmination, suddenly burst into a hundred brilliant star-like melodies and combinations by which the ear was flooded? The scene was one more to be witnessed or imagined than described.

The tug of war was continued the next day. *Todi* Raga was elaborated and the Pallavi in *Athi* Thalam beginning with *Emanimadladi neevo rama rama rama* (എമാനിമാടലാടി നീവോരാമരാമരാമ) was sung. A Pallavi in *Karaharaprya* (കരഹരപ്രിയ) being the initial portion of Tyagyya's കരഹരപ്രിയ was sung. It must be remembered that Mahavaithi was no easy opponent to deal with, being a master of many tunes which were yet unknown in Travancore and gifted with a voice, unrivalled in clearness and sweetness, coupled with a special capacity for rapid performances. Raghavaier, on the other hand, could not boast of these natural endowments and facilities. But, all the same, he impressed the audience with his orginality, manly vigour and ready resourcefulness. His voice, though somewhat bluff, was yet strong and seemed to suit the boldness and majesty of his style. His method was *Ghanam* (ഘനം) while Mahavaithi's was *Nayam* (നയം). *Ghanam* means "gravity" and *Nayam* means "persuasiveness;" the one forces admiration, the other lures it; the one might be characterised as a tower of strength, the other as a well-laid out garden; the one a mighty river, the other a fresh-water lagoon; the one was imposing and sublime, the other was mellifluous and dazzling. Indeed Raghava Iyer was so much admired for his sublimity that he seems to have

founded almost a school of his own. Whatever he sang was stamped with his individuality. He was a man who despised the beaten grooves of singing and cut out his own way, as it were, through rugged mountain heights and pathless forests. It was difficult to say which of the combatants carried the day; but it was proved beyond a doubt that Mahavaithi for the first time discovered his most formidable rival. Both the musicians were treated with equal courtesy and equally honoured by His Highness, who gave them pairs of bangles, laced shawls and other valuable presents. There was no doubting that His Highness gained his object which was to show that Travancore could meet Mahavaithi on his own ground. This incident added wings to the fame of Raghavaier, which from this moment knew no bounds. Every one was for applauding him. Every one was for imitating him—Kalyanakrishnaier, the greatest Veenaist of the day, so successfully reproduced many of the splendid combinations of Raghavaier, that the latter expressed high admiration for him. Mahadeva Bhagavatar equally distinguished himself on the Violin. Not a week passed, but Raghavaier's music was heard before His Highness, or else, somewhere in Trivandrum. Thus lived this great musician, admired and honoured by all, till he had to retire through sickness to Haripad, where he died in the year 1048 before he was 50 years of age.

Kalyanakrishnaier as a Veenaist and Mahadeva Bhagavatar as a Violinist next claim our attention. The first was the son of Veenaist Venkadadri Bhagavatar, a native of Palaghat. These two musicians lived on to the next reign; the first lived through a portion of the present reign and the second is still among the foremost musicians of the day. In skill, subtlity, sudden surprises and sweetness, Kalyanakrishnaier has not been surpassed. He has composed a Varnam which is the only living record of his style of playing. Mahadeva Bhagavatar is a daring genius, noted for his individuality. He is the eldest son of Parameswara Bhagavatar and has but few rivals on the Violin. In Pallavi especially he is a most spirited and fertile player. He is thorough in the science of music and is the author of several Geetas, a species of composition that forms a preliminary to Varnams.

Kunjari Raja was undoubtedly the greatest player in Travancore on the Swarabit. He was a versatile musician and could play with much facility on the Violin, harmonium, and Jalatarangam. With the Swarabit he held his own against Mahavaithi and Raghava Iyer. It

is said that he was the person who first introduced Raghavaier to the Maharajah. Among the foreign musicians, who visited Travancore during His Highness Ayilliam Maharajah's time, Chinnavaithi and Periyavaithi deserve special mention. I note below the names of some other respectable musicians of that time:— 1. Kittu Bhagavathar, (Violin, Swarabit, Mirtangam and vocal music), 2. Sethu Bhagavatar, a sweet player on the Veenai (still alive). 3. Venkatiri Bhagavatar (Veenaist). 4. Ganapathi Bhagavatar (Violin, vocal music and Swarabit) 5. Mahalinga Bhagavatar (Swarabit) 6. Harihara Bhaghavatar (Swarabit). 7. Srivaikuntam Subba Bhagavatar and 8. Vadaseri Rama Bhagavatar (both Vocalists).

Coming to the present reign, Her Highness the Senior Rani was a master of the Veenai to a degree that few women in the whole Presidency could rival, and was also a vocalist. She was also a linguist and was reputed for her versatile accomplishments. Her Highness also composed songs in various languages.

H. H. the late Prince Aswati Tirunal was a vocal singer of a high order. His Highness could sing with equal ease Tyagayya's Kirtanams, Varnams, Thillanas, Hindustani, Marathi, and Guzarathi songs, could also elaborate Ragas, and sing Pallavies. Truly a gifted prince, His Highness combined this excellence in music with other varied accomplishments. His Highness was besides one of the few graduate princes in India. His merits were extolled even by Lord Curzon.

His Highness the Valiya Koil Tampuran is a master-player on the Veenai. His attainments in music harmonized well with those of his Royal Consort. His Highness combines this kowledge of music with profound scholarship in Sanskrit, Malayalam, English and other languages.

Of living professional musicians the name of Ramachandra Bhagavatar, one of the greatest Veenaist of the present day, remains to be prominently mentioned. He is rivalled only by Mahadeva Bhagavatar on the Violin. His mastery of the Veenai bears close kinship to that of his late famous brother Kalyanakrishna Iyer. A singular variety of combinations, charming clearness and sweetness, sublimity and dexterous manœuvring are the main features of his performance. Next to Ramachandra Bhagavatar, the name of Ramaswami Bhagavatar deserves mention. He is an adept on the Violin, Veenai, Swarabit, and in vocal music, and though taken singly in these respects he is surpassed by other specialists yet the

fact that he combines a creditable knowledge of all these gives him a respectable height among musicians.

I close with the names of Regupathi Bhagavatar, Ramakrishna Bhagavatar, and Vancheswara Bhagavatar, who occupy a high place as vocal musicians. Regupathi Bhagavatar was a disciple of Kannayya who was a disciple of Tyagayya. He had few rivals in vocal music in his time and in some respects was unequalled by any musician since Raghava Iyer. His voice was singularly sweet and his mode of elaboration and singing of Kirtanams always attractive. In him Travancore has lost one of the veteran musicians that could sing to perfection the compositions of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maha Rajah. Ramakrishna Bhagavatar, brother of Mahadeva Bhagavatar, has developed some original methods of elaboration, and is like his brother a very spirited singer. His acquaintance with English serves him to find fresh fields for development in Hindu music. The last named, Vancheswara Bhagavatar, is a respectable singer with natural endowments in music.

It remains to be summarised that we owe much of the development of music in Travancore to the personal encouragement and patronage accorded by its sovereigns, and it is a matter for pride and thankfulness that His Highness the present Maha Rajah is not behind any of his predecessors in helping on the cause of music, no less by the protection he graciously affords to its votaries in Travancore than by the generous and judicious patronage he extends to foreign musicians that visit his land.

This is a time of great discoveries and marvellous inventions. The invention of the Phonograph has made it possible to record the achievements of the human voice with the greatest possible accuracy and forms the best help towards perpetuating the style of singing and compositions of the great musicians. What Hindu would not listen to the great Tyagayya or Mahavaithi, or Raghava Iyer or Natesan, if it were possible by any feat of legerdemain now to reproduce their sublime music? But alas! Theirs was not a time of Phonographs, or if it was (as in the case of the last two) the instrument was hardly resorted to as a means of preserving their music. Here we are with the Phonograph ready at hand to obey all our behests and yet how listless and indifferent we are in recording the compositions of His Highness Swati Tirunal Maharajah, which but for such perpetuation would be lost to the world for ever. God forbid such an untoward result. I may express a hope, a fervent hope,

that no labour or time would be grudged to preserve these compositions for the delight and recreation of posterity and that the present moment which is full of possibilities and which fortunately for all still holds alive a great many of these compositions will be availed of to the best advantage and not allowed to slip and that we shall endeavour by every means in our power and with an unselfish spirit, to place within the reach of the next generation those songs, those musical strains, those perennial fountains of heavenly happiness, at which we have so often fed our own thirsty souls.

T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI

A PLEA FOR MINOR INDUSTRIES.

By Mr. U. Padmanabha Kukillaya, M. A.

At a time like this when the Swadeshi movement engrosses all minds, men begin to think of the several articles that they can purchase from local producers. We live and work as it were in a horizon of foreign made articles. On all sides of us, on the wall before us, on the table upon which we are writing, on our body itself, we see and feel the foreigner's enterprise. With increasing education and increasing progress in civilization we have come to feel more and more powerfully that we are not self-sufficient. Many an article has become a necessity and we want it wherever it may be made. Almost inappreciably our houses have become filled with all sorts of things from various quarters of the globe. We do not even remember when we took to each of them for the first time, and a few short years back we never even cared to know where we got them from. On the very rare occasions when we actually scrutinised a label it was not to see a Swadeshi trade-mark but to convince ourselves that it was really English made! What a change from those times now! It almost looks a century since the day when the majority of us never bestowed a thought upon the possibility of making a new thing in our country but satisfied ourselves with cheap jibes at German rubbish and superior British made goods! But why do we look at a label now?—to satisfy ourselves that the article is genuine Swadeshi and that there is no foreign contamination about it. Therefore it is no wonder that we are now trying to find out how many Indian made articles there are by which we can replace imported things. That is we are aiming at a partial isolation from the rest of the world—an increase in internal as opposed to international trade. But if we succeed in this partial isolation what doubt is there that we shall before long re-enter into close relations with others—and upon terms much more favourable to us than at present?

Under the circumstances it is right that attention should be bestowed not merely on the production of one or two of the staple articles of commerce but upon all possible chances of pushing on Indian industries. Such a policy may develop into a feverish restlessness, it may cause industrial booms; it may foster the unprincipled company-promoter; it may bring down fortunes; it may bring

discredit on all new enterprises. There may be people who will shrug their shoulders at the rashness of men in venturing upon mere experiments. All these are natural and we must bear in mind that the path of progress was never found cut out smooth.

It is a noticeable feature of the time that industries entirely new to the country are being sprung upon the public suddenly. Some of them do not seem to take kindly to the soil and display a languishing temperament even at their birth. But they forcibly raise the question whether sufficient attention is being paid to the many industries which are well suited to flourish in our country.

Even a cursory examination of the import statistics of India would show that the countries which have been the latest to enter the Indian market have been trying to push themselves in by means of industries which may be called "minor." Leaving out the two or three of the commodities which are imported by us to the largest value, we find that a very large part of our imports is made up of a variety of articles which in the aggregate come up to a very considerable amount. The total value of these commodities which are only of "minor" trade importance is no doubt small in comparison to the total value of the commodities which are the most important. Still it cannot be denied that these cover a very respectable portion of our trade. The reason why Germany and Austria and Japan and Italy which have invaded our market much later than England, send us such a large quantity of the "minor" products lies perhaps in the fact that England has long been established in the market, that she was long the sole supplier of the most important goods, that she has therefore been able to concentrate a large amount of labour and capital on the industries in question, and that therefore in those industries there is no chance of effectively competing with the splendid organization which she has so arduously built up. It is not an easy thing to enter into competition for the supply of an article with a country which has specialised in it, which has long been commanding all benefits of science, inventions, organization and established reputation. But the case is different with industries in which, however difficult the process of manufacture may be, production can be started with a comparatively smaller capital and organisation and where established reputation is a factor of minor importance. It is therefore perhaps that the countries we have mentioned do not make any great attempt to oust England from the trade in cotton piece-goods for example, but seem to devote a great deal of their

commercial activity in developing a trade the importance of which is slight or recent or artificial. We therefore continue to receive all our cotton goods and almost all our hardware from England while the continental countries send us quite a multitude of articles which one is sometimes astonished to think India has really to import. The enormous amount of soaps and scents, hair-oils and combs, buttons and pencils, mirrors and ink bottles, shoes and belts, spoons and brass vessels, and even clay gods which we import from the four quarters of the globe give rise to the question why some attempt should not be made to develop some of those industries in this land. Is it as difficult to compete in those articles as it is difficult to compete with Manchester in piece goods? This is a question which deserves serious consideration. It appears to be the fashion in some quarters to scoff at the idea of producing anything but cloth, to look down upon manufactures which are not the legitimate continuation of industries which have always been native in the land. Such an attitude, it appears to me, is erroneous. It is no doubt most important that a strenuous attempt should be made to strengthen and improve the existing hand-loom industry and it is equally important that the manufacture of cotton goods according to advanced western methods should be vigorously pushed. But in the present circumstances of India manufacturing concerns on a large scale have necessarily to be taken up either by people in partnership or by joint-stock companies which are often nothing but close partnerships with limited liability. Over the greater portion of the country the joint-stock company with its thousands of small shareholders is a thing to be wished for but not realisable to any great extent at present. Even in England the joint-stock company is an institution slowly evolved and in India where credit is yet to be built up in the world of industry, men are very slow in appreciating the benefits of joint-stock. The small capitalist prefers to invest his money in land or often likes to set up banking unprofitable to all but himself. Hence the development of manufacturing industries is greatly retarded. The necessity has therefore arisen to enquire whether industries cannot be started which do not require the tens of lacs which a big cotton mill requires, whether there are not channels for the enterprise of the smaller capitalist and the more cautious investor. The success of a number of factories which are devoting their attention to the production of 'minor' articles presumably gives an answer to our question. The present rage for swadeshi goods gives rise to the hope that any new industry, if only

properly managed, cannot fail for want of support. It is one of the commonest complaints in newspaper columns that a large number of things like wax, oils of various kinds, seeds, bones, hides and others innumerable are annually sent out to be manufactured in foreign countries. But we are not told of many attempts actually made here to work up those articles. Is it not time that something practical is done?

It has to be said that the Government too lies under an obligation in this matter. Technical scholarships are good in themselves; but a better thing perhaps will be to afford some direct tangible assistance to promising new industries. It is doubtful how far the Government of India can be said to do for Indian industries what European countries and Japan are doing for theirs. The avowedly Free-trade England knows how to push its merchandise into India, how to protect the sugar industries of its colonies from being swamped by bounty-fed sugar, and through consuls and diplomatic agents how to spread English commerce all over the globe. If the positions of England and India were reversed to-day the Government in England would not, for a moment act as the Government of India does — it would throw to the winds all abstract dogmas and grapple with each question on its merits. But we should not, as things are, expect too much from a Government which is controlled by a nation which is more than anything else, commercial in its policy and aims. We must be thankful for the attempts that are not infrequently being made of late to do something for our industries. The Governments of Madras and the United Provinces are now doing some good work. Much more however remains to done. Hard and fast rules in the field of economics have to be abandoned and the British Government in India and the Governments of the several 'Native States' should take a lesson from the 'modern' methods of Europe and Japan. The Government will be doing a good thing if it will make a detailed industrial survey of the *whole* peninsula and push suitable industries by all means at its disposal. A commission of experts may show the Government a hundred ways of pushing Swadeshi enterprise and opening up to the capitalist in India many a channel of profitable work. This will be much better than occasional conferences and reports by Revenue Officers. But will the Government ever care to appoint such a commission?

U. PADMANABHA KUKILLAYA.

RAMBLES IN WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN.

By Mr. E. S. W. Senathi Raja, LL. B., Bar-at-Law.

IN this connection it may not be out of place, I believe, to refer to the Congress fiasco at Surat. This was the first time I ever had attended a meeting of the Indian National Congress, though I have, for many years, watched its proceedings from a distance with more than ordinary interest. That the people of India had for a long time felt the want of a powerful organisation, for the purpose of enabling them to place before the Government the wants and requirements of the country, and to advocate all such measures as are necessary for gradual and progressive reforms in matters, political, social, and administrative, is an unquestionable fact. Without such associations, no nation can make any advance nowadays under modern conditions; and more particularly is this the case with India, where the great mass of the people are sunk in ignorance, and those who direct the policy of the Government are strangers to the country, who seldom come into contact with the people, and know little or next to nothing of the real wants, wishes, sentiments, and aspirations of those whom they are called upon to rule over. The Indian National Congress came forward to supply this long-felt want, and year after year its popularity has continued to increase. The founders were laughed and jeered at by its enemies when the first meeting was announced, for, the latter hoped that it would easily succumb to their venomous shafts of withering sarcasm and ridicule. Whatever other weapons of attack they had in their armoury were also discharged, time after time, against its mailed breast, but without any effect. For twenty two years the pilots at the helm of the good ship steered her safely, avoiding shoals and quick-sands, both Scylla and Charybdis, until she was at last stranded at Surat—wilfully wrecked by a crew of mutineers. The "Extremists," as they are called, are perhaps scarcely aware of the immense mischief which they have done to the cause of their country. I was present as an interested spectator in the grand, spacious pandal which the industry and enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Surat had erected within a short time. The opening scene on the first day was heart-rending. Scarcely had the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Desai, finished his address and proposed the name of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, as a fit and proper gentleman, to be elected the President of that session of the

Congress, when there arose an indescribable tumult in the interior of the vast hall. Cries, gesticulations, speeches, and noises of all kinds proceeded from different sides, for, the forces of disorder had been so carefully distributed in various quarters of the pandal, that hearing any speech from the platform became an impossibility. The Chairman of the Reception Committee rang the bell repeatedly, but it was all to no purpose. Up rose the majestic form of Surendranath Bannerjee, the uncrowned king of Bengal as he is sometimes styled, to second the proposition; but even his stentorian voice was drowned amidst the unseemly and deafening cries. The chairman had no other alternative but to declare that the Congress was adjourned for the following day. It was fondly hoped by all the well-wishers of the Congress that differences would be settled that day, and that peace and harmony would be restored the next day. There was an incident that night or rather early in the morning on the following day, which to all appearance was an omen of success. The occupants of the tents (for most of the congressmen were living in a camp about a square mile in extent, divided into streets along which tents were pitched at short intervals for their temporary residence) were awakened at about 5'o clock in the morning by the sorrowful voice of a tall figure dressed in white walking slowly along the streets and cross streets of the camp, singing the "Bande Mataram" to the accompaniment of an instrument which sounded like a flute. That was the first time, I heard the "Bande Mataram" sung, and it was sung in such a plaintive, subdued, tone, and to a melodious air that the effect on the hearers in the dim twilight of the morning was most pathetic, as if one was lamenting the death of a dear mother. That afternoon, however, dissipated all hopes of a peaceful Congress. I was hoping against hope that the militant attitude of the irreconcilables would at the last moment yield to a generous impulse, to an overpowering sense of duty to the sacred cause of their country. But my hopes were doomed to disappointment, and the scenes that were enacted that day were far more disgraceful than those of the previous day, and indeed than any of that kind I had ever witnessed in my life. Suffice it to say, that the hall looked like a pandemonium, and it was cleared with the help of the Police—the Police whom the "Extremists," it was said, were going to abolish! By a strange irony of fate, even Mr Tilak was obliged to apply for Police protection, to escort him out of the camp, and to save him from the fury of the justly incensed Suratees! I felt dejected and disgusted at the tragic termination of

an association of such national importance as the Congress, and I was ashamed that such behaviour worthy of toddy-booths or fish-markets, should be met with in India and among educated Indians. "Has it come to this"? I asked myself. "Have the Hindus become so far degenerate as to forget the traditional gravity, dignity, and sobriety, which were the marked feature of an assembly of the wise and the learned in India from time immemorial? Can these fisticuffing Brahmins (for 90 per cent of Congressmen are Brahmins) call themselves without shame the descendants of the Rishis"? Manu says. "Let him (Brahmana) not, when angry, throw a stick at another man nor smite him with anything, unless he be a son or a pupil; those two he may chastise for their *improvement* in learning.". "But having smitten him (another) in anger and by design even with a *blade of grass*, he shall be born in one and twenty transmigrations, from the wombs of impure quadrupeds." But other times other manners! But at no time would such behaviour be tolerated anywhere among gentlemen, and much less in a national deliberative assembly. I had a talk with Mr. Tilak, the leader of the "Extremists" on this subject in his own house at Poona when I visited that city. I pointed out the death-blow to the existence and prestige of the Congress which the tactics of his followers had given at Surat. He denied that it was due to any fault of his and put the blame on the shoulders of the "Moderates." In answer to my question why he did not get upon the platform, on the first day when the tumult began, and put a stop to the rowdyism at once, he replied that even if he did appear on the platform, and exhort the men to be quiet, they would not have listened to him, as those who began the trouble were not his own followers; and one of his lieutenants suggested that there were also Police spies among those who disturbed the meeting. Mr. Tilak appeared to me to be well-intentioned in his public acts and he certainly possesses considerable influence and popularity with a large section of the Maharattas, but, I fear, he is surrounded by an unruly following whose counsels sometimes obscure his better judgment. It seems ridiculous, however, to an outsider that such violent scenes should have rent the Congress in twain on questions of which some, at best, can have only a purely speculative interest for Indians for several generations to come. What, for instance, is the practical value to us at the present day of a discussion as to what should be the constitution of the future Government of India, whether it should be entirely free of British control or autonomous under the suzerainty

of England—to us, I say, who have not yet got even the elements of political rights? It is counting the chicken before the eggs are hatched!—Congress will make itself a laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilised world, which is watching the progress of events in India with keen interest if it descends to the discussion of such puerilities. There is yet much practical work to be done for the amelioration of India—social, economic, administrative,—and Congress must concentrate its energies on the pressing topics of the day, instead of wasting them on the fruitless discussion of Utopian theories. As to the severance of India from its British connection, it is one of those questions of lunar politics of which the less said the better for every one concerned with the Congress; for, all sane men both in and out of India know very well that such a consummation is not only impossible within a measurable distance of time, but, even if possible, it is highly undesirable in the best interests of Indians themselves. To me, the violent out-burst of passion on the part of the "extremists" seems a mystery even now, and is inexplicable on any public grounds. One can understand their alarm, if the Congress had got by accident or wire-pulling into the hands of some amateur politicians, who were driving it headlong into dangerous pitfalls. But it was pilotted, however, as we all know, by men whose right hand has not lost its cunning, such experienced mariners as Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Bannerjee, Gokhale—men who have spent half their lives in watching the growth of the Congress with fostering care, and who enjoy in full measure the confidence of the public. The management of the affairs of the Conress can as confidently, be left to their discretion and foresight, as an infant can be left to rest in the arms of its mother. The only complaint which even the "extremists" can make against those leaders is, that they do not go fast enough for the latter-day politicians. But whether acceleration of speed is desirable in social and political matters is purely a matter of opinion, and those who want to march "double quick" must make the public opinion of the whole country move with them. If the country was in their favour, how is it that they had no majority of theirs in the Congress in spite of the frantic efforts they had made? When they knew that the opinion of the majority in the Congress was against them, the "extremists" should have loyally abided by the decision of the majority, instead of trying to break up the Congress by methods and tactics so questionable. It is not by *lathie* play, it is not by *argumentum ad baculinam*, that you

can carry conviction to the minds of sceptics. It is for those who propose great changes, to prove to the satisfaction of others, that the changes are necessary and beneficial. The burden of proof is on them. The only way to convert the public to the views of the "extremists" is to organize a campaign, and send their followers all over the country to preach the new gospel, and then go to the next Congress with a triumphant majority. That is the course which men of good sense and patriotism will adopt. But instead of that the "extremists" made it impossible to conduct in an orderly manner the proceedings of a public meeting. They howled at the mention of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, when that gentleman's name was propoeds as chairman. It looked like a pre-arranged business, and as the result of personal animosity. As for Dr. Ghosh, he would do honour as President of any political or learned assembly in the world. His published presidential address shows that he is not unequal to Mr. Morley in keenness of perception, in elegance of diction, in powers of debate, in learning, eloquence, and masterly handling of political questions. Any Congress should be proud to possess such a man as President to guide its deliberations.

Barring the unpleasant break-up of the 23rd Session of the Congress, my stay in the Congress camp, I should confess, was a most pleasant one. One meets within its precincts a whole host of well educated and well-informed men, coming from all parts of India, almost all of them polite, good-natured, and sociable, and several of them as full of fun and merriment as they are of wit and humour. The English language has given us a unity which in the whole history of the past, India has never enjoyed. By the medium of that splendid language, which is now the *lingua franca* of all India, people of different races from Himalayas to "India's utmost isle Taprobane', speaking a multitude of tongues in their respective homes, are enabled to meet together, live together like members of one family in camp, and exchange ideas on all manner of topics. Not only as a means of inter-communication locally, but as a connecting link between India and the rest of the civilised world, it has done and is still doing invaluable service. I sometimes think how futile will be any attempt on the part of any one to divide Indians at the present day, and to rule them according to the time-honoured Roman imperial maxim *divide et impera*, for, few people seem to realize that year after year as the knowledge of the English language steadily increases, it is giving the people of India a sense of unity and a feeling of common

nationality, which nothing else is capable of doing so effectually. The only way of dis-uniting India which the worst enemy of India can devise is to stop entirely the teaching of English in our schools. Wherever changes may hereafter take place in our educational methods one thing is important viz that English should be studied as a second language by all Indians who can afford it, by both men and women.

My fellow companions and neighbours in camp were almost all of them from the Bombay Presidency. Honourable Mr. Khare, Messrs Buckle, Samarth, Karbharri, vakils of the High Court of Bombay, and Doctors Gadre and Melho, were all a most agreeable company, and time passed off very quickly—indeed too quickly, as I thought—and we parted from each other with pleasant memories of the days spent in the Congress Camp at Surat. As an educating, civilizing agency, as a centre of social union, leaving aside altogether its political character, the Indian National Congress is the best institution that has yet been evolved in India. In the four or five days I spent in the camp, I felt that I had learnt more about all parts of India and its people, than I had read in books for many years. To say of the Congress, as some do, that it consists of a body of disloyal men disaffected towards the British Government, is, in my opinion, a most unwarrantable calumny set afloat by its enemies. To all detractors of the Congress the only advice I can give is "Go and see for yourselves." Most of the Congress leaders are men of high culture and experience of the world, and they know what is best for India. They know that for the progress and unification of India, British connection is absolutely indispensable, and if loyalty is attachment to good Government, it is impossible to find a body of more loyal men. Even the "extremists" are at heart scarcely disloyal, for, I found on personal acquaintance with some of them, that they are only impatient at the slow progress which India is making in all branches of activity, compared with Japan and other countries. It is a pity, however, that several of the leaders of the Congress like Mehta and Gokhale had to live outside the camp, and were not more in touch with the rest of the Congress men. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta is an old hand at politics and is, I think, an object of special dislike to the "extremists", who call him an *autocrat*. His is a name to conjure with in the Bombay Presidency, and like his friend Dadabhai Naoroji, the G. O. M. of India, he is a Parsee patriot who has devoted his whole life to the service of his country. After the second day's *tapage* at the Surat

Congress, there was a conference held at the residence of Sir Pherozeshah, as a preliminary to the Convocation which was then resolved upon. When I was introduced to him, after the tumult and sensation of the second day's proceedings, I expressed to him the sorrow and disappointment I felt at what had happened, but he seemed to be in excellent spirits and he jocularly remarked "Congress is usually a dull affair, you know. Only a few speeches are made, and resolutions are passed unanimously. But this is more lively."

As for the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, he is one of the ablest and most level-headed of Indians now living, and a politician endowed with the most robust common sense. A Brahman by birth, he has inherited, it seems to me, some of the excellent qualities and virtues of the Brahmans of old, such as the practice of self-denial, simplicity of life, and single-minded devotion to the cause of his country. He has visited England and America, having gone to the former country on a deputation from the Congress, in company with Mr. Lala Lajput Rai and others. It is curious to observe how foreign travel acts like magic in opening one's eyes, and gives one a clear and right perspective of the world in general, and of the strength and weakness of one's own country in particular. It was impossible that a patriot of the ability and foresight of Mr. Gokhale, who had his eyes and ears open when in Europe and America, should have failed to perceive the true causes which have been a stumbling-block in the way of Indian nationality. With Count Okuma he has recognized that India must get rid of her anti-social customs based on caste prejudices,and her gross superstitions which, under the cloak of religion, have long been a mill-stone round her neck. On his return home from his European and American tour he did not resort to the traditional *prayaschittam*, but made up his mind to set himself to reform the existing evils. My chief object in visiting Poona was to visit his *asramam* (hermitage), for such is the appearance of his residence a few miles out of town in a lonely place, where he has founded a society called the "Servants of India Society." The wild desolation of the place, the bleak hills, and the stunted forest surrounding it, the bare stone building with very scanty furniture in it, mark it as a place intended for austere philosophers, whose lives are devoted to plain living and high thinking. This modern hermitage of Mr. Gokhale, where he is himself resident surrounded by about fifteen disciples, is not a place intended for religious meditation, as has been the case hitherto with all such institutions. No, It is the abode of the *Servants of India*, of whom

Mr. Gokhale is *primus inter pares*, mostly graduates of the Indian Universities, who have renounced all worldly prospects for the purpose of rendering gratuitous service to their country. Mr. Gokhale, who, as is well-known, is a most distinguished non-official member of the Vice-regal Legislative Council of India, lectures to his disciples for certain months in the year, when he is free from legislative duties, and lives with them during that period, setting an example of severe simplicity of life. After a certain period of training the disciples are meant to be sent forth into all parts of India as secular missionaries, to instil into minds of the people right notions in respect of social, economical, and political reforms. Mr. Gokhale is not an "Extremist." On the contrary, he is a Moderate of "Moderates", and one of the most clear-headed, sober, and practical of the political leaders of India. But he is a great believer in the future of India; the self-abnegation practised by him and his disciples and the single-minded devotion which they bring to bear on their self-imposed duties, are proof positive that they have faith in their mission. India has always been the land of asceticism, and ascetics somehow or other inspire the people with confidence. The Sannyasi rising in Bengal, in the time of Warren Hastings, shows what implicit faith the masses have in the honesty of purpose and the powers of ascetics. The Dual system of Government introduced by Clive into Bengal was the cause of untold miseries in Bengal and the people found themselves helpless. It was then that the religious mendicants called Sannyasis took a direct part in the politics of the country, raised armies and repeatedly defeated the East India Company's troops, till Warren Hastings removed the grievances under which the people were groaning, and then the Sannyasis disappeared, there being no further occasion for their patriotic services. "They went about almost naked," says Warren Hastings, "had neither towns, houses nor families, but roved continually from place to place, recruiting their number with the healthiest children they could get hold of in the countries through which they passed. Thus they were the stoutest and the most active men in India. And they often appeared in the heart of the province, as if they had dropped from Heaven". The example and teaching of a few hundreds of well-educated disinterested men, who have abandoned all personal ambition, and worldly prospects, for working for the regeneration of their country, are likely to have a more beneficial influence on the masses, than any other method of instruction. Mr. Gokhale, who knows the traditional leaning of his countrymen, has

evidently come to the conclusion, that it is best to have a time-honoured semi-monastic institution as a training ground for the future secular missionaries of India.

Another notable figure in the Surat Congress, one who was, perhaps, the most observed of all observers, is Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab, who had just returned from his recent sensational deportation to and detention at Mandalay. His entrance into the Congress pandal was greeted with enthusiastic and re-iterated shouts of *Bande Mataram*. He looks as modest and reserved in his manner, as he is selfless in his patriotic deeds. Great efforts were made by a large section of Congressmen, to make him President at the last Congress, but he persistently declined the honour. Every overture made to him to address the Congress on the subject of his deportation to Burmah proved fruitless. He turned deaf ear to all appeals of the "extremists" to join their ranks, when they seceded. The fact is he is too much of a patriot, and has the general interest of the country too much at heart, to cause a split on personal questions. His strenuous life history is now too well-known all over India to need repetition here. He is a many-sided reformer, and particularly a religious reformer. It is not, perhaps, generally known that his unpopularity with a certain section of his countrymen, both Hindus and Mahommedans, is due to his zeal in the cause of religious reform. He is in religion an Arya Samajist, which means that he belongs to a sect of Hinduism founded about a quarter of a century ago by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and of which Mr. Lajpat Rai has been for years past the life and soul. The "Aryas", living as they now do in a country where the majority of the inhabitants are Mahommedans, have apparently been influenced in their religious convictions, to a considerable extent, by the faith of Islam. Like the followers of Islam they abhor idolatry. They have made the discovery that the Vedas do not sanction idolatry, a discovery which is by no means surprising, considering that there is no form of religious belief or practice for which one cannot find authority, if one goes on excavating the Vedas—one more proof of the wonderful vitality and adaptability of Hinduism to every phase of civilisation. Having satisfied themselves, that they are on the right track, they demolished all their idols, and introduced a picturesque form of religious worship which they believe to have existed in the *Creta Yuga* (*Anglice* in the Miocene geological era). If they had confined themselves to a

pious and abstract belief in this newly-discovered theology of the ancient Aryas there was nothing to complain. But they began to carry the war into the enemy's territory, and animated with the burning zeal of religious reform, vigorously pushed forward a propaganda hitherto unknown to traditional Hinduism viz., a bold bid to make proselytes. They made converts to their new-fangled Hinduism, not only from the ranks of the orthodox Hindus, but, what is still more remarkable, from the ranks of the followers of the Prophet! Idolatry which Mahommedans look upon with aversion having been put away, and this new form of Hinduism having manifested its willingness to take even Mahommedans within its fold, a considerable number of Mahommedans in the Punjab, particularly old Rajput families who had embraced Islam during the time of the Moghul empire, became Hindus and were admitted into the bosom of the Arya Samaj. The Samaj, it appears, does not do things by halves. The new converts were not only admitted into Hinduism, but they were invested with the sacred thread, after a due performance of the religious rites of *Upanayanam* as prescribed in the Dharma Sastras. This was too much for Mahommedan Mullahs to look upon with patience or unconcern, while the narrow-minded masses of orthodox Hindus, felt outraged at Mahommedans being raised to the position of high caste Hindus. The "odium theologicum" of all the orthodoxies in the Panjab fell upon the devoted head of Lala Lajpat Rai, and he had to expiate his sins at Mandalay. As for his alleged connection with sedition, and his tampering with the sepoys in the Punjab, and his offer to make the Amir of Afghanstan the emperor of Hindustan, the Secretary of State for India had found out, before he released Mr. Lajpat Rai, that all these were pure fictions evolved out of the fertile brains of the Panjab Police.

Looking at the quiet and retiring manner of Mr. Lajpat Rai, and his youthful appearance, I said, when I was introduced to him "I am very much disappointed with you Mr. Lajpat Rai. After reading and hearing about you so much, I expected to see in you a venerable old gentleman full of years, as you are of honors. But you seem to me to be too young to be made so much fuss of". He laughed and replied "I am sure it is not my fault. The venerableness of age may perhaps come some day." He has a nice unaffected simplicity of manner which is very attractive.

From Poona, the old capital of the Maharatta empire, I passed

on to Hyderabad in the Deccan, the capital of the biggest Mahommadan state in India—the Nizam's Dominions. To most of us in Ceylon, Hyderabad is nothing more than a geographical expression. The Mahommedan empire of the Moghuls, was only a name to the South of Madras, but was totally unheard of in Ceylon, before books on Indian history were published in English and became text-books in schools. What is Hyderabad like? What sort of people are the Mahommadans of Hyderabad? Such were the questions that passed through my mind, as I took my seat in the Nizam's State Railway *en route* to Hyderabad. I had a confused, hazy idea about Hyderabadians lingering in my memory from school days. I recalled to my mind that early blurred picture, and was wondering whether the Mahommadans of Hyderabad were not fierce barbarians like the Afghan adventurers one sees in Colombo. But a sight of the real Hyderabad dispelled all those false notions, and I was pleased to find that the Mahommadans of Hyderabad are Indians and not Afghans. What surprised me most agreeably was the politeness and refinement which I noticed among the upper classes of Mahommadan society in Haidarabad. I was always under the impression that the higher castes of Hindus are the most polite people in the world, and to me there was nothing surprising in it, as their manners are the outcome of the most ancient civilisation in the world. But I noted at Hyderabad that Mahommadans of good society are not a whit inferior to the Hindus in that respect. The precocious little son of the Accountant-General, my Mahommadan host at Hyderabad—a boy as intelligent as he is amiable—amused me highly with his punctilious etiquette. He took me at his father's request, in his father's brougham and pair, to see the ruins of Bijapur and other places of interest, but every time I took my seat on the left of the carriage, he begged of me to move to the right and then seated himself on my left. Once I asked him why he was so anxious that I should be seated on the right. "Are you not our guest," he replied, "and a guest should be seated on the right—the seat of honour"! The boy was only just fifteen. The old capital of the Nizams, surrounded by walls and ditches, where one sees the palaces of nobles with a multitude of narrow passages, and a maze of court yards, gives one an idea of what an Oriental city must have been in India during the days of Mahommadan rule. Defence against an invader was manifestly the first consideration in building cities and palaces. The splendour of the retinue maintained by the nobles of Hyderabad is a

remnant of the old military days, and to see private gentlemen drive through the streets of Hyderabad, attended by a body guard of horsemen, lends a certain picturesqueness to Hyderabad, which few cities can boast of in this utilitarian age. It was impossible to catch anything more than a bird's eye view of Hyderabad, Secunderabad and other places during my short stay there, although my delightful host and hostess did everything in their power to make my temporary visit most agreeable. But before I left I had the pleasure of meeting, at the residence of my very hospitable friends, a lady whom I had wished very much to meet, a lady who is, without doubt, the greatest English poetess India has produced.—I mean Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of Hyderabad. She struck me at the very first sight as a poetess. Among the literary men I met with in London, the late Sir Edwin Arnold produced a similar impression on me as soon as I saw him. When I looked at the Indian poetess I could not help recalling to my mind the words of Mr. Arthur Symons in the introduction to Madame Sarojini's poem, "The Golden Threshold". "To those who knew her in England", says Mr. Symons, "all the life of the tiny finger seemed to concentrate itself in the eyes; they turned towards beauty as the sun-flower turns towards the sun, opening wider and wider until one saw nothing but the eyes". The hypnotism of the eyes apart, and its "fine poetic frenzy", there is a good deal of fascination in her talk, for, she is a brilliant conversationalist. An English lady who happened to be in our company (I believe she is the wife of the professor of history in H. H. the Nizam's College) inquired of me how long I had been a visitor at Hyderabad. "Only four days" I replied. "Then are you not going to write a book on Hyderabad," she asked me with apparent naivete' and a malicious twinkle in her eyes. Then she said innocently something about recent European visitors to India, who after spending a few hours in some of the cities of India have written big volumes and are looked upon as authorities on Indian problems. We all had a hearty laugh and the company dispersed. The following morning I left for Travancore via Madras, my thoughts frequently reverting to Hyderabad, and the kindness and courtesy of my Mahommedan host and hostess there. I was always an advocate of female education, that is to say, ever since I perceived while in Europe its beneficial influence on European society, but after my visit to different parts of India I have become a more confirmed believer in its potency than I ever was. But it was at Hyderabad, however,

that I saw a living example in my hostess of what grace, charm, and refinement, *education* can bestow even on Mahommedan ladies hitherto accustomed immured to be within the walls of a zenana. How it dispels ignorance and bigotry, breaks down inveterate prejudices, and draws together by one touch of kindness people of all races and creeds!. The thought that was uppermost in my mind on my return journey may be best summed up in Madame Sarojini's lines—

"All men our kindred
The world is our home."

E. S. W. SENATHI RAJA.

STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF LOVE

By the Editor.

THE emotion called Love is possessed not only by all mankind but is, in some of its rudimentary forms, shared in also by the lower animals. Though this quality has various aspects in man, many of them worthy and admirable even, these by themselves cannot lead us to a correct understanding of the fundamental element of this noble feeling. The pith and marrow of this essentially animal attribute can be known only by an extensive survey of the whole animal kingdom and a clear grasp of its function in the animal economy.

Such a survey forces on us the conclusion—a conclusion which may be repugnant if not grovelling to our advanced ideas of disinterested Love—that Love, however noble, altruistic, and self-sacrificing it might be in its latest developments, has for its basis an idea of self which is characteristic of all living creatures.* The dominant instinct of self-preservation, that primal rule of animal being, it is impossible to explain on any other assumption. The feeling of pleasure and pain which runs through the whole gamut of organic sentient existence is only another form in which this attachment to self appears. Acquisition of pleasure and avoidance of pain are equally the outcome of the original instinct, Love of self, wherein alone lies the key, the explanation, for the conduct of each individual life. And he should be a sorry moralist indeed, who could bring himself to blame this supreme instinct, in all sincerity. Love of life, the clinging to it with a firmness that knows no diminution or slackening and with the strength of our whole collected nature, cannot be a mean and sordid feeling as some heroic or mock-heroic kind of moralists would seem to insinuate, but one that should be cherished with vigilance and care and from which all our ethical rules must take their rise. It is trite to say that life is more valuable than life's belongings, of which our moral code is one. But there are not wanting men of severe stoicism to assert that 'honour' 'dignity' 'nobleness' and all that glittering

* Mr. Herbert Spencer, while insisting upon the important part played by altruism as much as by egoism in the preservation of the race, admits clearly the primary character of egoism and the secondary nature of altruism. Here are his words:—"If we define altruism as being all action which, in the normal course of things, benefits others instead of benefiting self, then, from the dawn of life altruism has been no less essential than egoism. *Though primarily it is dependent on egoism, yet secondarily egoism is dependent on it.*"

array of super-excellent virtues must, as a general rule, take precedence of life and the loss of the latter is preferable to the loss of the former. But this, beyond doubt, is a glaring instance of placing the cart before the horse. These ideal abstractions, such a noble assemblage of qualities, receive their meaning and derive their importance from the fountain-head of life. In the absence of this latter, the former are idle creations of fancy, without shape, without meaning and without purpose. Attach whatever importance, dignity you will, to these, they are only such stuff as dreams are made of. However, this Love of self absolutely necessary for the existence of the individual, has not, it may be pointed out, the remotest alliance with that quality called 'selfishness', which is a vice arising from the degeneration of a virtue. As much affinity is there for *Selfishness* to *self-love* as there is for a diseased state of the body to a healthy one. The object of self-love is purely preservative of the self, while that of selfishness is something more. Like jingo Imperialism, this latter will not scruple to destroy others or others' happiness, if only for self-aggrandisement.

The opening stage in the evolution of Love being Love of self, the next, that follows as night the day, is that whatever beings that belong to self become objects of affection. Parents, mate, and offspring are the beings that come closest to self and are therefore loved the most. The love of the dam for its offspring, of the bird for its covey, the tie of affection that joins all animals in pairs, in the wedded life of nature, are admitted on all hands and therefore need no illustration. Readers may be referred to chapter XIV of "Natural History of Selborne" for an interesting account of Love in lower animals. †

† We may subjoin here a brief extract from Mr. J. A. Thomson's *Science of Life* in which that author goes farther than we in tracing love to its lowest prototype 'physical attraction.' He writes: "Observation shows us what we are tempted to call mere physical attraction between cells which are at the same time entire organisms. In some types of simple many-celled animals, and in most plants, the attraction remains cellular being confined to the sex-cells. Gradually there appears, as we ascend the animal series, a sexual attraction of entire organisms. When we find a centralized nervous system developed, we may speak of two organisms being in varying degrees aware of one another. The awareness is by and by accompanied by a reflex of emotion, the creatures seem to be fond of each other. Various æsthetic attractions are added to the primary ones, and, on a long inclined plane, "love" emerges. At the same time, however, there has evolved a parento-filial affection and it is easy to undersand how "love" broadened in the family, returns enhanced to the pair. And along with this there is also the evolution of a sense of kinship, which is expressed in mutual aid. Our point is simply that sexual attraction, kinship, altruism and love (or whatever names be given to their pre-human analogues) are important facts and factors in life, which must be taken account of in connection with the struggle for existence. This has been said many times by Spencer, Darwin himself, Fiske, Geddes, Kropotkine, Drummond, Coe and others."

From this secondary fact, as unmistakable in its existence as the first, flows another fact equally true. Love of self, Love of self's kindred, are followed by Love of one's kind. This feeling is differently shared in by different kinds of animals. Gregarious animals and birds living in flocks and insects living in swarms exhibit this love of kind or species in a very marked degree. But there are some animals, the dog for instance, whose rooted antipathy to one of its own kind is so clear and pronounced that we are forced to conclude that either this love of kind is an highly-evolved feeling and is the growth of a complex system of associations, to the attainment of which these animals have not as yet advanced, or that there are certain other counter influences at work in them. That the latter explanation is the more probable one may be inferred from the fact that the wolves, the ancestors of our domesticated dogs, ‡ still hunt in packs, thereby showing that the loss of the gregarious instinct in their descendants is purely an accidental result of domestication.

Here stops, however, the correspondence between man and the brute in the matter of love possessed by them in common. The highest development or efflorescence of Love is confined to man, for he alone has faculties of the mind more numerous and more varied than the brute world. For instance, memory, imagination, and reason, three of the most important mental faculties, bring into play so many associations that Love, instead of standing single and lean, gets a thousand props of support. Love grows with the growth of memory and imagination and strengthens with the strength of reason. In this rational love or love due to complex association, as distinguished from instinctive love we have pointed out above, lies man's superiority over the brute creation. His love is conceptual whereas the brute's has not passed beyond the stage of perception. There is not sufficient ground to conclude that the feeling of love, exhibited for example by one elephant to another, grows in intensity as the latter goes on rendering all manner of services to the former. Not so in the case of man. With him, every act of kindness is discriminated by reason, decked in the iridescent colours of imagination, and treasured up in the safe of his

‡ In one of his letters to Darwin, Prof. Huxley wrote: "From the South American dogs at the bottom (*C. vetulus, cancrivorus*, etc.,) to the wolves at the top, there is a regular gradual progression, the range of variation of each "species" overlapping the ranges of those below and above. Moreover, as to the domestic dogs, I think I can prove that the small dogs are modified jackals and the big dogs ditto wolves. I have been getting capital material from India, and working the whole affair out on the basis of measurements of skulls and teeth."

memory, to be repaid as occasion arises. Carping critics may come forward and say that by how much is man superior to the brute by the rational addition he makes to his feeling by so much is he its inferior by the rational diminution or blotting out also of that feeling, which is a failing seldom or never seen in the brutes. This statement has only an air of truth about it. Love of one thing, love sincere and strong, has always a relative feeling, hatred of a thing in nature opposed to the former. Love of justice, kindness, right, prosperity, has the concomitant feeling, hatred of injustice, unkindness, wrong and adversity. These two seemingly-antagonistic feelings are really two aspects of the same original impulse, two manifestations of one fact in human nature. Sentimental philosophers, there are, who do not look closely to the bearings of things but theorize in their own abstract way and frame rules to suit their preconcieved notions regarding human conduct. These are the persons who hope to bring about the millennium of human perfection, the highest moral development within the reach of man, by the suppression of all anti-social feelings such as anger, hatred &c. Little do these theorizers think that, in effacing these feelings from manhood, they deprive it of all its capacity for doing virtuous acts. Enthusiasm, moral fervour, are as much necessary for loving good as for hating evil. Anger, hatred and other feelings of their class, so long as they are directed against evil of any sort, are virtuous and wholesome feelings. They are in a way the guardians of virtue. But from being used in this direction, if they are preverted to serve low and mean purposes, then certainly they become the nurse of vice. In either case, the feeling must not be judged by itself but must be justified or condemned according to the purposes it serves. Applying this principle to man, we aver that, if he is to be a wholly virtuous man, he must not only love virtue but hate vice. The rational diminution made in his feeling of love is as much necessary for virtue as the rational addition to it. So far this digression.

Love developed in this way by the higher faculties of the mind attains a still higher development wherein strange to say we miss its foundation. What is generally known as disinterested love is not so wonderful nor so needing explanation as the *self-sacrificing love* wherein we fail to see the original root. Knowing as we do that love springs from love of self at the first instance, it is difficult to bring ourselves to believe that there can be any love leading up to the sacrifice of self. Yet there exists in the world such a love and

History, ancient and modern, furnishes us with many noble examples of it. How then can this fact be explained? The explanation lies in the phenomenon of 'fixed ideas' in Psychology—a set of ideas that overrides our ordinary calculations of interest and other considerations of utility.* Only on the assumption of these ideas can martyrdom—an indubitable fact in history—be explained. The mind, fancying perhaps higher enjoyments, arrives at an ecstatic state,—a state of momentary madness as measured by the ordinary standards of our humdrum existence; and to one arrived at this extreme attitude of mind the action, that the ordinary mortal flees away from, seems to have a special charm and attraction. Whether every individual is capable of this emotional delirium it is impossible to say. But certain it is that in fervid natures love swells in volume and intensity and overwhelms other passions to such an extent that the only idea dominating the mind and driving it to excesses is that of the object engaging love.

* Another very striking instance of "fixed ideas" controlling individual actions may be drawn from the military organisation. Obedience to their commander is or ought to be the sole idea animating the rank and file. They need not, aye they should not, weigh the *pros* and *cons* of a step; their duty is to obey. In the expressive words of the Poet, "Theirs is not to make reply, Theirs is to do and die", are summed up the virtues of a discipline which seeks to accomplish its end through the instrumentality of "fixed ideas."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Surat Congress and Conferences: Published by Messrs. G. A Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Price as. 12.

This booklet is a collection of the Presidential and Inaugural, speeches delivered at Surat last year in the various National Conferences held there, Political, Social, Temperance, Swadeshi, Industrial and Theistic. It contains also an account of the split in the Congress and the Presidential address of Sir Adamji Peerbhoy at the all-India Mosiem League. We think the public has to be thankful to that excellent and enterprising publishing house, Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., for having brought out at such a cheap price this handy volume containing the thoughts, on some of the burning questions of the day, of such leading men of India as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C. I. E., Mr. Tribhuvandas N. Malvi M. A., LL. B., Mr. Lal Sankar Umia Shankar, Mr. Manubhai, N. Mehta, Naib-Dewan, Baroda, Babu Norendra Nath Sen, Editor of the *Indian Mirror*, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai, late Chief Justice, Baroda, Prof. T. K. Gajjar and Babu Satyendra Nath Tagore.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose: a study: Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price as. 2.

This interesting biography of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, which originally appeared in the pages of the *Hindustan Review*, has been published in a neat pamphlet by Messrs. Genesh & Co., Madras. It forms No. 5 of the *Indian Patriot Series* which that firm has opportunely undertaken to issue. The clear typography and excellent get-up of this little work reflect credit on their printing establishment.

The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine, April 1908. Dawn Society's Office, 166. Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Annual Subscription: Re. 1 for students, Rs. 2 for teachers, Clubs and Libraries and Rs. 3 and 4. (cheap or superior edition) for others.

We have much pleasure in commending this Magazine to the attention of our readers. It is devoted mainly to the popularisation of national education, on national lines and under national control, and deserves the sympathetic support of those who have in view the educational progress of the Indian Youth. The scope of the Magazine has been defined by the question and answer prefixed to the Journal: How can Indian students increase their love for their country? answer: (a) By increasing their stock of knowledge of India and Indians (b) By

learning to act together for some common purposes useful to the country (c) By helping their countrymen in creating a demand for their manufactures and (d) By helping the cause of education on national lines and under national control. The body of the journal consists of three parts:—(1) *Indiana*, containing original articles and Swadeshi notes (2) *Topics for Discussion*, giving extracts from the speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. A. G. Fraser, and Srijut Hirendranath Dutt, M. A., B. L. on National Education and (3) *National Education Movement*, embracing a variety of interesting notes on this many-sided enterprise. By far the most important contribution appearing in the present number is the one by Mr Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, M. A. on *Indian asceticism*. It is a short historical review and gives a rapid sketch of the part played in Indian Politics by our ascetics and men of religion. "Sadhuism" says the writer "is not a life of egotistic indifference, or of mere blank inactivity as it is sometimes supposed to be, but is a visible embodiment of the life of the spirit, of the life governed solely by the highest ideals, and the uplifting of common humanity is as much, and even more, the care of the ascetic saints of India as of the greatest philanthropist that the West has produced." This conception of Sadhuism is indeed, one may think, new; but the law of universal progress we see ever at work around us cannot but affect even the placid lives of those who have on principle withdrawn themselves from the battle of life. The magazine contemplates to serve a noble national purpose and as such deserves hearty encouragement at the hands of our public men.

The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar, edited by Mr. Ram Deva, B. A., printed at the Union Printing Works and published at Lahore. Annual subscription: Inland Rs 3, Foreign 5 s.

We accept with thanks a copy of the twelfth number of this recent addition to Indian Periodical Literature. Mr. Chandi Prasad Singh, M. A. leads off with an article on 'New India'. He divides the people of India into three classes, the party of *Reformists*, "who preach a distrust of everything antiquated", the party of *Revivalists*, who are against everything new, and the party of *Nationalists*, who are for a juster appreciation of customs and institutions, whether old or new western or eastern, based on their intrinsic merits. Lala Kashi Ram, in his article 'Swami Dayananda and Christianity' proves that Rev. Mr. Holland has not satisfactorily met the criticism of certain Christian doctrines the Swamiji has passed in the XIII th chapter of his work *Satyartha Prakash*. Next Mr. Har Dayal Mathur, M. A. gives his

impressions of the *Gurukula* in a critical and readable article. While appreciating the "genuine desire" on the part of its promoters to "advance the best interests of the Hindu people", their "heart-felt passion for many august and enduring national institutions", "their honesty of purpose and strength of will", the writer takes occasion to point out certain defects of that educational institution. In the method and course of studies prescribed he finds "too much intellectual mill-grinding which is absolutely detrimental to all healthy development" and rightly inveighs against the discontinuance of the study of the *Hindi* Bhasha, in their over-enthusiastic admiration for Sanscrit. But the most formidable indictment he has entered is that the Institution does by no means cultivate the right form, the genuine stuff, of Nationalism but only "a narrow circumscribed sort of it, a queer and peculiar variety of patriotism, nurtured in the hothouse of theological pedantry and bigotry." Other articles of interest in the number are the *Fountain-head of Religion* by G. P. and *Man's moral conduct* by Mr. Ram Gopal and the Editorial *notes*. The Section *Gurukula Samachar* dealing with interesting particulars connected with that educational institution closes this volume. Agreeably to its title the Magazine devotes most of its space to a discussion of questions, Religious and Ethical, which, we doubt not, will be of great interest to the Indian reader. We wish our contemporary success and a long career of usefulness.

Vol. VII.] SEPTEMBER [No. 3

THE

MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

K. N. SIVARAJAN, B. A.

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DISTRIBUTION OF RACES AROUND THE PERSIAN GULF.

By Mr. J. A. Saldanha.

THE earliest account we have got of the distribution of races and tribes in the countries round the Persian Gulf is contained in Chapter 10th of the *Genesis*, which it is most interesting to find generally to correspond with actualities, so far as philology, archæology and traditions can help us to trace back the existing varieties of people.* Each name in the list is regarded by the author of the *Story Nations Series*: *Chaldea*, § as that of a race, people, or tribe, not that of an individual. The following statement comparing the names of some of Noah's descendants with tribes or places on the Persian Gulf may help to elucidate this view more than an elaborate discussion:—

Statement of some places and tribes round the Persian Gulf, showing their possible derivation from the tribes or families mentioned in the Genesis

Names of places or tribes.	Derived probably from.
The Island of *Havilah*, ancient name of Bahrein and the tribe of *Haola*, *Havilah*, *Hoola* or *Al-ah* that played an important part in	*Havilah*, son of Cush, son of Ham (Cham).

* Rev. C. Forster's *Historical Geography of Arabia*, (1844.)

§ Ragozin's *Chaldea* (1900.)

the island of Bahrein, and along both shores of the Persian Gulf.	
The town of *Ramah*, *Regma* or *Rums* on the Pirate Coast of the Persian Gulf.†	*Ramah* or *Regma*, son of Cush.
The *Asabi* or *Sabi*, a tribe mentioned by Niebuhr as inhabiting the coast of Oman, to be distinguished from the *Sabaei* of Yemen.	*Seba*, son of Cush.
Dedan, a town of Oman.	*Dedan*, son of Raamah.
Khare *Shuam*.	*Cham* (or *Ham*).
Kusma, a town south of Ramah conjectured by Niebuhr to be derived from	*Cush*.
Zobarrah.	*Sabatah* or *Sabtah* (son of Cush).

A large number of the descendants of the patriarch *Ham or Cham*, especially by his son Cush, settled on the Western shores of the Persian Gulf and appear to have been in the early ages driven across the Persian Gulf, leaving remnants in the islands of Bahrein and in the Gulf opposite to it, and at the Mussendom Peninsula, by Arab tribes (Semitic) from the North and West, who now dominate the whole of Arabia.

The tribes of Arabia ‡ are divided into three classes:—(1) the old or lost Arabs, (2) the *Mota* or genuine Arabs and (3) the *Most* or instituted Arabs. To the first belonged the *Ad* (or Uz, son of Aram, son of Sem), Thamud (another son of Aram), Jorham or Jare (son of Joktan), which tribes have long perished, except certain survivors, who have mixed up with the existing tribes. To the *Mota* Arabs belong mainly the Joktanik tribes, whose ancestor is supposed to be Joktan or Khatan (son of Eber, son of Salah, son of Arphaxad, son of of Shem). His son and successor Yareb or Jarab is called the father of the Arabic, for during his time the Arabic is said to have grown into a distinct language, diverging from the Syriac of the North. Of

† *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, also mentions a place called *Asabi* on the Oman coast [see Vincent's and Mc Crindle's editions. In the latter pp. 93-106.]

‡ Upton's *Gleanings from the Desert of Arabia* [*London*, 1881.]
Encyclopædia Brittanica, article on *Arabia*.

his sons, Hamayar imparted his name to the Yemen tribes as well as their language.

The *Most* or instituted Arabs are derived from Adnan, a descendant of Ismael, Abraham's son by Hagar, whose children intermarried with the Semitic tribes that had previously settled down in Western Arabia and gradually got a preponderance in Hejr, the country about Mekkah, supplanting the Jaromites and other Arab tribes.

While there can hardly be any doubt that Eastern Arabia was at an early date overrun by the descendants of Cush, it received later on a large number of immigrants from the West and North-West. A number of tribes in Eastern Arabia trace their orgin to the Kahtanic branch of the Arabs. The name of *Hagar or Hajar* (wife of Abraham and mother of Ismael) survives probably in the *Beni Hajar* tribe, playing so prominent a part in Hasa and Katif, and *Hajar*, formerly the chief town of Bahrein.

Possibly the peninsula of *Katar* owes its name to *Katura*, another wife of Abraham, by whose name her children were called.

Turning our attention to Turkish Arabia, we read in the Bible¶ the following account:—

"And Cush begot Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one on the earth.....and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth and Calah. And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."

The sequence of the Chaldean kingdoms given above is Babylon, Erech, Accad and Kalneh, but the chronological order is the reverse.† We have in fact the following leading kingdoms in Chaldea and Assyria marked out:—

Calneh or Nippur. (B. C. 3800).
Accad. (B. C. 3800-3500).
Erech. (B. C. 3000-2300).
Babylon. (B. C. 2300).
Ashur, the early Assyrian Empire. (B. C. 2300-900).
Calah, the Middle Empire. (B. C. 900-722).
Nineveh, the Sargonite dynasty. (B. C. 722-623).

Moses derives the Kingdom of Assyria from Babylonia and on this he is amply confirmed by modern discoveries of the monuments.

¶ *Genesis*, X, 8.
† Boscawen's *First of Empires*, (1903.)

According to Boscawen§ this expansion from the south to north took place about 3800 B. C. The most important city in the north was Kharran, the same as Haran of the Genesis XI,31. It was to this city Terah took Abram and other members of his family from the city "Ur of the Chaldees" (now Mughier) on the Lower Euphrates), which was once the seat of an important kingdom that rose into prominence and dominated Chaldea after the fall of Nippur, a more ancient kingdom, but later than that of Eridu.

The country of Elam (the present Persian Arabistan) was the seat of powerful kingdoms which at times eclipsed the Chaldean and Assyrian kingdoms and dominated the whole region of the Persian Gulf. From the discoveries made by De Morgan * the early history of Elam can be divided into three periods:—

(1) The Semitic period when the Babylonian influence was predominant, from about 3800 to 2000 B. C.

(2) The Kassite period about 2000 B C.

(3) The Anzante period from 750 B. C. to the Persian conquest.

The occasional glimpses, which modern discoveries of monuments give us of the 1000 years from 2500 to 1300 B. C., show us three powerful contemporary kingdoms vying with one another for supremacy in the regions watered by the Tigris, Euphrates and Karun rivers. There was a time when the Elamite supremacy extended over the whole of Chaldea. The Elamites under their King Kudur-Lagamar (or Chedarlaomer of Genesis XIV, 1?) seem to have taken Babylon and destroyed the temple of Bel-Merodoch; but Khammurabi or Hammurabi, written Amurapi, (supposed to be same as Amraphel of Genesis XIV, 1), overthrew the Elamites in a decisive battle (in B. C. 2340). Khammurabi united all the regions from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean into one monarchy. His reign was marked by vast improvements in the irrigation of the country and literary revival. The code of laws of Khammurabi recently discovered is the oldest code ‡ of laws that have been yet unearthed. Though we cannot go so far as to assert that it formed the basis of the Mosaic Code, there must have been much in common in the usages, customs and laws of the Chaldeans and Jews on which both the Codes were built up, *mutatis mutandis*.

§ Boscawen's *First of Empires*, [1903.]

* Boscawen's *First of Empires*, page 13.

‡ *Textes Elamatiques Semitiques* by Father Scheil O. P. (Paris 1902,) being tome IV of the *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse*.

The oldest Laws of the World by C. Edwards,

The oldest Code of Laws by Johns C. H. 1903,

The *Codes of Hammurabi and Moses*, by Stanley Cooke.

The kingdoms referred to above as dominating Babylonia and Assyria were of Semitic origin so far as archæology can show us. But they were preceded by kingdoms, which had a different racial origin. Long before the kingdom of Calneh or Nippur came into existence, there was some 6000 years before Christ a great city called Eridu, situated on the ancient confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates and on the shores of the Persian Gulf, as they existed then. § It was here according to the tradition preserved by Berosus that the fish god (Oannes) came up from that part of the Erythrean Sea which borders on Babylonia to teach the inhabitants of the country between the Tigris and Euphrates letters and sciences and arts of every kind. This fish god is supposed to be the same as *Ea*, the "divine master of law," one of the Triad worshipped by the Chaldeans (Anu, Bel and Ea). The ancient Babylonia was divided into *Sumir* and *Akkad* and the people of both these provinces formed the Sumir-Akkads. The Akkads were a blackheaded race, and it is these people that are supposed to have settled in Lower Babylonia from the Persian Gulf and introduced a higher civilization under their leader Oannes. Who were these blackheads over whom and the Sumerians, the Semitic race ruled later on? Were they the Kyshites of the Hamitic race that had spread itself over Eastern Arabia, Egypt and probably down in Persia and India before the Semitics or the Aryans? Further had these Kushites any kinship with the Phoenicians of whose ancient connection with the Persian Gulf and India we find daily additional evidences? Modern scholarship shows a tendency in answering these questions in the affirmative. ‡

(To be continued.)

J. A. SALDANHA.

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§ *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Vol, XXVI, Article on *Babylonia* by E. H. Sayce.

‡ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*. Notes by Rawlinson on Capt. Durand's *Report on the Bahrein Islands*. J. R. A. S. 1880 p. 201.

Ragozin's *Chaldea* (1900), pp. 122, 154, 160, 163, 191, 199, 209, 227, 246. Boscawen's *First of Empires* (1903.) *East and West* 1905, pp. 828-37.

N. B. The 10th chapter of *Genesis* derives the ancient kingdoms of Babylonia from the tribes of Cush.

THE EPICS OF INDIA AND GREECE—II.

By Mr. Thomas C. Rice, B. A.

III. THE social organisation in India at the time of the compilation of the epic corresponded to that instituted by Manu. There were the four classes of Brahmins, Kshatryas, Vaisyas and Sudras. Slaves are mentioned in the sections that bear traces of later origin. The duties of the four classes are prescribed as in Manu's Institutes. Study of the sacred books is enjoined to all the three twice-born classes, showing considerable advance in the art of writing and in the multiplication of books. The Brahman's duties are stated to be what they have always had prescribed to them, to sojourn to holy places, to teach, to minister as priests in sacrifices, and to accept gifts. The Kshatrya should protect the people; his business was war. The Vaisyas engaged in commerce, agriculture and tending cattle. The subjugated aborigines called Sudras were to be the servants of the Brahmins, not to study nor offer sacrifice.* ¶ The organisation was similar in Greece. We see the country divided into a number of petty states under kings. In India the country possessed by the Aryans was of much larger extent, comprising all Hindustan; that is, in the time of the poet, not of the original war. About fifteen to twenty Aryan kingdoms existed, the areas of which cannot be determined. At any rate they were of moderate size, the more powerful far exceeding the others. These kingdoms were situated in the midst of extensive forest regions that had not yet been cleared. The wealth of the rajas consisted mostly in cattle and the petty inter-tribal wars were mostly occasioned by expeditions for cattle-lifting. In Greece, the warrior classes who followed the king abroad as heavy-armed soldiers also pursued the occupation of husbandmen in time of peace. As successful wars resulted in an increase of luxury, and the capture of slaves, these began to be employed in all the menial offices. In India, the number of the Brahmins and *Rishis* and the extraordinary veneration paid to them is the phenomenon that finds no parallel except in Egypt. The number and influence of monks and friars in Western Europe in the century before the reformation offers the nearest analogy. In Europe, the clergy were organised into a hierarchy under the Pope,

* Udyog. Parv. 38

¶ Udyog. Parv. 28.

and their wealth and dissoluteness excited the envy and contempt of the people. In India, in the Heroic Age, the clergy continued by their learning, their austere morals, inoffensive lives and their poverty to secure the reverence of kings as well as of the vulgar. The *Rishi* class was recruited from all the classes. The Brahmins were never organised into one body and the liberty to marry increased their numbers. The extraordinary sanctity of the priestly class was not a notable feature in Greek society. Agamemnon angrily dismisses the priest of Apollo when he comes to beg for the release of his daughter † and speaks roughly to his own priest Calchas.* Kings were not held in such great respect in Greece as in India. The speech of Thersites, § though it is true it emanated from a man of low standing and foul tongue, would have been regarded as blasphemy in India. The aged and blind king Dritarashtra, in spite of the weakness of his character was regarded with such reverence that his word was law. By virtue of his royal prerogative he was able to abrogate the forfeiture incurred by the Pandava brethren in consequence of the defeat of Yudhishtira in the fatal gambling match. Even the headstrong Duryodhana would have felt it his duty to obey the king had he commanded him to restore their territory to the Pandavas.

(*a*) The social amenities of the Greeks consisted in generous hospitality expressed by placing before the guests ample viands and abundance of wine. We miss the reverence to superiors and elders that we meet with in the Indian poem. In India a herald despatched to another friendly court had first to inquire after the health and welfare of all in the court he visited beginning from the eldest and ending with the youngest. The courteous Yudhishtira even makes inquiries by his herald after the women and the maid-servants in the ladies' apartments. Water for washing the feet and face is offered to the guest as in modern India. The visitor joins his hands together in token of respect to the king, the elders and the royal chaplain; he touches the feet of the king; and when Sanjaya, the charioteer, relates how he carried the king's message to Arjuna and Krishna, he says "I conveyed to them thy message, playing my joined hands on my head." The king of the Matsyas "smelt the heads" of Yudhistira and his brethren. ‡ Satyavati goes through the same action in

† Iliad, I, 20-50.
* Iliad, I, 84-114.
§ Iliad, II, 209-240.
‡ Virata Parv. 71.

respect of Bhishma.¶ On the other hand, Achilles insults Agamemnon, "the king of men" by calling him "a dog in face"; but after their reconciliation, at the funeral games celebrated in honour of Patroclus, when Agamemnon rises to take part in one of the competitions Achilles courteously restrains him, seeing that it was undignified for one of his rank to enter the lists, and awards him a handsome prize by way of grace.‡

(*b*) Both among the Greeks and the Hindus the dead body was burnt on the funeral pile.§ At the funeral of Patroclus, many oxen and sheep were sacrificed and twelve young men. The corpse was wrapped with the fat of the slaughtered animals whose carcases were heaped up around; four horses and two house-dogs were killed, apparently with the idea that they would be of use to the ghost in Hades. Two-handled jars of honey and oil were placed on the pyre beside the bier. All the ugly features of this ceremony are absent in the funeral rites performed after the battle of Kurukshetra. The rajas of the first rank were identified by the charioteers wrapped in fine linen, and the bodies burned with perfumes; first Duryodhana, then those of the rajas next in consequence, and finally, on an immense funeral pile, all the other dead bodies were burnt together. After this, Yudhistira and his brethren went to bathe in the Ganges according to the rule; and taking up a handful of water for each kinsman that had been slain, they sprinkled it in the name of the deceased. In this rite it is noticeable that the widows of the Kaurava brethren and of the other kings that lost their lives in the battle are not stated to have immolated themselves on the funeral pile with their deceased husbands, but survive them. After the death of the old Raja Santanu, the ancestor of the Pandus and Kurus, "his youthful Rani appears to have lived many years as a matron and queen mother; and it may be remarked that neither in her case nor in that of her daughters-in-law is there any reference to the rite of Sati."* The funeral games that were celebrated at the obsequies of the Greek hero Patroclus and which lend so much animation to the closing scenes of the Iliad were

¶ Udyog. Parv. 174.

‡ Il. XXIII. 892-897.

§ The mention made of the Pandavas pretending to hang up the dead body of their mother in the branch of a tree, if not a mere invention of the brethren themselves, refers to some ancient rite of which no trace probably now exists. It resembles the mummifying of corpses among the Egyptians as well as their exposure, according to the creed of Zeroaster.

* Wheeler's *Hist of Ind.* Vol. I, Pt. II, ch. 1.

a distinctive feature of the Greek character. The grave and sober nature of the Hindus would have thought such amusements as out of place.

As regards marriage customs among the Greeks in Homer's time the bride was wooed, or purchased from her father, with costly gifts. Traces of marriage by capture existed among the Spartans. Penelope tells the lords that sought her hand that other wooers at least brought presents in their hands, but those of hers did but rob where others gave freely; and the taunt produced at once some costly offerings. Bhishma forcibly seized the three daughters of the king of Kasi as wives for Vichitravirya and challenged the father and the other suitors to battle.† In the episode of Chandrahasa and Bikya, the marriage ceremony was of a very simple character; the Brahmins merely tied together the skirts of the bride and bridegroom and they became husband and wife. Devayani says to king Yayati that the mode of contracting marriage among the Kshatriyas was for the man to take the woman by the hand. The maiden in India, in the Heroic Age, had the free right of choosing her husband, but choice fell on the strongest and ablest warrior. At the nuptials of Draupadi, the bride entered carrying a nuptial garland on her arm, and was introduced by her brother to all the assembled suitors A bow of immense size and stiffness was produced; the candidate had to string the bow and shoot five arrows through a revolving disc at a target placed beyond. The maid threw the garland over the shoulders of the warrior who distinguished himself most in the contest. The similarity is apparent in the scene in the Odyssey at the palace of Ulysses, where Penelope offers herself as a wife to the suitor who could bend and string the bow of Ulysses. Custom did not restrict the Kshatriya kings and princes to one wife. Arjuna besides Draupadi, married Subhadra the sister of Krishna; the daughter of Virata was offered to him in marriage in spite of this fact, and he subsequently married the queen of the Amazons. Pandu had two wives; Vichitra-virya had two and might have had three. The custom of polygamy survived as a singular usage in the marriage of the Pandavas to the same wife.¶

A coronation is not described in the Iliad. A crown was not a symbol of regal power among either the Greeks or ancient Hindus. Arjuna and Duryodhana had their heads decorated with crowns. Both

† Udyog. Parv. 178.

¶ According to Wheeler, polygamy is a necessity among an invading soldiery encamped in hostile territory remote from their own, having left their families in their old homes.

were juniors in rank to the installed Maharajas, Dritarashtra and Yudhistira. In the Mahabharata the hasty installation of Karna is effected by placing him on a throne, holding the red umbrella over his head, fanning him with the yak-tail and presenting gifts of golden coins, grain and water-jar to be touched by him. At the installation of Yudhistira after the war the ceremonies were more elaborate, but the general tenor of them was the same. Jars of water, containing a number of specified herbs, was poured over the head of the Raja, while the proper mantras were being chanted by the officiating priests.

(*c*) As regards the status of women in India they led a freer and more joyous life in the old times than in the seclusion to which they are now committed. In the episodes of Sarmishtha and Devayani Sakuntala and Bikya we read of young women of the higher classes straying with their maids without male escort and indulging in games and noisy merriment. The same liberty is allowed to Nausicaa, the daughter of king Alcinous, in the Odyssey, The love making is done by the young people without the interference of parents; and the gallantry of the young men is more like what we might imagine in the courts of the Provencal princes contemporary with Chaucer and Edward III of England, in the middle of the 14th century than on the banks of the Ganges in the 3rd century B. C. The independence of women in India was even greater than in Greece in the Homeric period. The daughters of kings in Greece were disposed of at the will of their fathers, and the choice of a husband for them was guided by diplomatic reasons. Agamemnon offered his daughter as a bribe to Achilles to secure his assistance without consulting the girl's wishes.

The occupations of the women in their chambers show a great contrast. The women in the apartments of the kings in India seem to have spent their time in idleness, singing and dancing, or story-telling, and playing with dolls, as in the palace of Virata King of Matsya. * The servant girls were engaged in pounding unguents to anoint the face and body. Compare with this the occupation of Penelope, the wife of Ulysses, and her maids in the *Odyssey*. Penelope "had set up a mighty loom in which she wrought diligently to complete, as she professed, a winding-sheet of delicate texture for her husband's father." When the news of Hector's death was carried to his wife she was "in an inner chamber, ... weaving a double purple web, and embroidering therein manifold flowers." Even the fickle queen Helen when restored to her place in Menelaus' household is seen

* Virat. Parv. S. 11; *et seq.*

engaged in making some delicate fabric of wool tinged with costly purple dye. A silver basket carried the wool and she held in her hand a spindle. The refinement here pictured resembles a lady's drawing-room of to-day with the lady's work basket, knitting needles and Berlin wool. In India owing to caste organisation weaving and embroidery are done by men of a particular caste. The princesses in the palaces of kings would have felt degraded had they had to do work like this or to be engaged in washing their own clothes like the princess Nausicaa and her maids in the Odyssey. Of Draupadi in her home at Indra-prastha it is said that "Retiring to bed last and waking up first, she looketh after all down to the cowherds and shepherds."§ The wifely duties in Greece and India differed. In India, hospitality, and attention to the wants and comforts of menials were regarded as duties. In Greece the servants of the household, as well as the swineherds and neatherds were slaves who did not, as a rule, draw much sympathy from their masters.

IV. The Greek princes on the field of Troy never spared an enemy, however abject might be his submission, however pitifully he might cling to the knees of his conqueror, offering untold sums of brass and gold for his ransom. Achilles slew beautiful young boys as mercilessly as adult foemen, and sacrificed twelve young princes at the tomb of his friend Patroclus. At the sack of Troy neither men women nor children were spared. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who had all the ferocity of his father, slew the aged Priam at the altar where he had taken refuge, flung the little son of Hector over the ramparts, and sacrificed a daughter of Priam at the tomb of his father. Compare with these barbarities the laws of war as laid down by the Hindu poet. "Weapons must never be made to descend upon women and kine and Brahmins".† The exemption is extended elsewhere to those whose food is eaten as well as those "that yield asking for protection".¶ The rules of war laid down by Bhishma and Drona for the guidance of the combatants in the anticipated battle of Kurukshetra are humane and generous, though Wheeler observes of them that no distinction is made between treachery and stratagem and that the compilers of the code were Brahmins who knew nothing practically of war and its usages. ‡ The rules were, (1) that after the actual battle of the day was over,

§ Sabha Parv. 65.

† Sabh. Parv. S. 41;

¶ Udyog Parv. 35. These generous sentiments are out of keeping with the injunction given in S. 28.—"Religious merit is acquired by putting the Dasyas to death."

‡ Wheeler's Hist. of Ind. Vol. I; Pt. II, ch. 2.

the combatants were to mingle in friendly intercourse. We find some understanding of this nature among the Greeks during the truces proclaimed. (2) The battle was to be conducted without stratagem or treachery. Here no distinction is made between the two. The Greeks used every possible kind of stratagem for foiling the enemy. This rule was not observed at Kurukshetra; Duryodhana was disabled by a foul blow, and Krishna and Arjuna abetted in the commission of the wrong. Drona was killed by an artifice which cannot be distinguished from a gross breach of the rule. Karna was taken at a disadvantage and slain. Yudhistira expects Shalya to be the charioteer of Karna and advises him to "dispirit the vile son of the charioteer" as far as he could with contradictory advice fraught with harm to him, and Shalya consents to the plot. (3) The man who fled and the non-combatants like the charioteers and drum-beaters were to be spared. (4) Those similarly equipped were to fight together; horsemen, elephant-riders, chariot-warriors and footmen, each against each,—a rule that cannot possibly be observed. (5) When warriors were employing words only no man amongst them should use arms. The wordy warfare in the Iliad and Mahabharata elicited much eloquence and delayed the action to a degree vexatious to the impatient reader. "Puerile dialogues have been introduced (in the Mahabharata) at every fluctuation of the fortunes of the war..... the wearisome stream of senseless talk, extravagant fables, and irrelevant disquisitions is so foreign to European tastes and ideas and so wanting in historical significance as to be positively nauseous to enlightened readers."§ (6) No man shall take arms against another without giving him warning;—a condition impossible in serious warfare. (7) When two combatants are engaged no third man shall interfere. These rules, however quixotic they may seem, denote an honest desire to ameliorate the conditions of war which was deserving of the highest honour. The Church in Europe in the Middle Ages made similar efforts with indifferent success, but more credit is due to the Indians who anticipated the Hague conference by more than 2000 years.

As to the weapons of war, the javelin was not used in India; it is seldom referred to; at any rate it was not the usual weapon. In the fights in the Iliad, the warriors are armed with two javelins, one in each hand. They also wore swords slung over the shoulder by a baldrick, and used when the combatants closed in fight, after throwing their javelins. In India the bow and arrow were the chief weapons.

§ Wheeler's Hist. of India; Vol. I; Pt. II; ch. 12.

Arjuna's fights are all with his terrible bow, the *Gandiva*. Among the Greeks the shield was an indispensable weapon. The most consummate talent is employed by the poet of the Iliad in describing the embossed work on the shield of Achilles, made for him by the architect of the gods; and if the description accurately represents the workmanship on an existent shield, the progress in engraving and embossing in Homer's time must have reached the highest standard of excellence. No such work of art is mentioned in the Mahabharata; indeed the shield was uncommon and is seldom referred to. Swords, or rather scimitars were used "manufactured in the country of the Nishadas." One was decorated with the mark of a toad; the quivers containing the arrows were painted with the images of animals; the staffs of the bows had also carvings of animals on them. Bows and arrows, the chief weapons used in India were not capable of much ornamentation. In the elaborate description of the bows of the Pandavas given in the preliminary sections describing the battle between Arjuna fighting on behalf of the Matsyas, on one side, and the Trigartas and Kauravas on the other * *Indragopakas* (a species of Indian beetle) made of gold are mentioned as among the ornaments of the bows. The description reminds one of the *scarabs* or beetles engraved upon cornelian and other stones forming one of the most curious finds in Etruria, and suggesting an Assyrian origin for both. The war-chariot was in use both in India and Greece at the periods to which the epics refer. It was evidently a two-wheeled chariot, capable, of holding two warriors, one holding the reins, and the other fighting. † In the battle referred to, King Virata's son held the reins for Arjuna; at Kuru-kshetra Krishna did that office for Arjuna. Achilles goes forward to retrieve the fight for the Greeks against the Trojans, Automedon similarly acts as the car-driver. Achilles' chariot was according to Homer drawn by three horses; Arjuna's, in the battle we refer to, by four. Judging from representations in sculpture the three horses were yoked to the car side by side; the four must have been yoked, two and two. In India a pole ascended from the body of the chariot bearing a banner. In the battle of the Matsyas with the Trigartas aided by their respective allies the Pandus and Kurus the Hindu poet gives us the emblems painted on the banners; an ape with a lion's tail was upon Arjuna's banner; Kripa's emblem was a golden altar; Duryodhana's an elephant on a

* Virat. Parv. S. 42.

† In the Assyrian bas-reliefs unearthed at Nineveh their are representations of warriors fighting in cars, which probably give a very good idea of what must have been the martial equipment of the combatants at Kuru-kshetra.

ground of gold; Bhishma's a blue flag bearing the device of five stars with a sun in the centre; * Drona's, an elegant waterpot worked in gold; the Matsya king's emblem was a golden lion. This advanced civilisation is more characteristic of the middle ages of Europe than of the third century B. C; and would imply, to say no more, a very late origin for some parts of the Mahabharata. Readers of Scott's poetry will be reminded of the banner of King James IV of Scotland at Flodden, in which "the ruddy lion ramped in gold." Each warrior had a distinctive weapon among the Hindus. The plough-share was the weapon of Valadeva, the brother of Krishna. The discus spoken of as the celestial weapon of Krishna is not sufficiently well described to enable us to conceive it. It appears to have been a circular plate of steel with a sharp edge, in other respects like a quoit, whirled from a sling. The warriors, Bhima and Duryodhana, were expert in wielding the mace. Arjuna's weapon was the bow. To shield the fingers from abrasions caused by the bow-string, gloves made of iguana skin were worn. The sword was worn, but we do not remember mention of a duel with swords. The *Shatagni* hurled by king Shalwa and caught by Krishna ‡ is explained as the ancient Indian rocket. It was evidently a missile, and if a cannon ball, it either shows the lateness of the time when this section was composed or the early acquaintance with some kind of explosive. The warriors carried conch shells which were blown with a sound terrible to hear, and which seems intended not to summon warriors to the fray, but to strike terror into the enemy. Arrows shot from bows were the weapons in most common use; but these arrows in the usual fashion of Hindu poets are represented as performing the most extraordinary feats; as capable of destroying elephants, slashing off heads, cutting through a flag-staff, and in short performing the work of half a dozen different implements of war. They are shot off by the famous warrior Arjuna with a rapidity unequalled by any modern Maxim gun. In explanation and as a check to any note of incredibility among the audience the poet tells us that the arrows were the gifts of the gods Indra, Varuna, Vayu and Agni. The description of battles is the weakest point in the Hindu bard. It is evident he is not a warrior and merely drawing from imagination. Homer delighted in describing the clash of swords and the rattle of armour, and his battle scenes are full of a spirit and life which take away the horror from the scenes he

* Elsewhere, a palmyra tree is stated to have been his emblem.

‡ Udyog. Parv. 47.

describes. Homer's heroes when no other weapon is at hand lift up stones and hurl them at antagonists. Thus Diomedes overthrows Aeneas with a stone that no two men of our days can lift; Ajax hurls a huge stone at Hector which makes him spit blood. Hector raises a stone "that not two best men of the people, such as mortals now are could lightly lift from the ground on to a wain" and flings it at the massive portals of the Grecian ramparts that guarded their ships and bursts them open. The poet apologises for this modest exaggeration by the statement that "the son of crooked-counselling Kronos (Zeus) made it light for him." Lastly Athene smites Ares on the neck with "a stone, black, rugged, huge, which men of old time set to be the land-mark of a field. Mars falls, covering seven roods with his body."¶ The hyperboles of Homer are mostly of this kind, where the gods are brought in person upon the field, as when the poet says—"brazen Ares bellowed loud as nine thousand warriors or ten thousand cry in a battle." When the Hindu poet warms in his description he goes on to say "And the field of battle was bestrewn with severed heads, decked with turbans and ear-rings and neck-laces of gold. And the earth looked beautiful by being scattered all over with human trunks mangled by shafts and arms having bows in their grasp and hands decked with ornaments. And in consequence of heads cut off by whetted shafts ceaselessy falling on the ground, it seemed as if a shower of stones fell from the sky."† All these deeds are the achievements of a single hero Arjuna.

In Greece the bow and arrow were not used in battle by the foremost warriors. The best archers mentioned by Homer, Paris and Pandarus, belonged to the Trojan side. The bowmen consisted of Paionians, who came as allies of the Trojans "from far away in Amydon, from the broad stream of Axiss". The best archer among the gods was Apollo, called "Lykian", that is, born in Lykia, the native country of Pandarus.§ The defensive armour mentioned in the Mahabharata are the coat of mail or chain shirt. Much skill must have been acquired in the manufacture of this article. Even elephants are spoken of as sheathed in mail armour. The helmet is not mentioned, though the head-piece worn by Arjuna is, by some, taken to be a helmet. Turbans were generally worn. Among the Greeks, a description of Agamemnon's armour given in the Iliad will serve as a

¶ Iliad, XXI. 395-425.
† Virata Parva, S. 62.
§ In Asia Minor.

type. "Then he rose and did on his doublet about his breast, and beneath his shining feet he bound on fair sandals and thereafter clad him in the tawny skin of a lion, fiery and great, a skin that reached to the feet, and he "grasped his spear". His brother Menelaus "with a dappled pard's skin first covered his broad shoulders and he raised and set on his head a casque of bronze and took a spear in his strong hand". Menelaus wore an inwrought belt, and a curiously wrought breastplate. The belt was clasped with golden buckles, and the doubled breast-plate met them. He also wore a short kilt of mail that covered the thighs. The armour that the divine architect Mulciber forged for Achilles consisted of a beautifully wrought shield, "a corselet brighter than a flame of fire", a massive helmet with a crest of gold set thereon, and greaves of pliant tin. Let us enter into his tent with Homer and see how Achilles arms himself. "First on his legs he set the fair greaves fitted with silver ankle-pieces and next he donned the cuirass about his breast. Then round his shoulders he slung the bronze sword, silver-studded; then lastly he took the great strong shield.....He lifted the stout helmet and set it on his head, ...the horse-hair crested helmet; and around it waved plumes of gold.....From its stand he drew his father's spear, heavy, and great and strong; that spear, could none other of the Achaian's wield" ‡ The Indian warriors were gorgeous in their attire; their civilisation was more barbaric; most of the precious stones, diamonds, pearls, emeralds, rubies, sapphires were known to them and employed in personal decoration, besides gold and silver. They wore garlands and chains of gold; some decked their heads with jewelled crowns; they had on wristlets and armlets of gold, ear-rings in the ears, and turbans on their heads. Bhisma had a white umbrella over his head; attendants fanned the more luxurious of them with the long hairy yak-tails.

(To be continued.)

THOMAS C. RICE.

‡ Iliad; XIX 363-396; The translations of the Iliad are all from the literal prose version of Myers, Lang and Leaf.

THE MATRIMONIAL CUSTOMS OF THE NAYARS.

By Mr. K. Kannan Nayar.

THE matrimonial customs of the *Nayars* have aroused the curiosity of both the scientific and the ordinary observer. To the former it is a puzzle that rigid notions of the bond of separate marriage* co-exist in the Nayar society with the maternal line of family descent; while the ordinary observer is surprised to find that in spite of the progress the people have made in civilization they still retain a form of marriage which does not recognize son's right to inherit the father's property. The scientist, who attempts to explain all social phenomena as the results of definite sociological laws, has been led to share with the civilized world the view that son's right to inherit father's property is a natural consequence of the bond of marriage. This view may be correct regarding societies in which the institution of marriage has been the result of a process of internal social evolution. But in the Nayar society the institution owes itself not to any such process but to an external influence brought to bear upon the society by an interested people. Marriage, among the Nayars, is indeed pure and simple, unmixed with considerations of civil rights of property—a marriage for the sake of marriage alone. It is not an institution intended, as in more advanced Hindu Societies, for the perpetuation of family, but a social arrangement intended for the peaceful satisfaction of that "blindest appetite" of man. Such an arrangement is evidently possible without the slightest disturbance of the civil laws regulating inheritance or the transfer of property.

Although marriage among the Nayars does not give rise to any right of property,‡ not only is the marriage tie sufficiently respected, but the love between wife and husband or between father and child is as strong as among any other people. Mr. Logan, who was the Collector of Malabar for a long time, has spoken of the Nayar's bond of marriage in these terms:—"Nowhere is the marriage tie—albeit informal—more rigidly observed or respected than it is in Malabar;

* This term is used as opposed to "communal" or "tribal marriage" which is the characteristic feature of a society in which only the female parentage of a child is known.

‡ Marriages under the "Malabar Marriage Act of 1896" are exceptions to this rule. It should be remembered that the right of maintenance which is allowed to a child under the Criminal Procedure Code, is not a right rising from marriage.

nowhere is it more jealously guarded or its neglect more severely avenged." It could not be otherwise, for love exists in the hearts of Nayar wives and Nayar husbands unalloyed with considerations of civil rights and family-perpetuation and cemented by the mortar of innate feelings.

The description of the Nayars' marriage customs given by several writers has misled foreigners to make certain blundering statements. "No Nayar son knows his own father," says Francis Day in his *Land of the Perumals*. But long before Francis Day wrote, the Nayars had adopted the custom of separate marriage and polyandry had begun to be looked upon with disfavour. Most probably the foreigner was misguided by his informants in the same way in which he was misled to state that "*Moothathu* belongs to the barber class" or that "*Pottis* or *Pattar* Brahmans reside in separate rooms in Nayar houses." Again elsewhere in his *Land*, the same author writes that among the Nayars "a woman usually does not co-habit with her husband, but after being married receives any other man whom she chooses." "If a Nayar lady gets tired of her husband she dismisses him" is another blundering assertion once published in an English periodical. Similar scandalous talks about the sexual morality of the Nayars, heard also from the mouths of *Paradesis*, are, I believe, the outcome of a general misconception that conjugal fidelity and rigid matrimonial customs are possible only in communities tracing family descent in the paternal line. Here are, however, the statements of a few persons who have stayed in Malabar and taken pains to understand the customs of the Nayars. Mr. Wigram, who defines the Nayar marriage as a "contract based on mutual consent and dissoluble at will," writes in his *Commentaries on Malabar Law*, "Although the union can be terminated at pleasure, although the children have rights only in the property of the mother and no claim whatever to that of their father, and although the father has legally no control over the children, the union is nevertheless a marriage. The assertion lately made in an English periodical that if a Nayar lady gets tired of her husband she dismisses him is not less inaccurate than is the definition of Nayars as the landowners of the West Coast." Mr. Fawcett, in his Madras Museum Bulletin on the *Nayars of Malabar*, assures us that "lubricity has no more followers in Malabar than elsewhere." To one who has heard of the mysteries of social life in London or Paris, or who, like the writer of this article has had the occasion to peep deep into the social lives of South India, the assertion made by Mr. Fawcett would require no confirmation.

The statement, quoted in the previous paragraph that a Nayar woman does not co-habit with her husband but after being married receives any other man whom she chooses, appears to be founded on the mistaken notion that *Kettukallianam* is the wedding ceremony of the Nayars. It is not, even now, unusual with writers on the subject to describe *Kettukallianam* as the important *marriage* ceremony of the Nayars. Almost every Nayar officer in Government employ when applying for leave on account of the *Ketlukallianam* of his daughter or niece, states in his application that he has to attend to the "marriage" of the girl. The ceremony is generally mentioned as marriage even in the letters of invitation sent by Nayar gentlemen in these days. A certain Nayar gentleman, in giving evidence before the Malabar Marriage Commission, even went to the length of identifying *Kettukallianam* with actual marriage. Although these may be taken as evidences of a growing tendency in the Reform Party to have the actual marriage ceremony of the Nayars replaced by *Kettukallianam*, the distinction between the two ceremonies is still preserved and the popular mind views *Kettukallianam* as an essential ceremony to be performed *before the girl's marriage*. This ceremony is not intended even for the betrothal of the girl to a particular man, but is one instituted under Brahman influence as an important *Kriya* (sacrament) antecedent to marriage and intended, as the popular saying † indicates, for dubbing the girl with the status of Amma, a woman fit to be married.* The ceremony, however, was orginally an imitation of the Brahman marriage and consequently we find in connection with it the *locum tenens* of a bride-groom, the function assigned to whom being not to marry the "bride" but to attach to her body (neck) the emblem—called Thali—of her fitness for marriage. It is evidently to this misnamed bridegroom Mr. Francis Day refers as "husband" in his statement quoted above, and by the word marriage he evidently meant *Kettukallianam*.

"The alliance between a man and a woman in virtue of which they live as husband and wife" is, among the Nayars, called "Sambandham; ‡ and the ceremony by which a man and a woman enter

† The saying is "*Thāli Ketti Amma āyi*, which means a woman has become an *Amma* when her *Thāli*—tying ceremony is over.

* That the word *Amma* is used here to mean woman fit to be married may be inferred from the fact that the term is added to the name of every woman whose social status permits her marriage or who is a widow, while it is not added to the name of a *Deva-dasi* who is considered unfit to be married.

‡ *Bandhavam* and *Gunadosham* are other terms used chiefly by the Nambooris. There are also other local terms such as *Veetaran-keruka* and *Oozham-porukkal*.

into *Sambandham* is generally known as 'Putaka-kota' or 'Putaka-muri'¶. Although several accounts of this ceremony have recently appeared in print none of them can be said to be a description common to the whole of Malabar. Nor is a common description of the ceremony possible because its details differ in different localities. The essential part of the ceremony is the gift of a few pieces of cloth to the bride made by or on behalf of the bridegroom in the presence of a few *Inangans*, † or in the absence of such, in the presence of a few *Karakkars* or Villagers. This *Putaka-kota*, or giving of clothes, is celebrated at night and in the house of the bride. There are some localities in the British District of Malabar, where even this essential part of the ceremony is not performed on the appointed night but in such cases the marriage is not consummated until the presentation of clothes is actually made. In these days, however, many more items are usually tacked on to the ceremony, these depending upon the peculiar fancies of the parties concerned and the means at their disposal. Grand feast, *Dakshana* (money-presents) to Brahmans, exchange of wedding rings between the bride and the bridegroom, mutual garlanding of the two, distribution of betel-leaves and tobacco, presents of clothes to *Inangans* and friends, musical entertainments and even processions may now be found connected with the ceremony. But it has to be remembered that a marriage entered into by the parties without any previous announcements or even a formal ceremony, is held as valid as the one celebrated with the grandest of festivities and public demonstration, provided that the union is not prohibited by the rule of caste or consanguinity and that the parties are prepared to publicly admit their having entered into *Sambandham* with each other. This shows that the Nayars have a very simple form of marriage, which cannot be made simpler but may be made as grand, costly and ceremonious as any reformer may wish it to be.

Simple as the form of marriage is, the union nevertheless involves certain mutual obligations between the wife and the husband. The husband is bound to supply "clothes and oil" to the wife besides a few sundry articles on the three important festive occasions of *Onam*, *Vishu* and *Thiru-athira*. A man failing to supply these is considered to have discontinued his Sambandham with the woman. A wife in

¶ *Kitakkora* and *Pattin-kacka-ituka* are terms used respectively in the Palghat Taluq and in the cases of women belonging to Royal families.

† *Inangan* is a member of an *Inangu*, this being a community of a number of Tarwads the members of which may interdine or intermarry and are bound to assist one another, if required, in the performance of certain social and religious rites.

her turn is bound to dedicate herself exclusively to the husband and to live with him or in his Tarwad whenever called upon to do so provided that the locality where she is required to stay is not a prohibited one.* In North Malabar and South Travancore, a wife permanently lives in her husband's house and is maintained out of the property of the house. In Malabar, generally, the widow of a deceased member of a Tarwad is supplied with "clothes and oil" by the *Karanavan* of the Tarwad until she is remarried.

The mutual obligations mentioned above, besides being meagre, are not such as can be enforced by any process of law. Ther is no rule connected with the institution, which prohibits a husband or wife divorcing the other at any time; consequently there can be no action against a husband for the recovery of the "arrears" of clothes and oil, or against a wife for the restitution of conjugal rights. Nor can there be, from a lawyer's point of view, any charge of adultery against a wife, for she might easily answer the charge saying that she has had a change of husband. For these reasons and because *Sambandham* "founds upon it no rights of property or inheritance" the modern courts of law have refused to recognise it as a marriage. Nevertheless, *Sambandham* is a marriage recognised by the Nayar society and those who have adopted it do not feel the need of a lawyer or the necessity for court's interference in their matrimonial affairs.

Regarding the origin of the Sambandham form of marriage the popular view is that it was prescribed by the Namboori Brahmans so as to meet their selfish ends. According to the custom of these Brahmans only the eldest son of the *Grihastha* of an *Illam* marries a woman of their own community, the remaining male members being permitted to form alliances with women of other communities not lower in caste than Nayars. Although the Namboories follow the paternal law of inheritance, their families are rarely divided and the property of every family is held and managed by the Senior male member of the *Illam*. It was therefore the common interest of the Nambooris to see that the alliance between a male member of their community and a Nayar woman did not make it binding on him to maintain the woman and her children and that he was free to give up

*. In certain parts of Malabar Nayar women are confined within their own villages being prohibited from going beyond certain fixed limits. Thus, the women of North Malabar do not transgress their Southern limit of Korapuzha and those of Polanad are confined between Korapuzha on the north and the Chalian river on the South. In ancient days no Nayar or Namboori could go south of Quilon without forfeiting his caste.

the alliance at any time he pleased. In the view of the Nambooris such a loose alliance could not be anything more than a concubinage and was entirely different in character from the marriage of the eldest sons of their *Illams*. It might therefore be reasonably supposed that if the Nambooris had any hand in instituting a system of marriage among the Nayars they would have so worked it up as to make the marriage as loose as *Sambandham* theoretically is at present. But we have no evidence to show that this form of marriage was prescribed by the Namboories in place of a better one which the Nayars had formerly followed. On the other hand, we have some reasons to believe that the Nayars had no regular system of marriage before they began to recognise *Sambandham* between a man and a woman. For, in the first place, there is not in the Malayalam language—the language of the Nayars—a single word denoting a marriage relation, unless we chose words derived from Sanskrit which was unknown in Malabar before the advent of the Aryans (the forefathers of the Nambooris). While we find in the other Dravidian languages separate terms of their own for husband, wife, father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law etc., these relations of marriage are denoted in Malayalam by words imported from Sanskrit. † This fact clearly shows that before the *Nambooris* whose mother-tongue was orginally Sanskrit, settled themselves in Kerala the Nayars did not recognise any relationship of marriage, that is, they had no regular marriage at all. *Secondly*, we find in the Nayar Society certain traces of the "communal or tribal right in women." Even at the present day any male member of an *Inangu* is admitted to have a right to marry a woman belonging to the *Inangu*, provided that conditions regarding age etc., are favourable and that the man and the woman do not belong to the same *Tarwad* or to near or distant *Tavazhis* of the same *Tarwad*.

† Illiterate people sometimes use *Nayar*, *Kotukkunnavan* (=giver) and *Chellunnvan* (=he who goes) for husband; and *Pennu* (=woman) and *Achi* (maid-servant, or woman) for wife. But these are evidently terms used for want of appropriate ones. *Sambandhakaran* (literally the doer of *Sambandham*) which is now the common term for husband has its first part derived from Sanskrit. The subjoined table shows the words found in the other chief Dravidian tongues.

	Telugu	Tamil	Canarese
Husband ...	Perimeti	Kanavan, Kozhunan	Ganda
Wife ...	Pellam	Illal, Manavi	Hendathi
Father-in-law ...	Mama	Maman	Mavan
Mother-in-law ...	Aththa	Mami, Aththai	Aththi
Son-in-law ...	Alludu	Mappila	Aliya
Daughter-in-law	Kodalu	Marumakal	Sosi

Although this right is sometimes disregarded from considerations of wealth &c., it was until a century ago so much respected that even a married woman was sometimes compelled by local chiefs to accept as additional husbands those of her *Inangu* who wished to marry her. It was very probably the exercise of this "tribal right", which gave rise to the custom of polyandry among the Nayars—a custom that has now entirely disappeared except in a few of the eastern up-country villages of Travancore. From the existence of the said right of an *Inangan* we may reasonably infer that not very long ago the Nayars had recognised "communal right in women" and had no instances of marriage in their society.

There are some, however, who think that the Nayars had formerly observed the rule of paternal lineage and that *Kettukallianam* was the ceremony by which marriage was celebrated among them. Not only is such a supposition untenable before the facts mentioned in the previous paragraph; but there are strong reasons to think that before the institution of the Sambandham form of marriage the Nayar Society existed in a lower strata of civilization than at present. *Firstly*, a retrograde step such as the reversion from the paternal rule of family descent to the maternal rule is unknown in the history of social evolution, and is opposed to the natural growth of human feelings. *Secondly*, if *Putaka-kota* had taken the place of *Kettukallianam*, the latter ceremony would have been gradually abandoned and would not have attained the importance which is even now attached to it.

Those who hold the opinion that the Nayars, in former times, had regular marriages and had adopted the *Makkathayam* rule of inheritance attribute to the evil intentions or selfish motives of the Nambooris any peculiarity of the Nayar Society which is condemned by modern civilization and which does not stand the test of the laws of social progress hitherto discovered. I cannot, however, agree with those of my brethren who, wiser as they have grown, think that our forefathers were so foolish as to abandon a form of marriage involving rights of property and adopt another prescribed by the Nambooris with the object of meeting their selfish ends. Nor am I prepared to believe that the Nambooris were so much opposed to the advancement of the Nayar Society as to force upon them a custom which would degrade them in the eyes of others. The Nambooris, like any other people, might have been very anxious to secure their own interests, but there is nothing to show that they secured those interests at the cost of the morality of the Nayars. It is reasonable to think that the

condition of the Nayar Society was such that a Namboori or any other man of equal social status might easily and without violating the customs of the people form alliance with a Nayar woman, at the same time not binding himself either to maintain her or to continue the alliance for any definite length of time. For the reasons already given I am inclined to believe that *Sambandham* was the first form of marriage ever established in the Nayar society, that it was introduced by immigrants from other parts of the Dravida country—Nambooris included—with the object of securing for them the privilege of taking Nayar wives and that *Kettukallianam* was prescribed for destroying the "tribal rights" in women which the Nayars had possessed.

In respect of marriage the Nayar society has indeed progressed from the "communal stage" to what may be termed the "individual stage" *i. e.*, the stage in which every man has a wife exclusively for himself. The usual course of evolution from the "communal stage" taken by societies in general, is to what may be called the "Family stage" *i. e.*, the stage in which wife and children enter into the family of the husband and become his heirs. But the course taken by the Nayar Society is evidently different, for although the Nayars have separate marriages they do not recognise the right of children to inherit father's property nor allow wife and children even a claim for maintenance in the husband's property. This appears to be due to the fact that marriage, among the people, was not the result of any internal process of evolution, but was copied from examples set by others who found that they could themselves be benefitted by such examples.

The freedom with which a Nayar husband or wife may effect a divorce at any time, is considered by some as a glaring defect in the matrimonial customs of the Nayars. Viewed from the theoretical standpoint, this freedom might appear to be a social evil; but it is in truth a great bliss among people who possess a strong sense of moral obligation and among whom feelings of love have become natural. Moreover, it is easy to conceive that love will be more passionate and therefore stronger when left free than when it is controlled by social regulations. To compel a woman to continue to accept as husband a man who ceases to return the love, is evidently one of those acts of imprudence which man often commits in the name of social sanctity in his eagerness to lead Nature along the paths opened by him to be devoid of the thorns of evil. Such a compulsion is in no way better

than allowing the man to commit rape upon the woman. Love is really ungovernable by social laws; and though naturally ever active it ceases to act the moment it meets with anything repulsive. We find clear illustrations of these truths in the Nayar society, for in it more than 90 per cent. of marriages are permanent and remain undissolved in spite of the existence of full freedom in the matter of divorce. The instances in which this freedom is exercised are not more than those in which husbands and wives in other communities disagreeing in their nature and ill-treating one another groan under the irrevocable bond of marriage. It might even be supposed that the said freedom has been instrumental to almost completely destroying polyandry among the Nayars just as it tended to bring about the change from polygamy to monogamy among certain Western nations.

While advocating so much the cause of the said freedom I do not ignore the power it has got to undermine social morality. In every society which aims at the establishment of good conjugal morality and in which divorces may be effected with much ease and at the will of either party, it is highly necessary that there should be sufficient check upon capricious divorce effected merely because the party effecting it possesses the freedom to do so. In the Nayar society such checks are not entirely absent, for in several cases the "control of *Karanavans*" and public opinion of *Inangans* and *Karakkars* act as strong checks upon all capricious conduct. And in Travancore, thanks for the present day influences, the judicial tribunals have begun to recognise Nayar marriages and take cognizance of cases of whimsical divorce. These checks, however, are not sufficient, for they are neither extended to all cases nor headed by those who consider themselves above the level of ordinary souls. How a divorce should be effected so that it should be recognised by the society would be an interesting problem for the Reform Party to solve.

The most regrettable feature of the Nayar's matrimonial customs is that they do not bind husband and wife or father and son into a united family. That wife does not enter into the family of the husband and father and son belong to separate families is evidently the consequence of the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance still followed by the Nayars. If this law be substituted by the *Makkathayam* law, and if the manner of effecting dissolution of marriage be so prescribed as not to tamper with liberty in love, the Nayar marriage will deserve to be acknowledged as one of the very best obtaining in civilized societies, being free from uncherished restrictions and costly ceremonies which are the curses of most societies in the "family stage" of social progress.

K. KANNAN NAYAR.

MILK AND ITS RELATION TO DISEASE.

By Mr. P. Palpu, L. M. S., D. P. H.

MILK is a *natural* food. Most of the food materials used by man have other functions in Nature, while milk has apparently no function other than as food. It is Nature's own food for the mammalian babe, and is provided just before the babe itself is born.

2. Being natural, it is a *complete* food in itself i. e., the milk of an animal contains all the constituents necessary for the proper development of its own babe, and when fed on such milk, the babe gets complete nourishment and requires no extraneous food of any kind. The various constituents required by the babe are there in such due proportions that milk is also known as a *perfect*, *typical* or *model* food.

3. In the case of the adult, however, milk is too dilute, and unpleasantly large quantities have to be taken if it should, by itself, supply the proper quantity of nourishment (Nitrogen and Carbon) required, especially in his ordinary occupations of life. It is, however, a valuable supplement to other foods in common use. Being liquid and nourishing, milk is particularly suitable for the aged and the invalid. To vegetarians, it is a food of great importance and as such it and its products generally constitute portion of their daily diet. Its value in their case lies in the fact that its composition is such that it would supplement deficiencies that are frequent in most vegetarian diets. It is, moreover, the only animal food that finds a place in their dietary.

4. To us Hindus, milk is of special significance. Though actually an animal secretion, it is considered to be the purest and the most sacred food on earth, and as such the most acceptable offering even in our temples. It is *Amrith* itself, and is what contributes to the sanctity of Motherhood which, to us, is Divine. It raises the status of a wet nurse and even that of the cow and invests them with the sanctity of a Mother.

5 The fact that our food has an influence on our nature has long been recognized in this country, and the Indian classification of foodstuffs into *Satvic*, *Rajasic* and *Thamasic*, is based mainly on this influence. It is commonly believed in parts of India that the first milk given to a babe influences its character more or less in after life and in consequence, women of specially good nature are often sought

after to nurse a babe for the first time. According to our own classification milk is a *Satvic* food, and as such, it forms the diet prescribed for and preferred by persons who practise *Yoga* or lead the general life of a recluse.

6. In symbology, milk is said to represent knowledge and purity, owing probably to its colour, its nature and the belief that the slightest contamination would spoil it altogether. An ocean of milk is said to stand for extensive knowledge and absolute, lasting purity. Knowledge and purity are correlative, and essential in the path to the Infinite.

7. Under the microscope, milk is seen to consist of two parts, a clear fluid and a number of minute particles that float in it. The latter are globules of oil or fat which when separated is known as butter. When milk is allowed to stand, these globules slowly rise to the surface and form what is called cream. The proportion of cream yielded by pure milk varies from 6 to 14 per cent. From about a fifth to nearly a half of the cream consists of butter. If instead of skimming, the cream is separated by what is known as a *Separtor*, practically all the fat is removed in the cream.

8. Medicinally, milk is of great value on account of its nutritive and demulcent or soothing properties. Its chief use is in its being the most suitable food for the sick. It has special value as a diet in certain kidney affections. As a demulcent or soothing agent it is of great service in irritated and ulcerated conditions of the stomach. It is an antidote and a protecting agent in corrosive and irritant poisoning. Milk and butter milk are commonly taken after food in this country to allay irritation caused by hot curries or other spiced foods. It is also used by the people as a soothing wash in irritated conditions of the eye. It enters largely into various medicinal preparations used by native physicians.

9 Milks of different animals differ considerably in their properties This has long been known in this country and every book on *Gunapatam* deals with such differences. It is not easy to say whether the descriptions given are correct. The question deserves special investigation.

10. The differences in property naturally suggest differences in composition. This, however, does not appear to be dealt with in our ancient books nor generally understood. The following table gives the composition of different milks in common use:—

Kinds of Milk.	Sp. gr.	Total Solids.	Proteids.	Fats.	Sugar.	Salts.	Water.
Human.	1027	12·60	2·29	3·81	6·20	0·30	87·40
Cow's	1032	12·83	3·55	3·69	4·88	0·71	87·17
Buffalo's	1032	18·60	6·11	7·45	4·17	8·81	81·40
Goat's	1032	14·30	4·30	4·78	4·46	0·75	85·71
Ass's	1026	10·40	2·25	1·65	6·00	0·50	89·60

Per 100 parts.

11. By specific gravity is meant the relative weight when compared with the weight of an equal bulk of water. When the specific gravity of water is taken to be 1000, that of cow's milk would be 1032. The total solids are ascertained by evaporating away the whole of the water and weighing the residue. The proteid or nitrogenous constituent in milk consists chiefly of *casein*, and the fats constitute butter. The sugar in milk is known as *lactose* or milk sugar. The salts consist of calcium and magnesium phosphate and sodium and potassium chlorides. When milk is curdled, the curd consists of casein and entangled fat, while the liquid residue called whey contains the sugar, salts and albumin.

12. A comparison of the figures given in the above table will show how the milks in common use differ considerably in some essential particulars. The best milk for the human babe is, of course, its mother's, *i. e.*, the milk provided for it by Nature. It suits its stomach best, is adapted to the requirements of its body, and consequently does not need any alteration or addition.

13. The milk of a mother is never considered unsuitable or injurious to her own babe at any time, except when she chances to contract certain special diseases, has taken certain drugs or eaten unwholesome food. There is, however, a mistaken feeling current, in this country, namely that the first milk yielded by a mother is unsuitable and should not be given to the baby. The feeling is probably current only in this country, and is due to the fact that the milk secreted during the first few days is different from ordinary milk. The difference is due to incomplete transformation and is perhaps more marked in the case of child mothers, who are not uncommon in this country. Even in elder-

ly mothers, the first milk differs both in composition and consistency. This is so also in the lower animals. This milk, which is known as *Colostrum* (சீம்பால்), has a special function in Nature. It is meant to be a laxative which the new born babe wants, and is specially adapted to its tender stomach and intestines. By this being denied and cow's or ass's milk, ghee, butter, castor oil, honey and other articles being given instead, as is commonly done in this country, especially for the first time, the baby is deprived of its natural laxative which it needs, and is also otherwise injured more or less, according to the nature of the foreign material thrust into it. The mother is also affected thereby, for the mere act of the baby sucking her breasts has a reflex influence on the contraction of her womb to its original size, and when this is denied, she suffers from what are called "after pains." The swollen breasts give rise to milk fever. The lower animals do not suffer similarly, for they are more natural, and they nurse their young from the time the little ones are born.

14. The pains and fever our women suffer from are thus results of our own ignorance frequently, and to relieve them we generally make further mistakes and drug the mothers with brandy, ergot and opium, etc. These are, of course, poisons, and they injure the mothers perhaps already injured considerably by early marriage, too frequent child-bearing etc., and often send them to premature graves. Poisons given to mothers also affect the babies indirectly, and tend to increase the sickness and death rate among them. Child-birth is not a disease. It is a natural physiological function, and in consequence requires, or ought to require, no drugging. When lower animals get through the function naturally, and without the help of drugs, is it not a shame if we, who profess to be more intelligent, lose a large number of our mothers and infants even in normal labours?

15. It is a growing fashion especially in Europe, for mothers not to nurse their babies. Various excuses are given in justification of this fashion, but whatever these may be, the practice is unnatural and ought to be discouraged. Every baby that is born has a right to what Nature has particularly provided for it, and no civilization ought to stand in the way of this natural claim. In this country, the feeling of our women is different. Our mothers generally over-nurse their babies to the detriment of their own health and do not care what may happen to themselves. The practice has, of course, to be mended; but whatever may be the improvement that is brought about, it is hoped that the selfish and unmotherly habit that is gaining ground in fashionable

circles in Europe will never be adopted in this country where motherhood is rightly held sacred.

16. The question is different when mothers have no milk and are unable to nurse their babies. Even this is often the result of so-called civilization In such cases, the best thing to do is to have a wet nurse. The person selected as a wet nurse should be healthy, specially free from communicable diseases of every kind whether hereditary or acquired, and must be certified to be such by a thoroughly qualified medical man. She should perferably have a babe of about the same age as the one she is to nurse. Her food, personal cleanliness and general disposition are also items worth looking into, as unhealthy foods, uncleanly habits and bad disposition are calculated to affect the suckling.

17. When human milk is not available, the milk most universally adopted is that of the cow. Good cow's milk should be opaque, have a 'thick" white colour and a bland sweet taste. When fresh, its reaction is neutral. If it is acid, it means the milk is stale or contaminated. When allowed to stand, milk should not shew any sediment. Flour or other substances dishonestly added by milk-men and blood, pus,, etc., from diseased udders would form sediments. These can be easily distinguished under a miscroscope.

18; The commonest adulterent of milk is water. The presence of added water is usually determined by ascertaining the specific gravity. An instrument called lactometre is used for this purpose, but any hydrometre or urinometre will do. The specific gravity must be taken at 15° C (59° F.) Hotter milk would, of course, be lighter. For every 6° C rise in temperature the specific gravity would go down by one degree. The test, however, is not often conclusive, for the specific gravity of milk varies normally from 1035 to 1026. When a sample gives a specific gravity below the latter figure, it should be condemned as watered. By skimming off the cream, the specific gravity of milk is increased by about 2 degrees, and it is lowered by about 3 degrees for every 10 per cent of water added. Thus the specific gravity test would not be of much help if skimmed milk is adulterated with water to a certain percentage and sold as pure milk. In such cases, the percentage of cream should also be ascertained. Cream testers consist of long glass tubes graduated into 50 equal parts. When the tube is filled with milk to the top mark and allowed to stand four hours, the cream should occupy at least 3 divisions, or 6 per cent.

19. A comparison of the composition of cow's milk with that of human milk in the table given above will shew why the former has to be diluted with water and sweetened to bring it to as near human milk as possible. Even in spite of this treatment, cow's milk does not often suit the human babe, for it has a tendency to curdle into big lumps, as in the calf's stomach, and thus cause indigestion in the baby, especially if it happens to be a weak one. In such cases, the milk is usually mixed with barley water and sugar instead of ordinary water and sugar. Barley water is made thus: wash 2 ounces of pearl barley in cold water and throw away the washing. Boil the washed barley in a pint and a half of water for 20 minutes in a covered vessel and strain. Lime water is also used for the above purpose but in smaller quantity. To make lime water, put in an ounce of slaked lime into a bottle containing 2 quarts of water, stopper the bottle, shake well for 2 or 3 minutes and allow it to stand for 12 hours. The excess of lime will have subsided, and the clear solution may be drawn off as is required for use. The quantity of lime water added to milk may vary from 1/16th to ¼th part as advised by a qualified doctor.

20. The greatest difficulty in hand-feeding lies in the care that is required in securing good, wholesome milk and in having the milk, the feeding bottle, etc., thoroughly clean and free from contamination *always*. The ignorance of our women in this direction is so great that many of our babies get ill at their hands or actually die. It is essential that instruction in this most important subject should be given to all mothers in this country, and those who would become mothers or have the care of babies one day or other; otherwise, the present high rate of infant mortality among us cannot be reduced, nor can we entertain any great hopes of the future generation having better health than the present.

21. In selecting milk for use, great care has to be taken to see that the animal that gives the milk is perfectly healthy. There are several diseases of cattle that are transmissible to man through their milk or would render their milk unwholesome otherwise. Tuberculosis may be rare among cattle in this country, but cattle plague (rinderpest) foot and mouth disease, mastitis (inflammatory disease of udder), etc, are not uncommon. It is therefore necessary that all animals which give us milk should be examined and certified to be perfectly healthy.

22. Even in healthy animals the quality and quantity of milk they yield would vary with their breed, their age, their food and shelter and the time after calving. These differences are known to

the masses in this country to some extent, but their information is capable of considerable improvement. The question of improving the breed of our cattle with reference to the milk they yield has not been properly taken up till now. It is a question that has a bearing on our health and as such deserves every consideration.

23. The food and shelter our cattle get are, as a rule, very unsatisfactory. Many of us are great sinners as regards the kind of food and shelter we give or rather not give, to our cattle. As in the case of our goods, we often give our cattle little or nothing, but expect much in return. Cattle, especially milch cattle, require more sanitary housing and feeding than we ourselves do. Cattle stalls should, as a rule, be detached from human dwellings. They should be adequately ventilated and drained. They should have good, hard, nonabsorbent floors and walls which may be washed daily, so that the stalls may be kept perfectly clean and sweet always.

24. The food of our cattle should be wholesome, complete and adequate. In every village and town there should be a due proportion of cultivable land set apart for growing fodder. In certain parts of America a twelfth of the land area is thus reserved for cattle, whereas in this country, where cows are said to be worshipped, there are often no such lands thus set apart, or the lands so set apart are barren, rocky or otherwise useless. Even where the lands set apart are cultivable, no effort is made to grow suitable fodder on them. It is true we are reserving for our cattle all the straw from paddy and raggi fields, and are often growing *jolam* stalks solely as fodder, but they are not adequate or complete. Additional food materials are therefore necessary. The question of providing hygienically correct food for our cattle is one that is very much connected with our own health, and as such deserves every consideration.

25. Cattle food should be specially selected. Both the kind and quantity of food materials allowed to them have to be regulated not only in the interests of their health but also to ensure that the milk they yield is good and wholesome. There are certain plants, which if eaten by cattle would make their milk unwholesome and even poisonous. Certain food materials should not be given to them beyond a fixed quantity. In well regulated dairies in Europe there are elaborate rules as regards the kind and quantity of food materials that are allowable to cattle, the time and manner in which they are to be given and the changes that are required during the various seasons of the year. Stall-feeding is strictly prohibited except during winter. In

this country these questions have not received due consideration yet, though they are very important from a hygienic point of view.

26. Cattle should also not be allowed to eat anything foul. It is a common practice in this country to let cattle loose during the day and often also at nights and allow them to stray about and eat anything and everything they could come across. It is also not uncommon to find such cattle eating refuse of all kinds, thrown out of our houses. Frequently they help scavengers by eating up contents of dustbins and even night-soil. In many of our towns, there are no scavengers other than cattle; and we, who make a great deal of fuss about what we eat and drink, do not mind if the milk we take or offer in our temples is the result of such foul feeding!

27. The milk of a healthy animal may become contaminated in various ways. Dirty stalls, unwashed and dirty udders, unwashed hands of the milker or vessels used by him, particles of dust floating about in the air, dirty milk measures, dirty water that may be added to adulterate the milk, etc., etc., are all sources of contamination. It is not uncommon to find persons suffering from specific contagious diseases or who have just recovered from them living in dairies, milking cows or handling milk vessels and thereby communicating the diseases to others through the milks they sell.

28. Milk is a medium admirably adapted in every way for the growth of germs of different kinds. It contains all the food elements upon which they live and consequently, almost all kinds of germs that gain access would thrive well in it. These germs multiply in it rapidly, curdle it, render it sour or bring about other changes. Milk thus rendered sour is a fruitful source of digestive troubles, especially in young children, causing vomiting, flatulence and diarrhœa. It also causes similar complaints in older people. Sometimes milk gives rise to severe epidemics of Dangerous Infectious Disease. Epidemics of typhoid fever, cholera and diarrhœa have often been caused by milks contaminated with the specific germs of these diseases. In Europe, tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever and even anthrax have been frequently communicated through milks. All diseases usually communicated through water have also been known to have been communicated through milk, for water is most frequently used as an adulterant. The common disease among young children known as *thrush* in which whitish grey, curdlike patches are seen in their mouth and on their tongue, is also due to milk in which the specific poison—a mould called *Oidium Albicans*—has gained access.

29. The difficulty in the way of avoiding these diseases lies in the fact that when these poisonous materials happen to gain access into milk, no definite and readily appreciable physical changes are caused in the milk, and consequently the lay public are unable to distinguish and discard such milk and save themselves from those diseases. There are only certain germs that produce such changes. For instance, *Bacillus Prodigiosus*, *Sarcina Rosea* and others turn milk red, *Bacillus Cyanogenus* makes it blue, *Bacillus Synxanthus* gives it a yellow colour, while certain others render it violet or green. Certain special germs make the milk bitter, others give it a peculiar soapy flavour and make it froth-like soap on shaking, while others again produce different odours in it. The *Bacillus Lactis Viscosus Micrococcus Freuden reichii* and others render milk "slimy" or "ropy". These are all rare germs usually, and are not known to be particularly harmful. Besides, people generally throw away the milk in which such changes occur. Occasionally milk undergoes alcoholic fermentation owing to the yeasts or moulds commonly found in the air gaining access into it. The quantity produced is sometimes sufficient to give the milk a distinct taste of alcohol. This is found oftener in curds (*tyre or mosaru*)

30. The commonest changes brought about by bacteria in milk are curdling and rendering it sour. *Bacillus Acidi Lactici*, the *Bacillus Butyricus* and others produce these changes, while certain other groups simply curdle without producing any acidity. Some of these for instance the lactic acid group of bacilli are considered beneficial to man, while others are harmless; but among the group are also germs that are decidedly injurious. The question of their exclusion from milk and milk products is one of very great importance in the country, where no special care is taken to guard the milk supply against contamination and where milk products such as *tyre* or *mosaru* are largely made and used by the people. This question will be referred to again in a paper on "Milk Products in Common Use."

31. The specific germs of some of the most dangerous diseases may thus gain access into our systems through milk or some of the milk products we use, without rousing any suspicion as to their contamination. Typhoid fever, cholera, diarrhœa, tuberculosis and other dangerous diseases are known to have been often caused by milks in in which there have been little or no change that is characteristic. The *Bacillus Coli Communis*, *Bacillus Enteriditis Sporogenes* and other intestinal germs, *Bacillus Fluorescens*, *Proteous Vulgaris* and other

agents causing putrifcation, *Streptococci Staphylococci* and other pus-forming germs are commonly found in milk and not often suspected either. These cause diarrhœa and other intestinal troubles and also tend to shorten our lives by getting up putrifactive changes in our alimentary canal.

32. Apart from the germs themselves, the products they give rise to are also often injurious. Severe ptomain poisoning, the symptoms of which resemble those of cholera, has frequently been caused by milks that have undergone putrifactive changes. The gases that are produced are also unwholesome frequently.

33. Besides, milk is a very absorptive fluid as regards odours, and fresh healthy milk allowed to stand in any foul smelling place would soon absorb the effluvia and become offensive and unwholesome.

34. The chief dangers due to milk are not so much those derived from diseased cows but those added to it afterwards. Our cattle and their stalls are, as a rule, kept very dirty. The hands of the milkers and the udders of the cows are not always washed, or when an attempt is made in the direction, it is done most perfunctorily. The vessels used are not always properly cleaned, especially their interior. They are frequently only rinsed out in some dirty water. Occasionally the washings of the udder get back into the vessel. This and any water that might have remained in the vessel are often retained in it stealthily and milk is drawn on, so that the adulteration may not be noticed. When this attempt fails, water from any source available at hand would be stealthily added by most milkmen. Some of these men are so unscrupulous that they do not hesitate to add even sewage from the nearest drain or cesspool. The milkmen in this country are generally an ignorant and poor class, and they have no idea that their evil practice, for the sake of merely a few pies, is the cause of the loss of a large number of lives annually from cholera, typhoid fever, diarrhœa and other avoidable diseases.

35. Milk is naturally a sterile or germ-free secretion, but the opportunities afforded for the introduction and subsequent multiplication in it of micro-organisms of various kinds are so great that instances are known as many as a million germs being found per drop (*i. e.*, 15 millions or over per cubic centimetre) by the time the supply reaches the consumer. This is an enormous number and means that the consumer gets for his money a culture of germs instead of milk. Nature is wise. She avoids such contamination and consequent dangers by feeding her little ones direct from her own factories, and

those of us as have had our mothers to nurse us in our infancy cannot be too grateful for that great blessing. In the case of motherless infants, invalids, etc., who have to depend on cow's or other milk, and in the case of such of us as take milk as part of our diet the risks run are really very great. Milk is a food very largely used and its influence on health is therefore equally great. It is therefore incumbent on every one of us to see that this wholesome and sterile food, this *Amrith* given to us by nature as essential to our health and well-being, is taken every care of and prevented from becoming contaminated and causing disease and death instead.

36. Attempts have often been made to see whether milk can be drawn and used quite sterile, and it has been found possible to do so under elaborate and strict aseptic conditions. It may be difficult or impossible for the lay public, who have not been taught the various details, to secure very satisfactory results, for it is not easy to avoid bacterial contaminations from all sources in the various details connected with the work. But, even if the process cannot be gone through with scientific accuracy in every detail, much can be done to lesson the number of bacteria in milk, by attending to general rules of cleanliness as far as possible.

37. The first condition necessary to secure germ-free milk is that the cow should be healthy and specially free from certain constitutional and local diseases. The foremilk should generally be given to the calf or thrown away, for it has been found that the milk that stagnates in the ducts of the udder is usually full of bacteria. These bacteria may generally be harmless, but to secure a sterile supply it is essential that this portion of the milk should be excluded. The place where the milking is done should be scrupulously clean and free from dust and effluvia of all kinds. There should also be no dust floating in the air. The udder, the lower part of the body, the folds and upper part of the thighs as well as the hands of the milker should be washed carefully and thoroughly with soap and water. The water used should be previously boiled and cooled. Water in which some boracic acid or other disinfectant has been added could also be used with advantage. In either case the udder and hands should be wiped dry with a clean towel that has been previously rendered sterile by boiling. After the milker's hands are washed, he should not contaminate them again by scratching parts of his body, blowing his nose, rubbing his eyes, arranging his cloth or touching anything else that has not been previously sterilized. The vessels used should have been thoroughly cleansed

both inside and out, and properly scalded. Sometimes particles of dung from the hoof or dust from the tail might accidentally get into the vessel when the animal kicks or moves its tail and thus undo all the trouble taken before. These limbs should therefore be previously cleaned, and if necessary, secured before commencing the operation. The milker should not speak when he is milking and thus let particles of his spittle get into the milk. He should also not let his breath fall on the milk. The danger of milk-men, say with an unsuspected tubercular or other throat affection, coughing while milking will be evident. The minutest particle of the secretion from his throat will be enough to contaminate the whole milk. Milk contaminated in this way will be culture swarming with millions of tubercular or other germs in a few hours. The milk drawn should not be exposed. It should be covered immediately with a thoroughly clean and scalded lid or a piece of clean cloth well boiled in water, so that flies, the commonest carriers of contagion, as well as dust from the air, may be excluded. No spoon or vessel that has not been previously sterilized should be allowed to come in contact with the milk. Under precautions such as the above, it is possible to draw milk free from germs of every kind, and even if the measures be not carried out efficiently considerable reduction in the germs will be possible in proportion to the care taken in each detail.

38. When milk can be had sterile, it is better to take it raw milk is healthier, more palatable and more assimilable than boiled. Practically however, there is much difficulty in getting raw milk which is sterile or in which the number of bacteria is low. The common practice of boiling every sample of milk before taking is therefore a very sound one hygienically, and but for the practice diseases due to milk would have been far more common in this country than at present. The boiling of milk before churning out the butter or making *tyre* or *mosaru* is also sound and necessary from a hygienic point of view. Boiling would destroy all germs and their spores and consequently preserve the milk longer. Unfortunately, it also alters the chemical composition of milk and gives it a flavour which is unpalatable to many people.

39. The germs that gain access into milk do not multiply immediately. Their numbers increase in proportion to the time allowed for them to grow. So milk should be used soon after drawing or boiling, as the case may be. A low temperature does not favour the growth of germs, and that is why milk keeps longer in the cold season

than in the hot. This is also the reason why it takes longer time for milk to curdle and become *tyre* or *mosaru* in the cold season than in the hot. If milk has to be kept, therefore, it should be kept in the coolest place available. Packed in ice, milk can be kept much longer than at the ordinary temperatures.

40. The addition of chemicals such as borax, boracic acid, salicylic acid, and formaldehyde would also preserve milk to some extent, but care should be taken that the drugs are added only in the minutest quantities necessary, as otherwise inconvenient results may ensue. It is stated that even so small an amount as one tenth per cent. of borax might prove injurious on account of the special property of the drug to accumulate in the system. Besides, milk preserved with chemicals may appear to be fresh and clean and yet be stale and unclean, and potentially dangerous without the purchaser being aware of the fact. The use of chemicals, therefore, should be discouraged, as far as possible, and milk-men ought to be taught to rely on sanitary conditions and not in drugs.

41. The simplest method of preserving milk is to boil it for a short time and seal it up directly, before it has time to cool. Milk is also converted into powder by evaporating it in vacuum or under reduced pressure. As powder, it may be kept for months if packed in tins excluding air. The commonest method of preserving milk is by concentrating it down to about one third of its bulk after the addition of sugar. Packed carefully excluding all air, milk will remain long in this condition. The condensed milks sold in shops are made in this way, and they are generally safe for use. Sometimes sugar is not added. In such cases, the milk will not keep good long, when once the tin is opened. Condensed milks are not always sound. When such milks happen to be unsound, there will generally be generation of gas within the tin. This can often be made out before opening, by the "blown" appearance of the tins. Such tins should be discarded.

P. PALPU.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

By Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B. A., L. T.

AMONG the Scots famous in the realm of fiction, Robert Louis Stevenson stands but second to the great Enchanter of the North. Fifty years rolled away before Sir Walter had a worthy successor in his own line. Both Scott and Stevenson have many points in common. They are poets, essayists and novelists and true sons of their motherland. They have traversed the same epoch of Scottish history and enjoy the unique honour of having established the historical novel. Not only in their merit do they bear marks of resemblance, but also in their defects. Both do not know how to construct a plot or how to wind it up: the endings of their stories are as abrupt as their beginnings. Resembling as they do in these respects, they differ in the matter of style. Scott's style is often clumsy and slipshod whereas Stevenson's is idiomatic and finished. Scott spins and spins whereas Stevenson chisels and chisels, till they can do no more. Scott is a master of antiquarian lore whereas Stevenson has made a mark as a supreme craftsman.

Robert Louis Stevenson was born in Edinburgh on the 13th November 1850. His father, Thomas Stevenson, was a lighthouse Engineer, and the family as a whole is known in Scotland for its Engineering skill. The young master was proud of the labours of his sires and used to sing of "the towers we founded and the lamps we lit" His mother was a devoted worshipper of her only son, his feeble health needing constant nursing, and she entertained very high hopes of her son turning out a great author. An indulgent child ill does its schooling. Both in the school and at the university he was a mere idler and carried on truancy in a highly systematic manner. In this he resembled many a great man who, in spite of his indifferent schooling, has attained a remarkable success in the walk of life chalked out for or by him. Though a truant, his studies at home never flagged, and they were fostered by his amiable nurse Alan Cunningham who was more than a mother to him in attending to his physical comforts and supplying wholesome food to his mind. It was she that put into his hands the *Cameronian Dream* and awakened in him that passion for the romances of Scotland which lasted him through life. The thirst for knowledge made him a reckless rider, his slender frame and feeble health notwithstanding, and he made a good deal of travelling on the

continent. In one of his continental excursions with his father, he came across one of Dumas's novels, which made an indelible impression upon his fancy and created in him a desire for literary fame. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was next introduced to him, and it was a stormy day when his mother read out to him those scenes of thunder and lightning on the wild heath where the weird sisters appeared before the ambitious Macbeth. The *New Testament* was a special delight to him, and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* taught him many solid virtues. Herbert Spencer invaded him next and stormed the citadel of his mind. The disciple always spoke of the master reverently and bowed to him as a persuasive Rabbi. Under the influence of these great masters, he slowly got away his shirking tendency, and, when he read the lives of Goethe and Balzac, he began to work and persevere. The first fruits of his persevering labour were his contributions to the *Cornhill Magazine* and *London*. The former Magazine had essays and *London* stories, and the essays and stories were afterwards collected and published as two separate volumes.

In the merry month of May, 1880, Robert Louis Stevenson was married to Fanny Vande Grift in California, and the happy partner, "steel-true and blade straight, heart-whole and soul-free" made his life sweet and charming. After the marriage, he settled down at Samoa, the climate of the isles proving most agreeable to him and became domiciled at Vailima, where he preached and taught, and ruled, till he died on the 3rd December 1894.

"Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will."

In personal appearance, Mr. Stevenson was commanding though he was slender in frame and looked like a Pole about five feet ten in height; and, though he dodged death all his life, his energies were inexhaustible, which always kept him cheerful and optimistic and never for once allowed despair to cross his mind.

The literary labours of this life-long invalid were confined to the last decade of his life, and they comprise poems, essays, stories, and novels. *The Wrong Box*, *The Wrecker* and *The Ebb-Tide*, were written in collaboration with his wife and with his stepson, Lloyd Osborne, and the *Three Plays* were issued by him in conjunction with Mr. W. E. Henley, a popular writer for the stage. In the making of these stories and plays his part is not conspicuous in any way. *Deacon Brodie* is a sensational drama, in which the hero is a successful carpenter and deacon of the Wrights in the day time and a skilful robber

at night. *Beau Austin*, the drama of Tunbridge Wells, in 1820, is notable for its exquisite literary finish, while *Admiral Guinea*, another excellent and thrilling drama, presents a number of successful scenes and characters not the least important of the latter being Daird Pew, the blind seaman dear to all readers of *Treasure Island*.

Among his essays, *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* and *Memories and Portraits* are at once biographical and critical in their nature and have led some of his well-wishers to think that he would turn out a capital essayist and an acute critic.

What was most congenial to him was story-telling, which he did most charmingly and well and which gained for him the name *Tusitala* or 'Story-Teller' among the Samoans. The first budget of his stories that fascinated young readers as they issued from the press was known as the *Island Nights' Entertainments*. The name itself suggests the nature of its contents, not to speak of the prototype that inspired it. The three stories that make up this tiny volume are weird, moving, and wonderful, and they show that the white characters, whose pursuit is amassing fortunes in the far off seas and isles, are not so loveable as their simple black brethren, excepting of course Mr. Wiltshire, who is kindly in his dealings with the islanders. One thing is clearly seen in these stories, and it is the manner in which the whites worked upon the credulity and the superstition of the simple men of those isles in order to compass their object. In "*The Beach at Falesá*" the picture of the Savage girl Uma, whom Wiltshire loves and for whom he suffers and undergoes taboo, is really touching. *The Bottle Imp* and *The Isle of Voices* introduce the weird and ghostly element without a purpose and, being founded upon the folk-lore of the islands, are thrilling and delightful in the extreme.

Treasure Island, *Kidnapped* and *The Master of Ballantrae* are said to be three dramas in prose, and *Catriona* may be classed with them, being but a sequel to *Kidnapped*. All the four are distinguished by their direct narrative, simple unembarrassed plot, and their few persons, whose march across them is like the flight of an arrow. In all of them some one character tells the story for the novelist and that in the first person. *Treasure Island* corresponds to Scott's *Pirate*, *Kidnapped* to his *Rob Roy*, and *The Master of Ballantrae* in part to his *Waverley*. In the first of these, whose excellence is technical perfection, the novelist has achieved his life-long ambition—the pictorial in the dramatic. This Pirate Epic, however, has no Minna Troil to soften its repulsive features, the greed and cruelty of its ingot hunters and

pirates. *Kidnapped* is a splendid romance, in which his descriptive powers are seen at their best. It is the story of the poor, guileless Davie, young, brave, affectionate, born to a large estate unjustly withheld from him, and at the mercy of a pitiless kinsman; it tells how the sapling, trepanned into the *Covenant*, leaves the Queen's Ferry, arrives at the isle of Erraid to bear unspeakable sufferings, flees across the heather with his one friend Allan, and finally makes his peace with his uncle after the lapse of three months. In it the description of the fight in the Round House with all its blood and horror for the sake of a money-belt and a few silver buttons, and the descriptions of the locks, glens, mountain-sides and moorlands through which Davie takes his flight with the typical Highlander are to say the least, too realistic. Further, it lets us into some of the characteristic features of the period it traverses: its piracy, the anarchy of drink on board, the persecution of the Jacobite fugitives, the unforced loyalty of the Highland clans to their unfortunate leaders, and the pernicious system of decoying rich youngsters to work as slaves in the American plantations. As regards characterisation, Davie and Alan stand out among the rest, and they are interesting in spite of their contrasted natures. Davie is a generous southron of the Presbyterian persuasion while Alan Breck is a typical Highlander; Davie is shrewd, resourceful and conscientious while Alan is daring, boastful, thriftless and easily irritable. The master of the grim old House of Shaws is a god-forsaken old miser who sells his soul to the devil to increase his wordly substance by dispossessing his nephew of the estate in tail. These are the men of the piece, and there is no Die Vernon in it as the story admits of none of the effiminate kind. This defect—if defect it be—finds it remedy in the sequel. In *Catriona*, there are two women equally loving and charming, though diametrically opposite in their temperament and social status. Miss Grant, the scheming advocate's daughter, whose ways are winsome works throughout the story for Davie's safety and happiness, and yields him in the long run to Rob Roy's grand-daughter who accompanies her lover to Holland. Thus the romance, which instead of being one rounded whole falls into two halves, clearly repudiates the charge that Stevenson cannot draw a woman while it proves beyond a doubt that he is inskilful in plot construction.

The Master of Ballantrae is the third dramatic novel under reference. It gives the history of another Jacobite—this time of the House of Durrisdeers—his adventures in three continents and his fal-

in the American woods. Mackellar, the steward of the House, is the chronicler, who tells the story partly in his own words and partly in the words of Chevalier Burke. James and Henry Durrie are well-contrasted and the fate of Alice is simply pathetic. Secundra Doss and Mountain, the Indian attendant and the American trader, give conflicting accounts of the treasure-hunt and its ominous result, and a compilation is made out of their testimonies by Mackellar himself, with the Rebellion of the Forty-five as the exciting cause of the adventures. Mackellar is a finely drawn character, though he plays but a sub-altern part in the conduct of the action. "Mackellar, for all his method, is continually a departer from use and wont; he goes the length of attempting homicide (not perhaps without justification); and Mr. Stevenson delights to paint each upheaval of the man's own spirit that bursts the petrified surface."

The Master of Ballantrae is a typical work of Stevenson; for it presents all his characteristics, which lie scattered in his other writings. The first is the Horatian gift, the wonderful knack of enlisting the reader's affections; the second relates to his analysis of motives; the third concerns the suppression of self and the inculcation of high principles of life and conduct; the fourth touches on the pedestrian virtues of his characters who are seized with roving desires; the fifth is his men and women working heart and soul for ideas; and the last is his consummate mastery of a singularly ornate style. Above all, what strikes the reader of his stories, novels and essays is the absence of everything that will make a virgin blush or a young man wince.

Among his minor stories, the *Black Arrow*, a wonderfully good York and Lancaster story, is a decided failure, lacking as it does inspiration and interesting characters. *The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* is no doubt a popular tale illustrating how a man may be twy-natured and how the two natures may be exhibited severally at different times without being inconsistent or incompatible, and its popularity has led to its being dramatised and played at the Lyceum theatre. Dr. Jekyll is himself an ardent adventurer—a pursuer of transcendental medicines—and is in line with the political adventurers in *Prince Otto* and the commercial speculators in *The Wrecker*. Like *Edwin Drood* and *Denis Duval*, the *Weir of Hermiston* is the last unfinished work of a great man of letters, and it is unwise to found any judgment on a fragment.

A word about Stevenson as a poet ere we close. His *Underwoods* convey the sum of his philosophy of life and his *Ballads* tell of the

feats and fears of the Samoa islanders. Both are much inferior to *A Child's Garden of Verse*, in which each poem is a microcosm, 'the reflection of a whole landscape in a dew-drop.'

Thus we have seen Stevenson in his different capacities as essayist novelist, story-teller, dramatist, and poet, and though his efforts in all these departments have not been crowned with equal success, he will be handed down to posterity as a story-teller—the story not only of the Jacobite persecution but also of the Samoan life with all its mirth and simplicity, its hopes and fears. In fact, the interpreter of the Highland genius with the fine light speech, the wistfulness, the changing humour and the gift of song peculiar to it is also the spokesman of the simple savage life of the Samoan islanders whose dances and festivities, no less than their new evangel and their grateful pleasure, have found a true, faithful and vivid description in his stories both prose and poetry. In short, he has done for the Jacobite cause and the Southern Seas more than what Kipling has done for British India.

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI.

SOME ASPECTS OF TAMIL HISTORY.

By Mr. M. Karpurasundara Pandian, B. A.

THE author of Prayogavilakkam—a work on Tamil Grammar—and his followers had brought matters to such a pass that doubts were thrown on the independence of Tamil as a separate language. Indeed, when the early linguists began to question the homogeneity of the South Indian races, they were looked upon, by a considerable section of the Indian Scholars as malignant *Padrees* who had come to despoil them of their best traditions. Yet, startling as this discovery of the western Orientalists might seem, it was really nothing more than a re-statement of an old but long-forgotten theory, at least as old as the Great Commentator, Nachinarkiniyar, that Tenmoli or Tamil is as distinct from Vadamoli or Sanskrit as night from day But the real interest does not lie for us here; it centres round the later developments of this theory.

The doctrines of the orthodox school of India, who loath to give a terrestrial origin to man, have traced his descent to the luminaries, the Sun and Moon, were dismissed with scant courtesy, if not open contempt and research on scientific lines was commenced in right earnest. But all along the path the distasteful question of colour weighed heavily upon these occidental Orientalists till they rested on a hobby that as the Tamils were black they must beyond doubt belong to some veritable group of blacks. The boomerang fight during the Polygar war seemed to connect them with the aboriginies of Australia; the vestiges of South Indian influence in the islands of the Pacific strengthened the probability and an opportune geological conjecture, that a continent known as "*Lemuria*" once lay in the Indian Ocean stretching from Madagascar to Sumatra, inevitably landed them in the mud-banks. Others of a more sympathetic turn of mind pleaded for a less cruel view and tried to link them with the Turanians and the Mongols. But this has been a voice in the wilderness, for the surviving theory—the one decidedly off the mark—is that the Dravidians form an essential part of the Negrotto race.

Indeed, there is nothing disparaging in the derivation of the Dravidians from the Negroes, as a 'Nigger' is not necessarily savage and the whiteman refined, but that this theory, arising out of sheer prejudicial ignorance, should have, in spite of repeated warnings from eminent

authorities, infected many an honest soul, is much to be deplored. Neither Anthropology nor Literature, the only two quarters from which information has to be sought, seems to countenance this view. A slight acquaintance with the ordinary Tamil classics, *sine qua non* to every student in this field, while convincing one of the fallacy propounded, leads him to suppose that the Tamils have been the inhabitants of a cold bracing climate, always longing for the warmth of the Sun and as scrupulously guarding their colour as the South African Colonists of to-day. The very prefix வெம் (vem) akin to வெம்மை and வெப்பம் heat imports something dear to them and நிறக்கெட்டவன் (Niramkettavan) (a colour spirit fellow) a term still preserved by the ruder population of the South Indian Villages, denotes the vilest insult. வெம்மை in the present Vocabulary has come to mean just the reverse of it, which may be explained by their change of home to the tropical regions. The great deluge so often referred to in the classics of other nations finds a place in this as well, but lest this should be construed to favour the position of the Lemurian theorist, it may with advantage be pointed out here that the flood was one which subsided altogether leaving the lands clear. The episodes relating to the disappearance of *Kumarinadu* a strip of the Pandyan Kingdom round Cape Camorin has evidently been the dire result of some earthquake on the sea-board—a comparatively recent event over which countless bards have lamented. The earliest tradition asserts that the sage *Agastya* coming from the Himalayan regions brought with him the three Kings *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandiya* to rule over the territory, and the Grammarians enable us to understand that these terms were tribal names. The very chapters on conquest in works treating of warfare throw an unmistakable light on the active migration of the race. The *Muthumakkattali* * or "the old man's jar" forms an infallible record of the constant dislodgement of the tribe and the precautionary measures they had adopted for facilitating movement from their abode on the approach of the enemy. The familiar references made to the Great Deluge coupled with the

* Mahopadhyaya Swaminatha Iyer in his edition of "Purananuru" leaves this as *nonliquet*. This according to current traditions in the more southern districts was an earthen jar in which the oldest when they reached the stage of absolute inertia (and it seems in this state they lived considerably long) were buried under ground, a slit alone being allowed for the passage of air. This burial was to be only in house-rooms not elsewhere. Whether this is the same as the urn-burials that are now excavated or not I cannot say. The very term முதுமக்கட்டாழி seems to allow this privilege only to old men. Perhaps what was once and at a certain stage considered an honour became more wide-spread.

extreme veneration to the north † which reminds one of the Greek Colonists of Mytelene and Ephesus, would seem to associate them with the great nations of the North.

Mr. Risley, after a careful study of the ethnological aspect of the question, arrives at the conclusion that the Dravidians are but a part of the indigenous population of India and will not admit the time-honoured classification into Dravidians, Kolarians, etc. I am not inclined to call this a laborious inaccuracy. There is one point, however, which seems to support his view, viz. that the Tamil language, hoary as it is, cannot express "West and East" otherwise than by the terms "up" and "down" just the nature of the country they are at present in. But there are very strong grounds to infer that the earliest Tamils, just before their settlement in this land, had to emerge successfully from a series of desperate struggles with equally strong foes. For at a period, too remote to have anything but a heavy idea of, they have been looking upon death other than in a battlefield as a national stain. The dead-bodies at least of the chieftains would be split up by a sword into two before burial and if that was impossible the head was severed and brought to the camp to be raised amidst universal acclamation. The Tamil mother felt it a pride to hand the lance to her surviving son be he an infant. With the true spirit of the conquerors they have looked upon manual labour with a sort of contempt—even agriculture not excepted.

A somewhat well-founded assumption, that the Dravidians at one time formed a part and parcel of the Tartar race that affected the conquest of China, was advanced by the late Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his address at the Madura Tamil Sangam. I vividly remember the discussion that I had on the subject with that keen Tamil Scholar in December 1905; when he urged that the pariahs in many of the Tamil Districts while referring to any high class nonbrahman speak of him as "that Tamil Man" ¶—very significant indeed as they distinguish themselves from the group. Not this alone. The very existence of the Brahui in Beluchistan, speaking a language most akin to Tamil and the Saivaic creed so peculiar to South India which is found to have

† The Kali shrines had always to be situated to the north of the habitation. The Pongal feast too which attaches with it the *manji-virattu* driving of infuriated bulls on the plains so that youngmen may fearlessly stay them unarmed, is yet in some of the Zemindary villages feigned to be escorted from the northern and given an actual send-off from the southern frontier.

¶ It is curious to note that Pingalanigandu gives "Aryan" as a symnonym of melachan.

been once prevalent among the tribes of Central Asia and various other facts brought to light in the course of recent investigations, go to make his arguments almost irrefutable. But any how these are unconscious attempts at enunciating a common ancestry of man, when mankind seems to be more the result of evolution than of creation. The Dravidian, noble and ancient as his civilization is, may possibly have formed an independent group of humanity that had opportunities of culture at a period far earlier than most others had.

Most of the earliest works of the Tamil Literature, which as Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer very rightly observes "We may in spite of recent attempts to make out the contrary, still hold, not merely as a pious sentiment but with good reason and legitimate pride to be really ancient" have perished. The instructive conservatism of the race that found a rival in the no less conservative Aryan had already left a considerable portion of it to the north and when Madura wherein had sat the three successive Sangams fell a prey to the Mohammedan power the finishing stroke was given. Of the extant literature, those that throw some light on the prehistoric period are deplorably few. It is remarkable even among these, the Tamil Grammar, though totally an unexpected quarter, forms the chief and the most reliable source. The chapters dealing with *Porul*, (பொருள்=subject matter) are surrounded by immense interest. Poetic pieces that have come into existence at the several stages the nation passed through, are here cursorily noticed. *Agapporul* and *Purapporul* (அகப்பொருள்=Love, புறப்பொருள்=war) the only two themes the primitive mind was most concerned in, make up the whole; and thanks chiefly to the patient efforts of the historic grammarian we are now left with a very intelligent glossary of the unwritten odes handed down from posterity to posterity which beginning as it does with a state of society when the Tamils lived in mere hunting groups takes us through successive stages of marked improvement.

Purapporul Venbamalai (புறப்பொருள்வெண்பாமாலை), itself a grammar and so meant to be by its author, treats of the Tamilian warfare as known to him through books at his command. The student of sociology is simply surprised to find that the author, trained in the eastern school as he was, has been scrupulous even about the ditties tuned to the dance of the triumphant semi-savage. The work records the state of affairs from a very remote period and this is manifest as the author begins with a stage when there was no recognised chieftainship. தன்னுழுதாழில், or expeditions organised by the hordes

themselves as a matter of course, precede மன்னுறுதொழில் or those directed by the chiefs.‡ No higher ambition than that of plundering one's neighbours, the strong feeding on the weak, seems to characterise these raids. The booty is shared according to merit of services rendered and there is a good deal of feasting and drinking and dancing in honour of the primeval 'Mars', *velan*. This is வெட்சி (Vetchi)* and is followed by கரந்தை (Karanthai) when the vanquished host leads a counter-expedition not so much for retaliation as for the recovery of the lost herd. Then comes வஞ்சி (Vanchi) where there is a clear recognition of kingship and an offensive expedition more or less of a marauding type, and facts incidental to it are detailed. காஞ்சி (Kanchi) describes the seiges of towns or rather small settlements, நொச்சி (Nochi) the able defence and தும்பை (Thumbai) the actual storming of the fortresses and so on.§

This work, in spite of apparent recent interpolations, forms the chief source of information regarding the prehistoric Tamils, for, though தொல்காப்பியம் (Tholkappiyam) an earlier treatise on the subject exists, this has been intended to form a compendium of பன்னிரு படலம் (Pannirupadalam), most certainly the earliest work of utility to the historian. Yes, only with regard to the prehistoric, the nomadic Tamils, for even here when we turn to the author with a view to learn something more about the life of our ancestors, after they had once for all settled in this land, as to how and under what circumstances

‡ Nachinarkkiniyar in his commentaries on *Tholkappiyam* objects to this classification and dispenses with தன்னுறுதொழில் as unnatural. Evidently he could not imagine a society wherein kingship was not to be found in some form or other. But Sociology has to admit of such a stage in the evolution of the modern state.

* Here again Nachinarkkiniyar is chargeable with a piece of anachronism. In his usual way he begins to account for the existence of a particular state in nature. வெட்சி, then arises from the custom of the kings of what at present amounts to sending an *ultimatum* requesting the immediate removal of the infirm, the cows and the Brahmins lest these should become victims to the enraged soldiery. This is really exacting too much from the poor non-Aryan savage packs. The very functions of பாதிரி, புலனறிகுயப்பு, உண்டாட்டு, கொடை, etc are enough to prove the absurdity of the suggestion.

§ These names denote some flowers which are said to be worn on their hair by the victorious hosts. This suggests a question "what if we suppose that all these were enacted in a country wherein these flowers are to be found." Granting this we have to admit that the men keeping watch over a herd of cows even after finding that their ranks have been thinned by the treacherous assasination of the enemy have to divide their labour at dead of night between running in search of கரந்தை flowers which was essential for the defence and the onerous task of fighting and waking the villages. It may not be inconsistent with reason, I think, to suppose that the terms are mere grammatic conventions.

they had to change their mode of living, he very often disappoints us proving himself to be more a scholar than a historian. Not a syllable more than the bare fact that the nation were governed by the three great kings, *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandiya*, does he vouchsafe us. *Panniripadalam* which may throw clearer light on the subject is lost and Iyanarithanar though deserving our thanks for what he has given forces us to look to other quarters for further materials.

Soon after their occupation of South India the Tamils seem to have settled down in the thirteen districts or *Nadus*¶ viz., *Pandi South Pandi*, *Kuttam*, *Kudam*, *Karka*, *Vēṇ*, *Púli*, *Panri Aruva*, *Northern Aruva*, *Sítham*, *Maladu* and *Punanadu* (பாண்டி, தென்பாண்டி குட்டம்,குடம்,கற்கா,வேண், பூழி,பன்றி அருவா, அருவாவடதலை,சீதம், மலாடு, புனனாடு), The first of these alone, of course through the partiality of the poets, was known as *Sendamilnadu* (செந்தமிழ்நாடு: that which talks good Tamil) and the rest were under the rather reproachful nick-name of *Kodunthamilnadu* (கொடுந்தமிழ்நாடு: those which talk harsh or vulgar Tamil). The denomination of most of the districts herein given appear to be of later origin, for whereas *Pandi*, *Puzhli*, *Kudam* and *Aruva* are somewhat tribal names imparted to the territories occupied by them, the rest seem to denote mere territorial divisions. The oft-recurring terms *Pandiyan*, *Puzhian*, or *Puzhiar Kon* (கோன்-King) *Kudagar* (people) and *Aruva* [a term applied by the Telugus, the first to separate from the main group, to the Tamils from which I am led to think that the districts *Aruva* and *Northern Aruva* lay adjacent to the Telugu districts] enable me to pronounce this opinion though with considerable diffidence. The titles, rather the designations of the earliest sovereigns, form the only source of information for us in regard to the districts that were under their sway.§ Thus *Thennavan* was Pandiyan under whom was Thenpandi and Pandi, the *Punanadan* or Chola ruled over Tanjore and Trichinopoly and the *Chera* was ruling over by far the largest portion viz., *Kuttam** *Kudam*, *Vēṇ* (வேணாடு is Travancore), *Puzhi* and *Maladu* as he is often refered to as *Kuttuvan Kudakon*, *Venadan*, *Puzhiar Kon* and *Malayaman* (*Maladu* is a contraction of *Malayaman-nadu*). But it must be borne in mind that

¶ The division into four குறிஞ்சி, முல்லை, மருதம், நெய்தல், is more scholarly than political or actual.

§ But nothing has as yet come down to us except traditionary and literary records to warrant the statement that the dominions were so clearly defined. Archæology may throw light on later periods.

* It is interesting to note that the flat round Ambalapuzha is yet known by this name.

sovereignity in South India constantly shifted from one House to another so that there was every possibility for the whole land to have come under the sway of one while the rest chose to remain as vassals. It is a noteworthy feature in the Tamil Literature that the poets of the *Senthamilnadu* have been looking upon the inhabitants of Keralam as as much a kindred tribe as those of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Indeed, literary works of some antiquity such as the Ramayanam of Kannasa Panikar, the inscriptions pertaining to the seventeenth century and earlier and the language spoken in Travancore to-day (I mean the spoken tongue as distinguished from the written one wherein it is the fashion of the day to eschew words of native origin) clearly indicate that the language of Malabar though classed as one of the sister languages of Tamil is but the original of it, a little more differentiated surely by time and isolation than the Jaffnese tongue. Most of the classical words which have become obsolete or known only to the scholary few beyond the ghats the man-in-the-street here is conversant with; and Philological and Ethnographic conclusions alike confirm the traditional account that *Parasurama Kshetram* was peopled by men from the east. It may not be far from the truth therefore to say that with the extinction of the *Pandiyan* and *Chola* Kingdoms Malabar was left to develop its institutions that were at one time common to the whole Dravidian race unmolested, securely placed as it was between the hills and the sea.

The present state of Malabar then, with its unique customs and institutions, now looked upon as peculiar to the soil or as ordained by a superhuman Dictator, ought to throw a flood of light on the constitution of the early Tamil society. *Madan* or *Sastha* of Travancore and *Aiyappan* of Malabar correspond to the deity *Aiyanar* whose shrine guards every village in the eastern districts. The *Pulaya* who was till late the predial serf has his counterpart in the *palla* who was also orginally known as Pulaya. *Kudai Selavu* and *Val Selavu* so often referred to in Purapporul are enacted on almost every festive occasion when the sovereigns on the west coast go out on any feigned expedition. The *Kathakali*, the *Chirappu*, the *Kurathipattu*, the *Pulikudi*,‡ the *Arpu*, the *Kurava* and various other things are also known to have had their counterparts. That matriarchy (metronymy is more precise, since there is none to import a ruler) which is now confined to Malabar has also been once the universal practice of the

‡ The very term *Pulikudi* is very commonly used for child-birth though no such ceremony takes place in the Tamil districts.

entire Tamil or Dravidian race ought therefore to be more than a mere conjecture.

It cannot be denied that a closer tie was felt between the two nationalities when the whole of South India was ruled over by its own kings among whom intermarriages were by no means infrequent. Poets, we know, have travelled throughout Keralam visiting the courts of Nanchilvalluvan (நாஞ்சில்வள்ளுவன்) Valvilori (வல்வில்ஓரி) and hosts of Cheraladhans and Cheralirumporais. Yet nothing has struck them as peculiar. Neither Pathirrupathu (பதிற்றுப்பத்து), the *Shah-nameh* of the Chera Royal family composed as it is by Cheraman Ilango Adigal and laying a good portion of its scene of action on the West Coast nor even *Purapporul Venbamalai* which has the singular coincidence in having both its author and commentator (as is evidenced from the string of provincialisms in his prose) from the chera territory, helps us in the least. Their silence on so vital a subject affecting so kindred a tribe gives us room to suspect that matriarchy, at least in its infant stage, I mean as it was during the early feudal period in Malabar was nothing peculiar to the times. But this is a positive inference from negative circumstances and requires confirmation.

(To be continued.)

M. KARPURASUNDARA PANDIAN.

LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL REFORM.

By Mr. S. Ramanatha Aivar, F. S. SC., M. R. A. S.

NOT satisfied with the platform and the press, the Social Reformer has of late begun to encroach upon the legislative sanctum When after eloquent disquisitions and vehement denunciations, he find his orthodox brethren intractable, he courts the hand of legislature to beat them hollow. He contends if orthodoxy and conservatism will not listen to reason and move on with him, an act from the legislature will sweep away the existing fabric of society. If he wants to prevent religious endowments from being mis-managed, if he wants to put a stop to nautch parties, if he wants to prohibit early marriages, if he wants to put down polygamy or lay his axe at the root of polyandry, if he wants to change the system of marriage or establish better relationship among the members of a group or raise their status or improve their assets or disencumber their property and estates, he pants for the council chamber, and wants to pass an act! Then the thing is done. The reform, he seeks to transplant, will spontaneously spring up there and renovate society. Imbued with the ideas and principles of the civilized West he thinks of applying them wholesale to the conditions of this country. Stung by the extreme degradation of his country, he patriotically hits upon the project of raising his community to a high level by a few statutes and enactments. In these days when enlightened reason recognises free choice as the guiding principle of marital union, the institution of early marriages—when the parties are too young to realize the solemn responsibility they are called upon to undertake—cannot but be detrimental to social harmony. To enforce union where inclination dictates separation is an insult to common sense. It is a satire upon love itself. So exclaims the reformer. But he ignores the inviolable conditions that form the root of our social system. He takes no note of the restrictions and limitations which we have been laboring under for ages and which it is not easy to shake off at his bidding. Again, in these days when the civilized instincts of man rebel against a system that allows of a plurality of wives or husbands, the prevalence of polygamy or polyandry is a disgrace to society. To dilute love by distribution injures domestic fidelity and bars social advancement. The despotic authority of customs and the peremptory obedience to its absurd demands are

sapping our vitality. To follow a mode of life and thought bristling with such grotesque and absurd superstitions is revolting to the sense of duty as educated men. So complains the reformer. But in his anxiety to reform, he underrates the obstinacy and tenacity with which the masses cling to these old and antiquated notions. Again in these days of cosmopolitan philanthropy and universal brotherhood, when the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity are gradually gaining ground, the system of caste—with a rigidity and an isolation that peremptorily refuses to admit within its pale any except those born and nurtured under its traditions and carefully kept within its fold,—is a meaningless anachronism, an indefensible anomaly! The earlier we realize this and adapt ourselves to the growing needs of an ever-advancing civilization, the better for us. So says the reformer. But he ignores the equally stern reality that it is an institution whose original principles were broad-based upon social and economic conditions—an institution which offered a solution to national progress in the division of labor—an institution whose inviolability has been the means of preserving intact through untold ages the land-marks of social system in a country where the church got the better of the state in the struggle between the two. To be brief, the social reformer who represents the educated section is *too impatient* for the age he lives in. He argues thus:— I am given liberal education. My reason is enlightened. My intellect is developed. I pity the wretched lot of my countrymen grovelling in ridiculous customs and superstitions. They lead a life of moral degeneracy and intellectual penury. Awake! Arise!"

And when they do not respond to his call for reform, he grows vexed. He rushes into the legislative chamber to set everything aright by a few statutes and enactments. Aid from without argues weakness *within* and often has an unwholesome effect. Any forced upheaval like that—even if possible—is also calculated "to give a fresh momentum to the downward move." This is the gist of my contention. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not for a moment undervalue the invaluable services which social reformers are doing. We cannot be too thankful to them. But what I say is that they should not *hurry on*. *Festina Lente* should be their motto. A sincere and enthusiastic activity, tempered by loyalty, moderation and reverence for the past should be the means of renovating society. The truly educated portion is only a drop in the ocean. Ninety per cent of our people believe that our laws and institutions were laid down by the Creator

Himself. They believe that the very advent of the reformer heralds the age of dissolution. I say therefore that any measure of reform that has not the sincere and solid support of the society at large is fore-doomed to failure. The social aspirations of the English-educated Hindus are quite at variance with the view of the majority of the people. In such cases to compel them by legislature to accept notions however uncongenial to them, would only convulse society and throw back the tide of advancement. Legislative interference in stopping *Sati* or prohibiting infanticide or abolishing slavery or in cases where humanity is outraged, proceeds on broad and humanising principles, and such interference carries its own justification. But in the present condition of society, reform proper,—to be wholesome and effective—should proceed from the bosom of the society. The "rush-forwards" and the "let-alones" should approach each other, blend together and work in hearty fellowship. There should be an organised system of free and disciplined discussion at which several questions of social reform might be thoroughly thrashed out. Differences of views could thus be considerably sunk in a common understanding and a consensus of opinion created. Emerson says—"Every reform was first a thought in one man's mind: when the same thought occurs to another man, it becomes a private opinion; and when it shall be private opinion again, it will solve the problem of the age." The duty of the social reformer lies first in spreading the advanced ideas and preparing the conservative instincts of his countrymen for healthy reform. He has to create unanimity of feeling and identity of interest. It is no doubt a Herculean task especially when our countrymen are steeped in conservatism unwilling to part with anything old because it is bequeathed by a hoary past, unwilling likewise to adopt anything new because it is not old. His efforts should therefore be more methodical, more organised, more concurrent. Signal results are then bound to follow.

S. RAMANATHA AIYAR.

MY TRAVELS IN EUROPE.

By Mr. G. P. Pillai, Bar-at-Law.

LONDON, which is mightier than the Venice of old, and which holds all the world in fee, which blazes with jewels in the west and fades away into morasses of drab and grime in the east—claims our first attention from a travellor's point of view. It is not only the metropolis of the world, but it is a miniature world in itself. One evening walk through one of its busy thorough-fares with your eyes open will give you more information than what you can gather during your whole life-time in any other remote corner of the world. A simple drive on the top of an omnibus will be sufficient to impress one with the magnitude and the magnificence of the proudest city of the world. The towering domes of St. Paul's, the structural beauty of the Parliament houses, the graceful column at the Trafalgar Square, all these impress you and remind you of their historic associations. Walking down Oxford Street on one holiday evening you may step inside the famous Marble Arch and enter the historic Hyde Park. Here the view presented is indeed very pretty. Here a dark-skinned thick-lipped negro walks side by side with a pretty young damsel, there a young Indian of up-to-date fashion reclines gracefully on a bench, pleasantly conversing with two lady-friends. A handsome motor-car with a fair occupant and driven by a French chaffeur dashes past us. Two Egyptians with bright red caps and flowing robes hail to a passing cab, which halts and carries them away. The lake is full of young couples rowing up and down the Serpentine. At one place a Christian Missionary appeals to a Christian audience to become real Christians. At another, a Chinese priest repeats to a crowded gathering the tenets of the Buddhist religion. The Suffragists are delivering fiery speeches in one corner, the Socialists are denouncing monarchy and the doings of a conservative ministry. The Park Lane magnates move from one place to another in the park on the look out for a convenient place to sit down, while a crowd of workmen with their torn and dirty garments, their face begrimed with soot and dust, brushes past them caring little or nothing for them. The wretched derelict lies here and there on the grass asleep or drunk, and the solemn policeman with a quick glance and a wave of the hand puts an end to their sleep at once. These are but few of the many things you may chance to see in any one of the many gardens in

London. Moving up Oxford Street and passing Oxford-circus and Holborn, we come to St. Paul's Cathedral. There, gathered together, Sunday by Sunday, may be found a great crowd of all ages and both sexes, mostly of the middle class, the comfortably-off, the comfortably-clad people who keep up a tradition of honest living and hard work with respectability among them. It is a wonderful sight: the grey distances, the dimness of the towering domes, the long drawn aisles and the crowd soberly dressed in black and brown and dingy colours, a crowd reverent, attentive, joining a service that for singing and music can hardly be surpassed. Wandering down the narrow streets of the neighbourhood of St. Paul's on a week-day, you may chance to hear a song, sweeter than any lark's, a boy's clear treble, rising higher and higher until you catch your breath to listen, as the fresh young voice goes up lending wings to the souls; and suddenly with its cessation you come back into a very work-a-day world, a world of hurrying people, of huge carts, of crowded omnibuses, of muddy streets and grey skies—a world filled with the essence of the common-place from which you have been carried away by the practising notes of one of the choir boys of St. Paul's in the school hard by the Cathedral. Going further east, to the East End of London we come in contact with the slums of the city. There driven by poverty can be seen gathered together men from all parts of the world: Negroes in light cheque suits and red flannel shirts, Americans in velveteen coats and trousers, Italians muffled up in jerseys, Spaniards playing cards before the roaring fire, Englishmen wrapped in rugs asleep or bawling songs to a small audience which gives a chorus back in mellifluous curses, Russians drunk with spirits, Frenchmen chattering, Chinese mooningly silent, and over all an atmosphere of smoke and foul odours, of fetid warmth and stifling heaviness. London reflects every phase of joy and misery that can be imagined between the glittering procession that passes us in the park in the bright afternoon sun, to the forlorn tramp that stands outside lonely shelters in the mid-night drizzle. To this one, it is a city of magnificent dreams; to that, a night-mare of prolonged horror. English people, by the way, are not a very sunny people, and a thoughtful careworn sadness sits on their countenance instead of joyousness and hilarity. The climate which is cold and depressing for more than six months in the year may partly account for this. Again, the distribution of the means of livelihood are so unequal, that while the smaller section literally rolls in wealth, the larger—the overwhelmingly larger—have not enough for

their wants, and pass their life in care and privation. Some people go mad from melancholy and over-work, the result of the unending task of trying to get a living by an almost useless struggle. Some others become criminals through early neglect, and being taught to live on their wits, they fill the gin palaces to drown their sorrows.

Leaving London, I may next mention among the cities I visited the two great university towns, Oxford and Cambridge. I studied the strange unique life in a university, narrow yet pulsating, where the youth that is so green and springing tries to arm itself for the battle of life with the weapons forged by the dead and sharpened by the more elderly among the living. I believe it was at Oxford that I heard a great man say that one should never omit to see anything beautiful, for, as he said, in those quiet hours of silent communion with the soul of nature we are taking in a store of knowledge which will become a part of our very being. Nature invites us all to see and admire the infinite variety she has to show: mountains bathing their feet in the depths of crystalline lakes, the blending of the most contrasted scenes of sublimity and tenderness in Tyrol and Dolomites and the black lava fields of Sicily and the vine-yards caressing them round the vast base of Etna. No two scenes are alike. The world only tires us if we stagnate in one spot.

Crossing over to the continent, we find that Holland and Belgium make any holiday attractive because of their perfect presentation of the quaintest charms of mediævialism; and when we are thinking of cities re-constructed in the modern style of supreme beauty the mind at once flies to Paris. What shall I say of fair France? Their many provinces with their wealth of historical and legendary lore, their diversified scenery, their intimate connection with England in the days of old—all these impress you and move you to the inmost depth of your soul. Picardy with its dead old towns in the north, Normandy rich in Gothic architecture and memories of old Norman kings of England, Brittany with its natural beauty and its celtic memorials, the Vosges unrivalled for mountain scenery, the Loire with its wonderful castles, "the garden of France"—each and all invite us, seeming to say "Confine your travels to France and you will have enough to do all your days." Belgium is one of the most important countries to be included in any scheme of educational travel. Nowhere are the towns more potent to stir the imagination, to awaken the feeling for romance as Bruges and Ghent. Brussels is an ideal example of a fine modern capital evolved from an old historic town, while Antwerp is full of bright and cosmopolitan life and boasts of rich treasures of art.

The home of the historic Dutch people is a country full of extraordinary natural characteristics. Their country, the people, customs, language, style of buildings, dress and methods of business are all strange, quaint, and striking. Countless canals intersect the land in all directions. The lofty and narrow houses constructed of red brick and white cement, the numerous odd looking windmills, the trim tulip gardens and the rows of poplars stretching along the dykes and canals for miles impart a unique beauty to the view.

One of the chief recommendations of a foreign tour is that it develops perceptive faculties, cultivates powers of observation, refines taste, stores mind with first-hand knowledge and brings us into actual contact with the world's realities. Further, it tends to destroy many of the artificial trammels of civilisation. A sympathetic understanding of a great people and a great country makes a man really alive to the faults as well as the merits of his own country. Seldom for example has any British corporation begun any scheme before they have studied how they have been dealt with in other countries in the continent. We want citizens not proud and arrogant from ignorance but appreciative and loyal from knowledge and seeing what is good in other places, keen to adapt it to their own. There is no doubt that he is a poor traveller who returns to scoff at his own land and does not feel with the Poet

"Where'er I roam, whatever realms I see
My heart, untravelled, fondly turns to thee".

Nothing is appraisable save relatively or by comparison. We must know something of the life of other people, the characteristics of other lands, before we can proceed to estimate the qualities as they are exhibited in our own. Let us understand the economic aspect of our country by studying the sources of wealth of other countries. Let us mark the alertness of the Americans, the vivacity of the French, the industry of the Germans, the commerce of the English, the progress of the Japanese and try to arrive at the cause or causes for their respective characters. Let some at least of us study foreign politics by actually living and moving in foreign lands and let us try to apply it and see whether it will satisfy the requirements of our own.

In the short space of three years during which I was away I find that Travancore has changed greatly. The Sree Moolam Popular Assembly given birth to by that veteran statesman, Mr. V. P. Madhava Row, has laid the foundations of a future brighter Travancore. I now

see signs of political activity in every nook and corner of this little state. The once unambitious, unassuming, patient population of Travancore is now seen carefully watching the doings of Government. It is indeed a hopeful sign to see the Representatives from all parts meeting together and representing their grievances in a constitutional way. Of course this is not enough and there is a great deal to be achieved yet. It may not be accomplished at once; but it is bound to come. The present constitution of England is not the work of a single day. The Sree Moolam Popular Assembly, which might be made to serve the purpose of an Opposition, deserves to be treated with sympathy by our Government and nourished into vigorous maturity. It is bound to make the work of actual administration easy and successful in the long run. The root of good government as Lord Morley rightly observed is not to be found in bureaucracy or pedantocracy. We must seek to rouse up the free and spontaneous elements lying deep in the minds and hearts of the people. What we want is not mere efficiency in the Huzur, but will and driving power, and that can only come from a resolute and determined adherence in the minds and hearts of the people of this country to those claims of humanity, justice and freedom which mark the difference between the progressive countries and the countries that are not progressive. The greatness of a nation must to some extent depend on the system of the administrative machinery and its personnel; but the nation itself did not come from these. They are formed from the nerve and muscle and moral fibre of the community itself. A nation thrives after all not by dollars but by ideals. A people is measured not by the amount of its wealth, but by what it stands for in the moral domain. Wealth without the corrective of high ideals makes for national decay. And what is more conducive to the acquirement of high ideals than foreign travel? I shall conclude my remarks with the following lines of the poet:—

"We have wandered the wide world over,
And planted the farthest soil;
We have sweated with honest labour,
And gathered the fruits of toil.
Though dear be the bush and jungle
And rich be the ranch and the rand;
Still best of earth is our land of birth,
Our own dear mother-land."— B. M. RAMSAY

G. P. PILLAI.

A HISTORY OF THE MALAYALAM LANGUAGE.

By Mr. M. Seshagiri Prabhu, M. A.

Roots.

IN the last article I promised to explain the meaning of the suffixes and the terminations of inflexion. As suffixes are added either directly to the root or indirectly to the stem or base derived from the root, it is necessary to explain the nature of roots before attempting to explain the elements of inflexion and derivation. Comparative Philology has succeeded in proving that the etymological analysis of words leads to roots as the ultimate facts of Language. Roots are incapable of further analysis and therefore correspond to chemical elements. With the discovery of roots the province of the Etymologist comes to an end. Philosophers and Metaphysicians have to take up the question of the origin of these roots. Various are the theories that have been set forth to account for the origin of roots.

Roots have been classified as predicative and demonstrative. Some of the Philologists have held that the so-called demonstrative roots or the elements of inflexion and of derivation are the residue of once independent words which in consequence of the wear and tear of ages have been reduced to mere syllables or letters, and which having thus lost their original signification are now employed to serve the purpose of inflexion and derivation. In support of their theory of the origin of the demonstrative roots they appeal to the process of agglutination going on in Dravidian and other languages of this family. Others starting with the grand assumption that primitive man began his speech not with individual words like Papa, Mama and so on, but with sentences. When man advanced in intelligence, he was able to analyse his sentences into words. When he discerned that a number of words had the same ending, he was led to believe that that ending indicated the special relation in which the word stood to other words in the sentence. The merits of these theories will be discussed in the sequel. Though a large number of suffixes have been shown to have their origin in pronominal or demonstrative elements, many suffixes still baffle the ingenuity of philologists.

As regards predicative roots, various theories have been started to account for their origin. Man in his primitive state was destitute of language and could not express his feelings,—his joys and his

sorrows, his wants and sufferings. Hearing the cries of birds and beasts in the external world, man prompted by the love of imitation, began to cry like these animals. As the cry became associated with a particular animal, the sound expressing the cry became the name of the animal. So the roots out of which language has grown to be the crown of human productions can according to this theory be traced back to the cries of birds and beasts. This theory has been known as the Onomatopoetic theory and facetiously styled the Bow-vow theory.

Since man is capable of crying, sighing, moaning, laughing, shouting, screaming and so on, he, instead of attempting to imitate the cry of animals, gave vent to certain sounds to indicate his feelings, his joys, sorrows, pains, sufferings, wonder, surprise and so on. As these sounds correspond to the interjections in our Grammar, the theory attempting to account for the origin of roots from interjections is called the Interjectional theory or Pooh-pooh theory.

Though a very few words can be shown to have been derived from cries of animals and from involuntary ejaculations of men, these two theories fail to account for a large number of words. The analysis of the words denoting animals discloses the fact that they are named in consequence of their being conceived as active agents. As agency implies action and activity, imitation of sounds and interjectional cries are not the sources of roots.

From the very beginning man is found to be essentially a social being, loving to live in groups, to work in groups and fight in groups. When engaged in such occupations as grinding corn, pulling or drawing, carrying, or work which requires the co-operation of several men at a time, men are found to produce certain sounds. Constant and repeated practice of an occupation like grinding evokes the same common cry, which becomes associated with the act of grinding. Whenever the sound accompanying grinding is produced prior to grinding, it serves to recall the work of grinding and finally becomes the name of grinding. The origin of roots is to be sought in these sounds produced by men while engaged in active occupations. This theory is called the Synenergetic or Ding-dong theory. Professor Max Muller is the foremost exponent of this theory and has supported it with all his logic and rhetoric in his most celebrated work—the *Science of Thought*. If our scientific conscience forces us to seek the origin of Language in a cause external to our mental world, to look upon Language as a human production and not a divine gift, if we

want to trace language to a physical rather than a metaphysical cause, then, certainly do we find a very grand truth in the linguistic philosophy expounded in this most wonderful book. To a student of Sanskrit Grammar, this monumental work of Max Muller will be a source of perpetual pleasure. For he will find in the book some of the theories of Sanskrit Grammar explained in a new light and utilised for new purposes.

Long after the days of Yaska, the first commentator on the Rig-veda, and of Panini, the last of the Sanskrit Grammarians of India, a theory has been established that all Sanskrit words are derived from roots signifying action. These roots are generally monosyllabic. Krit or primary suffixes of derivation are added to roots to form nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. To these words formed by means of Krit suffixes are added Taddhita or secondary suffixes to form derivative words. A large class of words that could not be explained as formed out of roots by means of Krit or Taddhita suffixes, had to be explained to support the theory. Sâkatâyana, in a work called "Unâdi (ഉണാദി) sûtras, has shown that these primitive words are really derived from verbal roots, and that the suffixes necessary for deriving them are collected under a head called Unâdi beginning with u(-n) ഉൻ. The formation of words by means of Krit and Taddhita affixes, is so regular and systematic that the words formed by Unâdi suffixes appear to be irregular and anomalous. Pânini by recognising the existence of the Unâdi affixes has confessed that he believes in the theory of the origin of words from verbal roots.

Sanskrit Grammarians have reduced the whole growth of their language to 1706 roots, which have been collected by Panini in his celebrated Dhatupatha (Root-book). As most of the roots given in Panini's list are not found in the extent Sanskrit Literature and cannot be traced in a large number of words, Western scholars have charged Panini with the sin of inventing roots with the sole object of maintaining his theory of the origin of words from roots. They have failed to remember that at the time when Panini composed his colossal Grammar, Sanskrit was a spoken language, and as such, must have contained more numerous words than the literary productions preserved to us. It is admitted on all hands that some of the words spoken in Panini's days had become obsolete in the days of Kâtyâyana and that some of the words in Kâtyana's time had likewise become obsolete in the age of Patanjali. As a large number of Vedic and Sûtra works have been lost and as the Vedic and Sûtra works preserved

to us treat only of religion and ceremonies, and as all the words in the spoken language are not necessarily found in the literay language, the charge of the invention of roots simply to support a theory to which he was wedded cannot be brought against Panini. He had the courage to face his facts. If the facts had been opposed to the theory, his honesty would have compelled him to throw the theory overboard. His contemporaries and the opponents of the theory and their followers would certainly have exposed the hollowness of the theory. As Panini's Grammar had been handed down in oral tradition and dominated the subsequent literature in Sanskrit, a theory unfounded on facts would have provoked a protest at least from Kâtyâyana, if not from Patanjali.

A large number of roots used in the Vedic Literature are not found in the post-vedic Literature. As Panini belonged to the later literature, and as his list contains more roots than those found in the Vedic literature, the extra roots must have come from Panini's mint and must be counterfeit. This argument is based on a shallow assumption, that the Vedic literature is a complete and perfect record of everything connected with the history, religion, politics, sociology, astronomy, medicine and what not. As the poets of the Veda have nowhere bound themselves to use *every word in Sanskrit*, and write an encyclopœdia of Aryan wisdom, the absence of nearly half the number of roots catalogued by Panini, in the Vedic literature, does not prove anything more than that they had no need or occasion to use these roots. Panini may more reasonably be charged with the sin of omission of roots from his list, as he cannot possibly have collected the roots in the living speech of the people, in those days when there were no written literature, no means of communications and occasions for monster meetings.

Another equally unfounded charge has been brought against Panini. As Panini has, for the purpose of his grammar, reduced the whole body of Sanskrit to a number of roots, he has been supposed to have believed that "his empty clatter of roots" constitutes language. Some philologists seem to think that Panini held the opinion that language passed from a stage in which the roots were used as independent words, to a stage in which they became words capable of expressing relations with other words in the sentence.

Panini and his followers have always looked upon roots as Alaukika (അലൗകിക),—words not found in the work-a-day world of the people—and as merely grammatical devices. When verbal roots

nî (നീ) lû (ലൂ) pû (പൂ) sak (ശക്) muc (മുച്) are found in the spoken language in a sense different from that assigned to them in the Dhatupatha, the grammatical conscience of Panini made him perceive at once that the abstract idea of nî 'to lead' cannot signify a leader unless it is linked with a suffix conveying the sense of an agent. So to account for the use of nî in the sense of a leader, he said that as a termination added to the root *nî* to convert it into a noun disappeared he would represent it as *Krip* which stripped of its grammatical garb comes to a zero. This imaginary termination is in itself an evidence that the roots cannot be used as language unless they are modified and changed into words or Padas capable of expressing relations to other words in a sentence.

The sentence being conceived as the expression of the agreement or disagreement of two ideas, Panini has accepted only two parts of speech—(1) those ending with a case termination and (2) those ending in the termination of finite verbs. The first class includes Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives, and the second class finite verbs. Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions and Interjections, as they are not modified or inflected are called Indeclinables. Panini includes even these under the first class, alleging that the case-endings have been dropped in their case. Yaska, the predecessor of Panini, has mentioned four parts of speech—Noun (നാമം), Verb (ആഖ്യാതം), Particles (നിപാതം) and indeclinables (അവ്യയം).

Later philosophers of Language have attempted to classify the words of Sanskrit according to their import. They have divided all knowables under the four heads of Matter, Quality, Action, and Relation. Before proceeding to show how each of these categories has been utilised for purposes of formal grammar, I shall explain another classification of Sanskrit words, show how this classification agrees with the one given above, and how we may combine both in naming the parts of speech in Malayalam

According to the etymology of words, Sanskrit Grammarians classify them under the following four heads :— (1) Rûdha (രൂഢം), Yaugika (യൗഗികം), Yogarûda (യോഗരൂഢം) and Pâribhâshika (പാരിഭാഷികം). Rûdha or Primitive words convey a meaning which is based on a convention (സങ്കേതം), and not in the meaning of the component parts of the words e. g. മണ്ഡപം, കുരങ്ങ്, ഇടം, പടം, വനം. Yaugika or Derivative words express a meaning which is based on the meaning of their component parts which express either matter, quality, action, or relation. The following examples of Yaugika words will illustrate the meaning.

(1) Yaugika words denoting the relations of one with matter:—
അന്നവാൻ, ധനവാൻ, പുഷ്പവാൻ, ഫലവത്തു, ധനീ, പക്ഷീ, ശിഖീ, ശൃംഗീ, ശാഖി, പിടപി, അന്നമയം, ജലമയം, പണ്ണമയീ.

(2) Yaugika words expressing the relation of one with quality:—
രൂപവതീ, രസവത്തു, ധൈര്യവാൻ, രൂപി, ഗുണീ, ബലവതീ, ബലി,

(3) Yaugika words expressing the relation of one with action
പാചകൻ, അദ്ധ്യാപകൻ, നായകൻ, ഗന്താവു, കർത്താവു, ഭോക്താവു

Yaugika or Derivative words are divided into three classes.

(i) Kridanta or those ending in Krit suffixes:—
പാചകൻ, ഗന്താവു, ഗതഃ, കാര്യം, ഉചിപാൻ, ഗന്തവ്യം,

(ii) Taddhitanta or those ending in Taddhita suffixes
മത്രമാൻ, ബുദ്ധിമതീ, ഗുണമയം, കാഷായം, താണ്ണം, സൈംഹീ, വൈയാഘ്രം

(iii) Samasa—those formed by the composition of separate words
രാജപുരുഷൻ, പീതാംബരൻ, നീലകണ്ഠൻ, കമലാക്ഷി ഭൂമിപാലൻ,

The Kridanta words being formed of roots and suffixes convey the sense of agency etc., with regard to the action indicated by the roots and by expressing a distinct meaning show a relation with the action. The Taddhita words express the relation with matter, quality and action.

(a) Matter—ധനവാൻ, ധനീ, ദണ്ഡീ, ശാഖി, പുഷ്പവാൻ.

(b) Quality—ഗുണവാൻ, രൂപവാൻ, ധൈര്യവാൻ, ജ്ഞാനവാൻ,

(c) Action—ഗത്രമാൻ, ക്രിയാവാൻ, വ്യാപാരവാൻ.

Compounds may also be classified as showing matter, Quality and Action. The relation in the case of compound words may be conceived as subsisting between (1) two pieces of matter, (2) between a piece of matter and quality, (3) between matter and action (4) two actions, (5) between two qualities and (6) between qualities and actions.

(1) Between matter—രാജപുരുഷൻ, രാജധനം, ബ്രാഹ്മണപുത്രൻ, പിതൃധനം, വൃക്ഷശാഖാ

2. Between matter and quality—പടരൂപം, വിപ്രജ്ഞാനം

3. Between matter and action—രഥഗതി, പാദക്രമണം, ബ്രാഹ്മണഭോജനം.

4. Between qualities—നീലലോഹിതം കൃഷ്ണരക്തം.

5. Between qualities and actions—ഗതിരോധം, ഭോജനജ്ഞാനം.

6 Between actions—സ്നാതാനുലിപ്തൻ, പക്തഭുജൻ.

Yogarûdha words are those whose component parts convey a definite meaning which is like that of a primitive word, restricted to particular things, by a convention. Pankaja—born or produced in mud—is restricted to a lotus, though, by reason of the meaning of the parts it is applicable to water-lilies and other plants growing in mud. Some

discard this distinction and include the Yogarûdha words in the Yaugika words. The compound words are generally supposed to signify the intended meaning in consequence of their possessing the power of Yogarûdha words.

Pâribhâshika words are technical terms and convey the intended meaning because they have been so defined in their repective sciences and arts. കർമ്മം, grammatical object, ക്രിയാ, verb, ഉപസർഗ്ഗം, preposition are technical terms of grammar.

Sanskrit Rhetoricians have also divided words according to their meanings into (1) Vachaka (വാചക), (2) Lakshanika (ലാക്ഷണിക) and (3) Vyanjaka (വ്യഞ്ജക) and their meanings are called Vachya (വാച്യ), Lakshya (ലക്ഷ്യ), and Vyanjya (വ്യഞ്ജ്യ). Tâtparyârtha (താത്പര്യാർത്ഥം) has been added as a fourth meaning. As these meanings do not depend on the forms of the words, but as they depend on the context in which they occur, the Etymologist has nothing to do with them. So, I do not think it necessary to explain their distinction at present.

Having shown that Sanskrit words can all be traced back to monosyllabic roots signifying action and that they may be classified according to their import and formation, I shall now give the principles of classifying roots adopted by philologists and apply them to the roots of Malayalam. Dr. Caldwell has shown Dravidian roots to be monosyllabic. This has to be investigated and the final form of the root settled.

"A root is necessarily monosyllabic. Roots consisting of more than one syllable can always be proved to be derivative roots, and even among monosyllabic roots it is necessary to distinguish between primitive, secondary and Tertiary roots.

A. Primitive are those which consist
(1) of one vowel. . . . . ആ, to be
(2) of one vowel and one consonant. . . . . ഇർ, to sit,
(3) of one consonant and one vowel. . . . . പോ, to go.

B. Secondary Roots are those which consist
(1) of one consonant, vowel, and consonant, വർ, തർ, ചെയ്,
In these roots either the first or the last consonant is modificatory.

C. Tertiary Roots are those which consist
(1) of consonant, consonant, and vowel.
(2) of vowel, consonant, and consonant,
(3) of consonant, consonant, vowel and consonant.
(4) of consonant, consonant, vowel, consonant and consonant.
The primary roots are the most important in the early history of

language; but their predicative power being generally of too indefinite a character to answer the purposes of advancing thought, they were soon encroached upon and almost supplanted by secondary and tertiary radicals."

The above extract from Max Muller's Lectures on the Science of Language sets forth the principles on which roots are to be classified. In the present state of Malayalam, we do not find many primitive roots consisting of a single vowel. In the Sabdamanidarpana—a Canarese grammar by Kesiraja—are found two roots ഈ to bathe and ഓ to love. The latter root is preserved in ഓമൽ, but the former seems to be a relic of നീന്തു. Malayalam possesses a large number of roots belonging to the subdivisions (2) and (3) of Primitive roots, and to the secondary division. As Dravidian Languages are averse to initial conjunct consonants, they do not furnish roots falling under the subdivisions (1), (3) and (4) of Tertiary roots. So the only tertiary roots of Malayalam must be those beginning with vowels followed by conjunct consonants.

(To be continued.)

M. SESHAGIRI PRABHU

DISCUSSION

I

THE REAL CAUSE OF SELF-SACRIFICE.

By Mr. T. Sadasiva Aiyar, B. A., M. L.

To

The Editor,

The M. Q. Review.

Sir,

IN the short but thoughtful and suggestive editorial artitcle in the June number of your Review on the "Evolution of Love," you say that when love is in its extreme stage "We miss its foundation" and "the original root," namely "love of self". And you try to explain it by "the phenomena of '*fixed ideas*' in Psychology."

(2) With every respect, is this not merely clouding the issue by mere phrase-manufacture as Benjamin Kidd does in his works abounding in such phrases as "projected efficiency" &c? And do you approve of this self-sacrificing love or not? or do you say with the Italian Professor Lombroso (he has recently learnt better) that it is an abnormal diseased neurotic imagination which leads to self-sacrifice? Your reference to the preference of "honor, dignity and nobleness" to "life" (that is physical life) being "a glaring instance of placing the cart before the horse," your reference to martyrs "*fancying perhaps* higher enjoyments," and your reference to the "ecstatic state" being "a state of momentary madness" and "emotional delirium" seem to show that you treat the martyr as an unnatural abortion of nature. But if love of "self" and "life" is the root, can nature stultify herself by making one of her bye-products such as a "fixed idea" become superior to the "root" itself?

(3) My dear Mr. Editor, the heroes and martyrs and the ascetic saints are not the result of unnatural aberrations of false or stupid "fixed ideas." The physical life and the physical self might go and come but there is a Life and Self that are permanent. It is the glimpse of that Life and that Self (or something nearer to that Life and that Self than the physical life and physical self) that even a soldier who does his duty obtains. It is the vision of the Higher Bird on the Tree that the sages, saints and religious martyrs get.

They know they are this Higher Bird which cannot be killed or hurt and it is this vision and not a stupid unnatural fixed idea and it is this Love for that Higher Bird self which surpasses all other loves and is the root and basis of all lower loves (even that of a male physical cell to a female physical cell) that produces this self-sacrificing love in which the lower self is gladly sacrificed for the Higher Self. Charles Bradlaugh, Dr. Clifford and other good and noble souls who did not believe in a Universal Permanent Spirit which is their own Innermost Self preached self-sacrifice and Charles Bradlaugh even said that his highest ambition was to die for the people. But why he longed so he could not explain and none of those who deny a Permanent Self could explain it except those logical materialists who treat self-sacrifice as unnatural madness or those logical Vedantists who treat self-sacrifice as merely the exaltation of the unsacrificeable and ever-sacrificing Higher Self.

(4) Let all other knowledge or Apara Vidya (including every other science) be the beautiful hand-maiden to serve (or the path leading to) Brahma Vidya or Theosophy and let all Western Philosophy be similarly used to elucidate and support and not in vain attempts to attack or overthrow our time-honoured Eastern Philosophy.

T. SADASIVA AIYAR.

II

THE REAL CAUSE OF SELF-SACRIFICE—A REJOINDER.

By the Editor,

THANKING our esteemed correspondent for the few complimentary terms in which he refers to our last editorial article, in the opening paragraph of his communication, we think we may go at once to consider the point raised in this controversy. A number of epithets and surmises contained in this communication naturally throw open the doors to a discussion of many a side issue; but these certainly should not be allowed to thrust into the back-ground the central question. This we shall first deal with.

In our article, entitled *Stages in the Evolution of Love*, we made an attempt at an explanation of that rare phenomenon of self-sacrifice which springs from love of other beings and sought to trace it to the

impulse of a "fixed idea", dominating the mind of the self-sacrificing subject. Our learned correspondent, however, demurs to this view, characterising by the way a 'fixed idea' as "false", "stupid" and "unnatural" and gives, we confess, an altogether new explanation of his own, which is nothing more or less than the conviction in the mind of the self-sacrificing individual that his self, the higher self, cannot die. This, we believe, is the significance of also the metaphorical phraseology used by the writer, viz: "the vision of the higher bird."

Now, the question before us is purely a psychological one and as such falls within the domain of one of the natural sciences. *Brahma-Vidya* or Theosophy has, if we are not mistaken, a distinct sphere of its own for investigation and also a method of its own. Any appeal made to it in the discussion of a scientific question, which lies in a different sphere and which is amenable to a different method, is more likely to darken than to clarify matters. When a Chemist treats of the composition of a salt, when a Physicist treats of the nature of a force, or when a Biologist treats of the law of growth and decay of living matter, would it be right on the part of a Theosophist to jump up at every step in the reasoning and interject that there is a spiritual aspect of the matter which the scientist has not taken into account, much less explained. For aught we know, it is so; but the business of the scientist is not so ambitious; it is the modest one of seeking uniformities, uniformities of co-existence and sequence, in natural phenomena. He deals only with the Relative and not with the Absolute, with the phenomenal aspect of existence and not with the noumenal, with that which falls within experience and not with what transcends it. Both in the inductive and deductive methods of reasoning which he follows in constructing his system of knowledge, he starts from and arrives at certain primordial data of experience, which transcend the region of scientific proof; for in the last analysis scientific proof itself will be found to be based upon the bed-rock of these primordial data and an attempt to apply the canons of scientific proof to these fundamental elements of knowledge would only be a vicious circle. In short, the scientist confines himself to that portion of the sphere of existence on which the light of knowledge falls and does not try to rend the veil of mystery which shrouds the other portion in impenetrable darkness. Taking him, then, to task for omitting to consider the recondite aspect of phenomena, which he has not undertaken to consider, is like finding fault with a carpenter for not weaving cloth or with a poet for not composing a work on cookery.

The moral of what we may call this division of intellectual labour is plain enough. And it is this: that a criticism of a piece of intellectual work, to be profitable, should proceed upon the acceptance of some one principle at least of that work and point out how the actual carrying out of the work has violated the principle. To illustrate by a concrete example, the critic, who takes upon himself to criticise *Paradise Lost* as an epic poem, should be at one with Milton concerning the utility of that branch of literature called an epic poem and the necessity of composing such a work but might differ from the poet in the estimate of the actual work executed by the latter. Suppose, the critic began by inveighing against poetry as a whole and rated the poets roundly and advised them to take to other walks of literature, would he be ranked as a sapient critic of *Paradise Lost*? There may be wisdom in his advice; yet his criticism, for all that, is simply beside the mark for the sufficient reason that between himself and the poet he has undertaken to criticise there is no common ground. And without such a common ground, no discussion can be conducted satisfactorily or wound up with profit. Diagnosing the symptoms, a doctor arrives at the conclusion that the fever a patient is suffering from is due to certain *bacilli* getting into his system; the exorciser says that it is due to the wrath of a spirit which had taken its abode in a tree which the would-be patient had cut down a day before. Evidently, there is nothing in common between these two philosophers—for the exorciser too philosophizes in his own way—and one can confidently predict that even if they were allowed eternity to settle their dispute in, they would still be as poles asunder. And why? Because they look at the phenomenon from two entirely different stand-points.

Even so, in the present instance, if our correspondent takes his stand upon thorough-going spiritualism and tries to explain the phenomenon in terms used in that branch of investigation, there will hardly be any objection to such a procedure from a scientific point of view. The Spiritualist, we think, is as much justified as the Materialist in preferring his own symbols for the explanation of the phenomenon. But in both cases the caution cannot be too strongly insisted upon that they are severally dealing only with symbols and not with the Reality. It must be noted that these two schools confessedly treat of the ultimate Problem; and whatever difference there may be in their ways of looking at it and in the nature of the solution offered, at least there is this agreement: that both of them equally take credit for having solved this question of questions. But Science is not Mate-

rialism any more than it is Spiritualism, for it does not concern itself with the resolution of the ultimate mystery at all. Any attempt made in that direction falls within the province of Metaphysics, as comprising Ontology and Epistemology. Our editorial article in the last number of the *Review* has not the remotest Metaphysical pretensions; but is only an humble contribution to the discussion of a scientific question. If, therefore, the present discussion has been started with the sole object of renewing the ancient fight between Spiritualism and Materialism, we must perforce deny ourselves the honour of entering the lists, *first*, because unlike either of the contending schools, psychological science does not undertake to *solve* the ultimate problem, *secondly*, because it differs from them both in its stand-point and in its method.

If, on the other hand, our correspondent too strives to formulate a naturalistic interpretation of the phenomenon 'Self-Sacrifice', as we have grounds for inferring, despite certain spiritualistic terminology interspersed here and there in his letter, we shall gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of testing the validity of the rival hypotheses. Both of us must be taken as concerned with trying to ascertain the exact mental condition in which the self-sacrificing individual is when he gives up his life. Here at least, we should be taken to agree though we might differ in the reading of that mental condition. Our critic gives belief in the immortality of the self or to use his own words "vision of the higher bird which cannot be killed or hurt" as the psychic state preceding self-sacrifice, whereas we have called it a "fixed idea."

Which of these two hypotheses is the correct or approximately correct one? Before giving our grounds for a decision, we cannot help remarking that our esteemed correspondent has, by his explanation, unwittingly shorn Self-sacrifice of its romance and grandeur, nay, he has even pulled it down from its high pedestal and has reduced it to a formality and simulacrum. Though the individual seems to pass through the aweful ordeal of self-sacrifice, he knows he is *not* really sacrificing himself and only laughs in his sleeves at the childish ignorance of those who shed tears on the pyre of his self-immolation. We do not know whether this can heighten the grandeur of the act of self-sacrifice or ennoble the character of the individual who contrives to exchange this trash of a body for a more precious inheritance! But this is another matter; the truth or untruth of an hypothesis does not of course depend upon such adventitious considerations.

As to the hypotheses themselves, belief in the immortality of the self is plain enough; our readers cannot misunderstand that. Unhappily the phrase "fixed idea" is said to have a popular significance of its own apart from the technical one we ascribe to it. When a lunatic is subject to a particular delusion, or when a somnambulist is under the spell of a hallucination, or when a hypnotic medium is under the influence of a suggestion, each of these is sometimes spoken of as having a "fixed idea" in him. This, we think, is an unwarranted use of the term, for in all these instances the person is only an involuntary agent and has not the least power to control or modify the idea. On the other hand, he is that is controlled by the idea. It is plain, therefore, that the person himself has not had a hand in *fixing* the idea and so cannot be held to have a "fixed idea." We have, however, used the term not to denote the involuntary psychoses mentioned above but to signify a voluntary act of the mind. Whereas in the case of ordinary ideas or volitions, the mind is allowed to oscillate between the two states of *action* and *inaction*, in pursuance of such ideas or volitions, and remains free to prefer one course of conduct to another by striking a balance between the contending motives, in the case of "fixed ideas" no such free and direct valuation of the results is resorted to by the individual; nor is it even allowed by him. In the former case, the individual keeps his mind open and is prepared to follow wherever preponderating reasons, including self-regarding reasons, guide him; in the latter, he has determined not to step beyond the act and weigh the immediate consequences to self. He has in a way fixed his course of conduct and does not feel the necessity of any direct reference to a utilitarian standard. We think there is a very great difference between this 'fixed idea'—and we have used the term only in this sense—and the fixed idea as meaning a delusion or hallucination. We admit there is also much difference between this 'fixed idea' and the ordinary idea or volition guided solely by direct considerations of utility. While a man completely controls his ordinary ideas and while delusory or hallucinatory ideas completely control him, the 'fixed ideas' we are speaking of are of an intermediate order partly controlled by man, in so much as he has consciously created them and partly controlling him in as much as they prevent him from caring for the results to self.

We shall now enumerate some of the grounds on which our hypothesis has been based.

It is the glory of evolutional Psychology in having familiarised us with the method of always trying to find an explanation of a psychic phenomenon appearing in man by casting a glance at its pre-human analogues and tracing its genesis through successive phases of evolution. No fact in nature can be detached and contemplated by itself without giving us an incorrect estimate of it; it should always be taken with the surrounding facts, coexistent, antecedent and successive, with which it is related. Applying this general rule to 'self-sacrifice', there is absolutely nothing in its nature or incidents to show that this psychological phenomenon appeared in the human beings *per saltum* and without previous psychic preparation. It is highly probable, if not positively certain, that it too has had its origin in obscure animal instincts, which have not yet been investigated with sufficient application and minuteness. The tigress which stands in defence of its cubs and then bounds in mad fury on the source of the threatened danger, the infuriate mother-whale dashing past in a career of irresistible violence, upturning ships, cargoes, men and all, only to protect her brood, the despised hen showing a gallant fight with the kite that had cast its greedy eyes on its chickens and the bitch that snarls and tries to keep at bay even a superior foe from touching a hair of its helpless litter, all show, more or less, the spirit of self-sacrifice in its embryo. They oftentimes throw themselves into the jaws of death to protect their young ones and what is it that drives them to destruction? Is it the 'higher vision' or the parental instinct which blinds them to the consequences of their acts? 'Fixed idea" may not be the exact phrase by which we can appropriately describe the latter; but it is certainly an instinct of which at any rate one of the primordial elements of a "fixed idea" is composed.

Advancing a step further and coming to savage and semi-savage societies and even to the ignorant uncultured individuals of civilized societies, we are struck with the examples of self-sacrifice in their ranks in spite of the singular ignorance or indifference they display in regard to matters spiritual. They live, move and have their being in a world of mere physical necessities; they seem to be "cabinned, cribbed and confined" in a round of sensuous enjoyments and privations. If any of them stray at all outside this narrow groove, it is, in nine cases out of ten, undoubtedly due more to a thin veneer of custom than to a conviction which has gone deep into the innermost fibre of their being. Statistics of Criminology prove beyond a doubt that a great majority of the criminals come from the lower and lower-middle

classes; while the pages of the ancient history of every country are red with the violence and bloodshed of apalling ferocity. Surely enough criminal and blood-thirsty humanity cannot betoken the faintest spiritual development or for that matter even rudimentary ethical culture. Yet the primitive savage gladly lays down his life at the command of his chieftain and the ignorant soldier, whose duty teaches him "not to look before or after" but to obey his commander's orders, rushes into the thick of the fray and dies. They are laying down their lives certainly not with the higher vision of immortality which is far too much beyond the ken of their undeveloped and unenlightened natures but for something else. Surely it is something incongruous to associate the savage who gleefully performs a war-dance on the quivering flesh of his newly slain foe and the thick-skulled Tommy, who is taught by precept and example to worship at no higher shrine than brute force, with the niceties and refinements of a Spiritualistic Philosophy. Our correspondent says: "It is the glimpse of that life and that self (or something nearer to that life and that self than the physical life and physical self) that even a soldier who does his duty obtains". We are tempted to interrogate is it because of the 'glimpse of that life and that self' that the soldier, in discharging his duty, pitlessly shoots down his fellow-men aud thus widows many and orphans many more? Is it because of the 'glimpse of that life and that self' that the soldier, gathering the prices of war, loots property, spreads devastation around, ravishes women and kills children? For our part we cannot admit the tremendous proposition that the man who has still lurking in him "the brute red in tooth and claw" has the faintest scintillation of spiritual insight. The brutal horrors of war have driven such saintly men as Count Tolstoy to set their faces resolutely against militarism in any form and denounce it as a sin of the deepest dye. Yet, if we are prepared to take our correspondent's view, we shall have to hold the huge military organisation existing in every country and sucking its best life-blood, as an army of martyrs engaged in holy work. However this be, what is it, we ask again that impels the savage to obey his chieftain and the soldier his commander? It is the 'fixed idea' of obedience to command irrespective of consequences and not the "higher vision" which can scarcely co-exist with the spiritual obtuseness so strikingly displayed by them.

Moving a stage or two further still, we come to that interesting group of cases, where individuals who have not the least faith in a life

beyond the grave are yet prepared to give up their lives for the good of society. "Charles Bradlaugh," writes our esteemed critic, "and Dr. Clifford and other good and noble souls, who did not believe in a universal permanent spirit which is their own innermost self, preached self-sacrifice and Charles Bradlaugh even said that his highest ambition was to die for the people. But why he longed so, he could not explain * * *." The explanation of 'higher vision' is *ex hypothesi* inapplicable in this crucial instance; for how can one, after admitting Bradlaugh's open denial of the spirit, higher or lower, ever think of foisting on him the 'glimpse of a higher self'? Doubtless it is an irony of circumstances that Bradlaugh who had been, while living, waging a life-long battle against spirit, should be taken, when dead, to have been actuated by a spiritualistic motive in his resolution to die for the people. If it is contended that Bradlaugh was swayed to the decision by a force of which he himself was not conscious, the credit of self-sacrifice cannot go to Bradlaugh, himself being only an *unconscious* tool at the hands of that impulse. If, on the other hand, he consciously resolved to sacrifice himself, he must be taken to have been impelled by any other motive except 'belief in immortality.' The hypothesis of "fixed ideas" covers this phenomenon too and supplies us with a natural solution of it.

Leaving such rare instances where an absence of belief in immortality is found to co-exist with a readiness to self-sacrifice, let us direct our attention to the converse set of cases where the presence of such a belief has not produced the least *penchant* for self-sacrifice. A good many of our brethren have the stoutest belief in immortality; yet they would be the last, we are afraid, to part with their lives without a severe struggle to escape that aweful calamity. If, as is held by our correspondent, a belief in immortality were the cause of self-sacrifice, the presence of the cause should invariably be followed by the presence of the effect, which we know is not the case. It might be urged that certain counteracting forces prevent the individual from "shuffling off his mortal coil" as he would otherwise have done; but the reply is obvious that the cause or causes of self-sacrifice must then be searched for from among those counteracting forces and not in the belief in immortality. In cases where as a matter of fact a belief in immortality exists, the person who is unwilling to die for however noble a cause must be considered to have not yet arrived at a "fixed idea" regarding a particular course of conduct involving self-sacrifice but occupies the common level of ordinary

mortals who keep their minds open to weigh the good and evil of every step they take. In such a balancing of the reasons for and against a definite line of conduct involving self-sacrifice, the adverse reasons must be considered to have preponderated and curbed the individual from following it. Indeed with the vast majority as they are at present constituted and amidst conditions so unequal life cannot but be too precious, too sacred, to be thrown away in view of a less tangible and more remote end. They are probably guided by the homely common-sense maxim, "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." No doubt this is pronounced egoism; but to judge whether egoism after all is or is not an ethically desirable attitude and whether altruism could ever get rid of an ultimate egoistic basis would take us a great way off from the line of the present inquiry and land us in the discussion of one of the most important of ethical questions. Reserving the full discussion of that question for a subsequent paper, we think we may appropriately quote a single passage from Herbert Spencer in which the relative merits of the two ideals are briefly summarized: "Of self-evident truths so dealt with, the one which here concerns us is that a creature must live before it can act. From this it is a corollary that the acts by which each maintains his own life must, speaking generally, precede in imperativeness all other acts of which he is capable. For if it be asserted that these other acts must precede in imperativeness the acts which maintain life; and if this, accepted as a general law of conduct, is conformed to by all; then by postponing the acts which maintain life to the other acts which life makes possible, all must lose their lives. That is to say, ethics has to recognize the truth, recognized in unethical thought, that egoism comes before altruism The acts required for continued self-preservation, including the enjoyment of benefits achieved by such acts, are the first requisites to universal welfare. Unless each duly cares for himself, his care for all others is ended by death; and if each thus dies, there remain no others to be cared for." This passage foreshadows the answer to be given to the question which our correspondent has thought fit to ask us: Whether we approve of self-sacrifice or not. If approval of a principle of conduct means an insistence that the principle should be made a universal rule of conduct, we say most emphatically we do not approve, because, in the first place, the principle, if followed by one and all, would lead to the annihilation of the human race and secondly because altruistic self-sacrifice itself, on the part of one or many, is possible only if rampant

egoism is practised by some others in human society. But this avowal does not preclude us from admiring the conduct of those exceptionally noble souls who are prepared to lay down their lives at the altar of altruistic love.

We need hardly observe that the cumulative force of the various reasons we have been urging points only to one conclusion: that the hypothesis of a belief in immortality is not adequate enough to explain the phenomenon of self-sacrifice. One in a thousand may consent to die under the belief that he is not really dieing; but even in these few instances of rare self-sacrifice there is no ground for inferring that the person, at the nick of the moment, *consciously* weighs the *pros* and *cons* of his act and *deliberately* chooses self-annihilation. It would very much be nearer the truth to represent his mental attitude at the moment as a thoroughly passive one, and himself as mechanically obeying the impulse of a belief in immortality which must have become a 'fixed idea' with him. 'Fixed idea' is, after all, only a general name applicable to a good many different ideas and possessing the common attribute of 'fixity' or unalterableness. A may make the securing of public good a fixed idea; B, the safety of his child; C, the safety of his mistress; D, the destruction of his enemy; and E, the plunder of his neighbour. In the pursuit of these various ends, moral and immoral, these worthy and unworthy personages are resolved to compass their ends at any cost, even at the cost of their lives. They are not deterred from their respective pursuits by any considerations of personal safety. Now, when we say that A, B, C, D, and E are actuated by a 'fixed idea' in their conduct, it is only another way of stating that under the overmastering impulse of the 'fixed idea' they *do not* compare the motive of the act with the motive of self-preservation as is generally done. Aye! some, over whom 'fixed ideas' have not secured a complete dominance, may even refuse to make the comparison. This refusal on their part, due partly to their fear lest thereby "the native hue of resolution should become sicklied over with the pale cast of thought" and the power to act might vanish away altogether, must be considered in a great measure as due also to the subjective condition of pleasure or absence of pain. They refuse to compare because it is more pleasurable or less painful to them than the comparison itself. But, in the vast majority of cases, action takes place almost automatically without any direct reference at all to a standard of pleasure or pain. Knowing as they do that the 'fixed

idea' represents what is preferable to the individual, they naturally measure their conduct by the standard of the 'fixed idea' and not by the standard of utility. The conflict between the original standard 'utility' and the derivative one 'fixed idea', which we feel as spectators, must be considered to have been absent in them as actors.

Let us once again assure our esteemed correspondent that there is nothing in the term "fixed idea" to shock one's moral sensibility, that those ideas are not "false" "stupid" and "unnatural" as he has depicted them to be, and that the martyr is not "an unnatural abortion of nature." The martyr too obeys the natural law of every voluntary act being guided by preponderating motives. But his motives, unlike the ordinary man's, are not the result of a direct and immediate appeal to the utilitarian standard; they are fashioned upon a mediate rule of conduct he has himself created. Suppose the motive involved in a "fixed idea" is stronger or more pleasurable or less painful—for these are convertible terms—than any other motive not excepting even that of self-preservation, action takes place in conformity with the stronger motive, as in the case of men who commit suicide driven by physical suffering or outraged moral sense. In both cases, they prefer death to a life of suffering or shame, as a consequence of their comparison of the opposing motives. But in the vast majority of cases as we have already stated no such comparison of motives is ever instituted; self-sacrifice results without any direct and immediate reference to the utilitarian standard on account of the dominance of a "fixed idea." Herein Nature does not stultify herself by making one of her bye-products such as a "fixed idea" become superior to the "root" itself. There is only as much apparent stultification here as there is in the case of a flying filament of cotton disobeying gravitation and thereby stultifying the natural law: 'all matter gravitates.' As the filament, in all its movements, is strictly controlled by gravitation, so is the martyr, even in his most altruistic action, must be considered to have an egoistic motive of happiness. Moreover, if this argument of stultification be allowed, the existence of death itself must be construed as a stultification of nature which brings into existence myriads of lives every moment to play their appointed part here and then to disappear. Is nature we ask a gainer by those lives any more than she is a loser by their deaths? Again, unless we are prepared to take the vast cycle of evolution we see around us as one huge stultification, does it not furnish us with

examples of a superior order of things being produced from an inferior one? Simply because the motive of self-sacrifice was stronger than or superior to the instinct of self-preservation can one assert that the former was not derived from the latter, although their affiliation may not be direct but only indirect?

We cannot better conclude this rather lengthy rejoinder than by a reference to an important matter we have reserved for the last. Although not pertinent to the subject, it deserves some notice, lest our silence on that score might be misconstrued. We confess we have utterly failed to understand the relevancy of the closing paragraph of our correspondent's letter and also the justice of its insinuation that we have vainly attempted to overthrow Eastern Philosophy. We have attempted no such foolish thing; nor would any student of Philosophy ever dream of doing so. We have too much faith in Evolutionism to rely on Revolutionary methods even in thought; a thinker who wants to cut himself off completely from the accumulated knowledge of his past is certainly thinking of an impossible feat. Philosophy is not the creation of one intellect or of one clime. It took its rise as a tiny rill when man first began to think and has since expanded into a mighty stream fed by a thousand tributaries and an ever-increasing number of them. The best and brightest intellects, not of one nation or period, but of all nations and of successive periods, have contributed their share to its growth; and would it not be ridiculous in the extreme we ask if one were to undertake the obliteration of that vast system of knowledge left to us as a legacy by our forefathers? Eastern Philosophy is as precious to us as Western and claims our homage. But this confession of faith on the part of a votary should not be made to wring a blind worship from him. No system of knowledge has come into the world in all its perfection at once. Along with their many good points, they may have their defects and flaws and these require pointing out. Eastern Philosophy, in our humble opinion, is no exception to this general rule and any attempt to gloss over its defects, if there are any, must be ascribed not to true Patriotism but to a false one.

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The Morality of the Ramayana.

BY MR. T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAI, M. R. A. S.

THE late lamented Professor Sundram Pillai of the Trivandrum College had, in the course of his extensive study and observation, formed definite opinions on matters connected with his country, but before he was able to give them out to the world, his life was cut short. The following are some of them, known only to a narrow circle of friends. They have been portrayed with Boswellian fidelity in Tamil and published posthumously * by Mr. V. P. Subarmanya Moodaliar, one of the Professor's admirers, and himself no mean thinker on social and other allied questions. I have taken the liberty to give to the substance an English garb.

It must be stated, at the outset, that the learned Professor had no faith in the authenticity of the story of the Ramayana. He was of opinion that it was meant to proclaim the prowess of the Aryans and represent their rivals and enemies, the Dravidians, who had attained a high degree of civilization at that period, in the worst possible colour. He offers this criticism taking for granted that the story is founded on facts.

The country, that lies between the Vindhya mountains and the northern limits of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, was subject to the

* Vide *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 2. A critical Review of the story of Ramayana, with an introduction by Mr. J. M. Nallasamy Pillai, B. A., B. L., another Dravidian Scholar and thinker.

rule of Ravana, the King of Ceylon, and his sister Surpanaka was in direct charge of it as his vicerine. The western portion of it was Janasthanam and the eastern portion Dandakaraniyam. The whole place was partly inhabited and partly filled with jungles. The country between this tract and the southern limits of Mysore was ruled by the Dravidian kings, Neelan and Bali. The peninsula further south was the Tamilagam or Tamil country ruled over by the three Tamil kings, Chera, Chola and Pandiya. Special mention is made by Valmiki of the last-mentioned prince. At this period the Aryans were settling themselves down in the unoccupied portions and their colonies were very few and had not extended to the towns.

The Sovereigns of these countries as well as of Ceylon were Dravidians or of Dravidian extraction. The high standard of morality set up by them and the perfection attained by them in most of the fine-arts are evident signs of the high civilization reached by them. The masterly account of the metropolis of Ravana and of the golden gate of the Pandian fort as given by Valmiki are more than flights of imagination.

Ravana is described as a monster with ten heads and twenty hands, approaching the Grecian Hydra. It has been conclusively proved by Palæontology that animals larger and mightier than elephants were once in existence. But remnants of Rakshathas as those described by Valmiki and his compeers have yet to be found out. It requires no effort to say that the existence of such a class of God's creatures was a myth and the account was made out that the Dravidians might look small in the eyes of posterity. For the same reason the name of Asurars was given to one set of Dravidians. Similarly individuals, belonging to the clan of which Bali, Sugriva and Hanuman were the leaders, were termed as monkeys. The Darwinian theory and the existence of the race of ourang-outang have not solved the problem started by the ancient Aryans.

The Devas were none but Aryans, opposed to Asurars and Rakshathas. The sages or Munies or Rishis were their priests that accompanied them during their hostile and aggressive march.

Ravana, one of the important characters in the Ramayana, was versed in the Vedas and was a staunch believer in Siva. The austere

penance performed by him was such as to shake even the very foundations of Mount Kailas. His proficiency in music was so great as even to move Siva. He was a renowned warrior and by his personal valour effected great conquests. He administered his Kingdom so well that internal peace was never disturbed. He was a dutiful son, father, husband and brother. He could always be relied upon and maintained the laws of war with honor. He treated his enemies with generosity, nay with magnanimity.

The other Dravidian princes, such as Bali and Neelan, were equally accomplished men and bore the highest character. They administered their kingdoms with characteristic justice and impartiality.

The charges against Ravana were

(1) That he defeated the celestials and imprisoned them,

(2) That he annoyed the sages while in the performance of their religious rites,

(3) That he abducted Sita, the wife of Rama.

As has already been pointed out, the Devas or celestials did not descend from the heavens, but were only the kith and kin of the Aryan trespassers. Their mission was not friendly and they were in quest of conquest. Ravana would therefore have been justified not only in retarding their progress, but also in carrying the campaign into the enemy's country or Deva Loga. He vanquished them in a fair fight and there is nothing unusual in imprisoning prisoners of war.

With regard to the molestation of the Sages, it has already been stated that they were the Vaidiks or priestly portion of the Aryan intruders. History has repeated itself over and over again. They were the missionaries that preceded the conquest of Dravida by the Aryans. While performing their religious rites or under that cloak they collected and communicated intelligence regarding the movements of the Dravidians to the enemies of the country. As long as they settled themselves down in Dravida, it was their duty to have conformed to its laws and proved loyal to established authority. They not only failed in their duty, but also proved treacherous. Ravana would therefore have been within his rights, to have put them to the sword, but as a pious devotee of Siva he would not take such an extreme step. He contented himself with

only molesting them in the performance of their religious rites, fully believing that they would retrace their steps and finally clear out of the country.

Under the articles of war there appears nothing unusual in the abduction of Sita. When Ravana, the all-powerful King of Ceylon, heard of the affront offered to his sister—one of the first ladies of the realm—he must naturally have been incensed at the ungallant and cowardly act of the polished brothers. It certainly demanded retribution. It is a right of warfare, to seize and carry away any member of the enemy's party, whether actively engaged in fighting or is found as a straggler. In one of the ancient books of moral precepts, it has been stated that it is the right of a victorious general to carry away the wife of the fallen rival. Ravana went with the object of demanding satisfaction, but in the absence of the brothers he had a free fight with one of their uncles and his horde and after vanquishing them, carried away Sita. It may be said that Ravana was unfair inasmuch as he caused Lakshmana to be decoyed from the place before he entered the presence of Sita. If he had done so, certainly it must have been unfair. But as the whole incident smacks of supernaturalism, it cannot be accepted. Again, Ravana was in his own dominions, when he heard of the treatment of his sister by Rama and Lakshmana, and he should therefore have advanced towards them with sufficient fighting force. As the insult offered was with impunity Ravana must naturally have thought that some latent force must have been at the back of the Aryan princes to support them. He should therefore have repaired to the scene with great caution and sufficiently armed. In these circumstances it was unnecessary for him to have allured away Lakshmana.

In treating his prisoner he was very considerate. When Sita was first seized he would not permit anybody to touch her person, but caused her to be carried with her seat. His further behaviour towards the Princess shows his magnanimity. When she was taken to Lanka she was housed in one of the most beautiful palaces situated in his ornamental garden where he used to repair for health and recreation. Her attendants were the select princesses from the royal family. Though he was passionately in love with Sita he only made overtures directly or indirectly and never thought of using brute

force as it was quite in his power to do so. Owing to the conduct of her husband and brother-in-law there were occasions when Ravana could have put her to death, particularly after learning that she would not yield to his wishes for anything under the sun. But his generosity and piety would not permit him to do anything of the kind.

What did the polished Aryan princes do in a similar situation? At the instance of Visvamitra Rama killed Taṭaka—the grandmother of Ravana—for annoying the priestly class. Again when his sister made love to the brothers passing no doubt all bounds of modesty (if the Aryan Chronicler is to be believed) they not only insulted her, but mutilated her features. This was no act of gallantry and Rama looked at the whole thing with an unconcerned eye without raising one word of disapproval at the conduct of his brother. Again according to the code of international law there was no declaration of war to warrant such a barbarity which is not heard of even in the crudest of ages. Rama and his brother were the most polished gentlemen of the age and it is an enigma how they perpetrated such an act of cruelty towards a helpless woman. This is in perfect contrast to the manner in which the so-called monster king behaved himself.

Next to the offences committed by Bali. As has already been pointed out he was the ruling prince of the country south of Dandakaranyam and the fact was so by right of primogeniture. During a temporary absence from his kingdom, on a pursuit of conquest he left his brother Sugriva in charge of it as his regent, but on his return he found his unnatural brother ambitious of becoming the King himself and proved refractory by refusing to hand over the reins of Government. Bali had to fight for regaining his Kingdom. The result was the defeat and exile of his brother Sugriva. In a similar situation any other person, take for example Arungazib, would have made an end of his brother that he might not give trouble again. But his brotherly feeling prevailed upon him to spare his life. The Aryans have found fault with Bali for all this, but no reasonable man will do so on the facts stated.

It has also been alleged that Bali took his brother's wife for himself. Even if the authority of the Aryan Chronicler is to be relied upon, the Code of warfare permitted such an act on the part

of a victorious enemy as has already been stated. But the partisan account has to be taken with caution. The Professor and his friend appear to think that Bali was generous enough not to molest the household of his erring brother and they chose to remain where they were without following Sugriva in his exile. It is also possible that the members of the family were detained as hostages for his good behaviour.

Before concluding this paper some reference may be made to some minor facts. The Professor and his friend are loud in their condemnation of the alliances formed between Rama and Sugriva, and Rama and Vibheeshana as unnatural and unbecoming of dignified, straightforward and gallant Kshatriyas. Here I would draw the special attention of the reader to the part played by Rama during the last and fatal battle that was fought between Bali and Sugriva. While it was raging, from his place of concealment Rama shot Bali dead. It is unnecessary to repeat that this cowardly conduct is not becoming a Kshatriya. There are stories of Kshatriyas wounded on the back, committing suicide ashamed of meeting their spouses in that condition, as it was considered that only cowards receive such wounds and not heroes who fight face to face. In that light the act of Rama was mean in the extreme and his only object was to secure an alliance at any cost.

Vibheeshana was a great coward in as much as he never took part in any of the battles that were fought between his brother's forces and those of Rama. His services were required by the latter only to ascertain the weak points of his enemy. In other words Rama relied more upon subterfuges than fair open fight which was the Dharma of the Kshatriyas according to Aryan ideas.

Now I have only to submit that in stating these facts the authority of Valmiki alone was relied upon and none else.

T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAY.

Hand-loom Weaving Factories in India.

By Mr. T. S. Balarama Aiyar, B. A.

THE idea of starting hand-loom weaving factories with improved hand-looms has been up in the air ever since the advent of the "Swadeshi movement." It has almost become a mania and has seized persons who are but mere enthusiasts and who have no idea of what *weaving* is. It is true that every patriotic Indian should try his level best to revive the once flourishing industries of India. But ours is a poor country and we cannot afford to lose a single pie in vain attempts to revive the dying and dead industries of our motherland.

In order that any enterprise should be successful, it is almost axiomatic that the organiser and promoter should have a clear view of the formidable difficulties that may have to be surmounted before the goal of success can be reached. In the nature of things, it is only one who is thoroughly acquainted with the practical as well as the theoretical sides of the question that can make an estimate of such difficulties. In this paper, among other things, I propose to make an attempt to point out the many difficulties that one may have to confront while on the way to bring a hand-loom weaving factory to success.

It is of melancholy interest to note that not very long ago, India was making clothes not only for her own use but all the big markets of the world were full to the brim with the products of the Indian hand-loom weaver. The Grecian historian Herodotus defines cotton as wool that grows on the trees of India. It was the hand-made fabric of India that was adorning the beauties of the courts of Rome and Athens. Not to dwell much upon the sad decay of this Industry, it is enough to note that to-day we are importing cotton-goods to the worth of not less than 32 million pounds. Imagine the fall! From an exporting country ours has become an importing country! Why! to-day India manufactures only one-third of the quantity of cotton cloths required for the use of her sons, the remaining being imported from European countries. To be more accurate, we import nearly 2700 millions of yards of cloth from Europe, our own manufacture amounting to 700 millions. Can anything be sadder than

this? Is anything else required to convince any lover of India about the urgent necessity of improving the industry of weaving?

The first question that is generally asked with reference to hand-loom weaving factories is whether they can compete with power-loom factories. I shall not attempt to answer this question at present, but shall do so in some future paper. I will just consider whether hand-loom weaving factories can be commercially successful.

Our hand-looms produce nearly twice as much cloth as our power-looms, and if with all its disadvantages, the primitive pit-loom of India has so long stood the test of competition with the European power-loom it goes without saying that improved hand-looms must be commercially successful.

But—this is a very important "but"—this is only in theory and in practice we find so many difficulties confronting us that it is not very safe to assert the commercial prosperity of hand-loom weaving factories. On the one hand, hand-loom weaving factories have to compete with the huge power-loom factories of Lancashire and on the other hand, there are the country weavers who, though working under many disadvantages, have many advantages over the "Hand-loom factories." First, the weaver has not to meet any establishment charges. He has not to pay for any manager, any clerk, any servant, he has not to pay any rent. Secondly, in calculating the selling price, he takes into account only his labour for which he does not charge more than four annas a day. Thirdly, he has got his wife and children to assist him for whose labour he charges very little. Thus the cottage weaver has no establishment charges to meet and he can command cheap labour. The cottage weaver possesses one more advantage over the factory weaver. This is in the matter of "sizing." The process of sizing is a very tedious and costly one for factory owners. For they have to pay for any work they exact from the workmen. But the cottage weavers help one another in the matter of "sizing". Thus we find that the cottage weaver is no mean foe to the factory owners.

A hand-loom weaving factory with improved hand-looms does not possess the advantage of speedy production of the power-loom factories, while it shares all its disadvantages though to a less extent. On the other hand, it possesses few advantages over the cottage

weaver while it labours under many disadvantages which the cottage weaver is not subject to.

We have so far considered in general terms the difficulties of a hand-loom weaving factory. We shall just try to work out the net profit which a hand-loom weaving factory may realise out of 10 bundles of 10 lbs. each of 20'S and compare the same with that of the cottage weaver.

Cost of 100 lbs. of 20'S (50 lbs. warp and 50 lbs. weft)...	Rs.	46	0 0
Cost of winding, warping and sizing and beaming ...	,,	13	2 0
Cost of weaving at 6 per yd.	,,	13	12 0
Total ...	,,	72	14 0

Or Rupees 73 approximately.

(It is assumed in the above figures that about 440 yards of ordinary plain cloth of about 45" width can be woven out of 100 lbs. of 20 'S.)

Now the selling price of 100 lbs. of cloth at 3 annas per palam of 10 Rupees' weight is Rs. 77, which is Rs. 4 more than the cost price.

Now it requires nearly two months for a loom to weave 100 lbs. of yarn. Hence we can expect Rs. 2 per loom per mensem. We will take into consideration a factory with 50 looms. For 50 looms we can expect Rs. 100 a month. Out of these Rs. 100 must be met the interest on the capital and the establishment charges which worked in detail amount to Rs. 90 approximately thus:—

Superintendent	Rs.	25
Maistry	Rs.	12
Clerk	Rs.	7
2 Servants	Rs.	8
Interest on capital Rs. 7000 at 6 p.c.	Rs.	35
Total	Rs.	87

Or Rupees 90 approximately.

Thus the Proprietor gets only Rs. 10 per mensem out of his big factory of 50 looms. In other words, a hand-loom weaving factory consisting of 50 improved hand-looms and working on 20 'S pays the proprietor little more than 6 % interest on the investment. It is not

every weaving factory that can be expected to pay even this small interest on the investment. In many cases the cost of the preparatory process really exceeds the amount given in the figures.

In the above figures it has been assumed that the preparatory processes cost only Re. 1-5-0 per bundle. The cottage weaver is able to have these preparatory processes done for Re. 1-5-0 a bundle, or even for a less cost. But in factories we find that the preparatory processes cost nearly Re. 1-8-0 per bundle if not more in which case the proprietor cannot expect anything in the shape of interest on his investment. This is not a very encouraging state of affairs And it is but proper that the would-be organisers of Hand-loom weaving factories bear this well in mind. I beg to assure my beloved countrymen that the above figures are collected after careful experiments extending over months and one can easily see from the figures that it is not worth while investing money in hand-loom weaving factories under the existing circumstances.

It may very well be asked whether by changing the count of the twist and whether by working on coloured threads and whether by weaving such clothes in which there is no competition either from power-looms or from pit-looms, hand-loom weaving factories cannot be made a success. An absolute monosyllabic answer cannot be given to this question. It depends upon demand and adjustment to the demand. The weaving factory in Tondiarpet, Madras, is working mostly on what are called "Madras Handkerchiefs." These handkerchiefs require close beating and the primitive hand-loom weaver finds it difficult to put in so many number of picks per inch and the result is there is no competition from the local weavers. There is again the Basel Mission weaving establishments which manufacture all sorts of fancy checks, towels, bed sheets &c. For the reason stated above, the cottage weavers cannot compete with the mission establishment. But unfortunately handkerchiefs and checks have necessarily a limited demand and it goes without saying that the general demand of the Indian Public can not be met by such factories.

So then the problem that ought to be considered seriously is this :—Whether a hand-loom weaving factory working on clothes for the general use of the people can be commercially successful-

'Kanji' and wind it on to big bobbins of not less than 18 inches in circumference.

Fifthly, rewind it on the bobbin to be placed on the crul. In this process a vessel with thick size is placed between the bobbin referred to in the fourth process and the crul-bobbin. There is a small roller underneath the 'size' and the yarn is taken through this size underneath the roller. Between the vessel of size and the crul-bobbin are placed 4 brushes with their faces up and down alternately and the yarn is taken over the faces of these brushes and pressed between the thumb and the fore-finger and wound on to the crul-bobbin.

Then comes warping. This is done on an automatic warping machine which turns out twice as much work as the ordinary warping machine. The warp is taken out and spread as for ordinary sizing. Thick size with oil mixed to it is lightly applied over the warp. We shall consider the charges of the above process of sizing.

1st operation costs, say, Rs.	0	1	0	per bundle	
2nd „ „ nothing					
3rd „ „ costs	0	1	0	„	
4th „ „ „	0	5	0	„	
5th „ „ „	0	4	4	„	
Warping costs	0	2	6	„	
Oiling and beaming	0	2	8	„	
Total Re.	1	0	6		

If the work is carried on a large scale the charges under items 1, 3 and 5 could be reduced.

If the preparatory processes can be done for the above sum of Re. 1—0—6 per bundle of 10 lbs., I have no hesitation to say that Handloom weaving factories shall be commercially successful. But the process suggested above is not without its own drawbacks and I have only pointed out here in general terms the lines upon which I am experimenting.

I must not fail to observe here that the process suggested above is different from the process suggested by me in my paper on 'the preparation of warp' submitted to the Industrial Conference held in Madras in connection with the All-India Weaving Competition.

To sum up, I am of opinion—and this opinion is based on actual facts and figures—that until and unless some means are discovered whereby the preparation of warp can be cheapened, handloom weaving factories working on ordinary plain clothes to the demand of the general public cannot be a success. I am aware that there are at present many intelligent sons of the soil directing their inventive faculties towards manufacturing automatic looms and to them I would say "My dear brethren! try to invent means to cheapen the process of the preparation of warp and you would have solved the famine problem of India."

Before concluding I must say a word about the 'size' and the looms that I use in my factory, the Pushpagiri weaving factory, Trichur. The size is prepared out of what are known as 'sizing onions,' a wild species of onions which grows in the forest of Malabar in abundance. For the mode of preparation please refer to my paper on "the preparation of warp" published in the report of the Industrial Conference held in Madras in connection with the All-India Weaving Competition.

There are three sorts of looms in use in my factory. (1) The Japanese loom, (2) the ordinary fly-shuttle loom used by the Government weaving factory in Salem, and (3) the Pit-loom with fly-shuttle slays fitted up. The Japanese loom works satisfactorily up to counts 30'S. Good selvages, uniformity of picking and neat appearance are some of the attractive features of the Japanese loom. The out-turn is nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ times that of the ordinary fly-shuttle loom and on the whole my idea about the Japanese loom is that it can be given a place in a factory where there are a number of fly-shuttle looms.

The frame looms are more convenient than the 'pit-loom with fly-shuttle slays-fitted up.' But the latter are cheaper and the professional weaver takes a liking to it. In other ways there is no difference between them.

Warping is done by means of an automatic warping machine which is worked by a boy of 10 years.

We have seen from the above lines that the weaving industry of our country has sadly decayed. We have seen that herculean efforts are necessary to revive this industry. We have seen that every year a big sum of 32 million pounds is sent out of our poor

country to purchase clothes and we sincerely entertain the opinion that if the output of our looms can be increased in value by 32 million pounds many a poor Indian that is fasting from year's end to year's end can enjoy a hearty meal every day. We have also seen that we have to confront formidable foes in the field. But necessity is the mother of invention. God willing, we are determined to work out our own salvation. We sincerely entertain the hope that ere long we will find out means to weave in our own looms the major quantity of cloth required for our daily use and in this pious undertaking we do expect to enlist the sympathy of man and God.

T. S. BALARAMA AIYAR.

Akbar and Agra. (Side-lights of History.)

By Mr. M. A. Williamson.

I join the above names advisedly; to separate them seems well-nigh impossible. Like the famous Siamese twins or like Castor and Pollux they should go together. To speak of Akbar without alluding to Agra, or, *vice versa*, is akin to acting *Hamlet* without Hamlet, or, *the Merchant of Venice* without Portia. I shall therefore give a succinct account of both.

It is recorded of Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Mary of England who married Phillip of Spain, that being neglected by her husband, despised by her subjects, and called "Bloody Mary," for her following her religion in her own lights, and finally having lost Calais, it hastened her death. The loss of Calais was the last straw that broke the camel's back, (no disrespect to Queen Mary is intended by the comparison). and she took it so much to heart, that on her death-bed Her Majesty exclaimed to her rebellious nobles that if her heart were extracted and examined they would find Calais written on it. Even so, if it had been possible to hold a *post mortem* examination on Akbar the word Agra might have been found indelibly stamped on his heart.

Agra was before the days of Akbar an insignificant place. It was merely "a local habitation and a name." Originally, it was a village dependent on Biana and Sikander Lodi made it his capital. But the old Agra of the Lodi dynasty lay on the left bank of the river Jumna. The modern city on the right bank, at the time of the accession of Akbar, consisted simply of an unsightly citadel of bricks' but soon afterwards, under the direction of Kasim Khan, an able officer in the imperial service, massive buildings sprang up. Akbar inaugurated his reign by building the grand Fort of Agra, a colossal and almost impregnable structure and which, during the dark days of the mutiny, harboured many a European. His immediate affluent and enlightened successors still further enriched Agra, by constructing the world-renowned "*Taj*," that "dream in marble," as Sir Hunter terms it, and other remarkable edifices, a brief history of which I shall give in my subsequent Papers.

Probably, Agra was doubly endeared to Akbar, by the memory of his grandsire Babar, meaning Lion. During the decline of the Mughal Empire, Agra with the rest of the province fell under the sway of the Mahratta, and continued with them until 1803, when it was surrendered to Lord Lake and thus fell into the hands of the British.

It is lamentable that during the mutiny of 1857 most of the archives and chronicles relating to Akbar and Agra were destroyed. Few authentic accounts have been left us regarding Akbar, who was the actual founder of the Mughal Empire in India and the greatest and wisest Emperor that sat on an Indian throne. Akbar was the contemporary of Henry IV, King of France, and Elizabeth, Queen of England. Akbar certainly can be mentioned in the same breath with those Western monarchs and the student, who has read without prejudice the lives of those mighty ones of old, will, I think, award the palm to Akbar.

Akbar the Great was the son of Humayun and the grandson of Babar the Lion. Babar, who was lineally descended from Timur the Tartar, or Tamerlrne, in the year 1526, after conquering the Kingdoms of Samarkand and Kabul, marched down to India, through the passes of Afghanistan, at the head of his hardy northern horsemen. The then Delhi sovereign, Ibrahim Lodi, opposed him, and the famous and decisive first battle of Panipet was fought in 1526, but the Indians fled, unable to withstand the furious onslaught of the flesh-eating Mughals. Babar received the homage of the Moslems, but he was opposed by the Rajputs of Chitor, and one of the battles that took place between Babar and the Rajputs for sovereignty was a deeply contested one. Babar had to encounter tremendous odds, but his indomitable energy and gallantry prevailed. At one time, it appears, Babar's hopes trembled in the balance, and he vowed to Allah, if the victory was vouchsafed him, he would never more touch wine and that he would make Agra his capital. Babar won the day, kept to his vow and died in Agra in 1530, leaving an Empire, which stretched from the river Amu in Central Asia to the borders of the Gangetic delta in Lower Bengal.

To return to Akbar. Akbar was born in 1542 and his reign lasted for nearly half a century. His father Humayun, after ten

years' struggle with the Afghans and thoroughly defeated by them, fled across the desert of Sind to Persia, and *en route* his devoted wife being taken with the pains of labor, Humayun halted at the petty fort of Umarkot and there Akbar was ushered into the world. Very few of his followers cared to follow the fortunes of poor Humayun. He and his faithful wife had to wander about in dreary deserts, unfriended, penniless, and forlorn, when each sigh that they heaved illustrated the words of the poet :—

"Sad is my fate,
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee ;
But I have no refuge from famine and danger ;
A home and a country remain not to me."

Humayun was even destitute of means to give *baksheesh* to the few followers that were with him when Akbar saw the light of day. It appears all that Humayun possessed at the time of Akbar's birth was a pod of musk and this he cut with his sword and distributed amongst his few devoted men, saying :—"May the virtue and glory of Akbar spread around like the perfume of this musk." A prophetic wish this and we shall see it amply fulfilled.

It is stated that when Babar was living Humayun fell dangerously ill and his life was despaired of. Babar, who dearly loved his son and who was a man of deep devotion, "hoping against hope," prayed to the Almighty to spare his son and that if a life was wanted, he was willing to sacrifice his life for his only son. Like Jacob of old, Babar "wrestled with the angel," and his prayer was answered. Strange to relate, as Humayun recovered from his incurable malady, Babar sickened and died. The reason how and why such things happen I leave to the philosophical student. I mention facts as they are related and when they happen to be beyond human ken I console myself with the words of the Bard of Avon—"there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in human philosopy."

It is bootless to follow Humayun in his misfortune and vicissitudes. His career may be summed up in the pithy lines of an ancient Poet :—

"The blackest ink of fate was sure my lot,
And when fate wrote my name, it made a blot."

Unlucky Humayun died at Delhi and Akbar succeeded him in 1556, at the tender age of fourteen, and under General Bairam, who acted as Regent, he subdued the revolted Afghans and utterly

defeated them in the second battle of Panipat (1556). Scarcely was Akbar seated on the throne, when hostilities broke out. Delhi and Agra were wrested from him and only a small portion of the Punjab constituted his Empire. But, by the valor and wisdom of Bairam, his lost sovereignty was regained. When Akbar was 18, he dispensed with the services of Bairam and took the reins in his own hands. Bairam stormed, protested and raised the standard of revolt, but was defeated by Akbar, pardoned, pensioned, and on his way to Mecca on a pilgrimage was assassinated by an Afghan, whose father he had slain in battle. Akbar, like Queen Elizabeth, was fortunate in the choice of his ministers. Assisted by Abul Fazl, his able Finance Vizier and religious adviser, Raja Todar Mall, his astute and clever Hindu Revenue Minister, and Feizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, an erudite Sanscrit and Arabic scholar, Akbar rose to eminence. Akbar took to himself wives from the daughters of the proud Hindu Rajas and by this wise policy of intermarriages, as well as his religious toleration and benign rule, he conciliated the Hindus and consolidated his Empire, which, at his death, embraced almost the whole of India including Aghanistan, and his revenue is said to have amounted to 50 millions sterling per annum.

In his latter days, he passed a law, contrary to Mahomedan faith, that "no one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was one God and one wife." One of his favorite wives was Mary or Mariam, said to be an Armenian Christian, and one of his sons, Prince Murad, was, it appears, a christian. Akbar's sister-in-law, the beautiful and accomplished Juliana, who practised as a Doctress in the Seraglio, was given in marriage to Prince John Phillip Bourbon of Navarre. Prince Bourbon was a member of the younger branch of the family of Henry IV of France. Tradition relates, the Prince was obliged to leave France, having killed a relative of high position in a duel. He heard of the fame of Akbar and came to his court. Akbar, hearing of his rank and prowess in arms, appointed him Nawab, made him his brother-in-law and placed the imperial seraglio under his care, and the Lady Juliana was included in the select band of the imperial sisters. The honorable office conferred on Bourbon remained in the possession of the family until the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in

1737. There is a goodly number of his descendants still in Bhopal, some of them holding high positions under Her Highness, the Begum of that place.

It is worthy of remark, that there was a time, when it was not considered *infra dig* for a European, and that a nobleman of the Royal blood of France, "the bravest of the brave, the gayest of the gay and the proudest of the proud," to wed an Asiatic woman. But now, alas! opinions seem to have undergone a change. Here is a *pabulum* for the philosophical student.

When the Romans newly conquered Britain, it appears a Roman centurion, smitten with the charms of a British maiden, wedded her. When the news reached his parents in Rome, the Roman Patrician lady wrung her hands, tore her hair and indignantly exclaimed to her household, "My noble son married a horrid native girl of Britain," and the proud Roman father repudiated his son, for lowering himself in marrying a British maid, Princess though she was. Yes, true indeed is the saying, "circumstances alter cases and faces," and that if such a marriage as Bourbon's happened in our enlightened (!) times, it would have deen considered a *mesalliance* and Reuter would have found abundant matter for his press messages. To a reflecting mind, here is food for thought and chewing the cud of bitter reflection. I, for one, am constrained to say, *"O tempora, ! O mores."* !

Akbar, like the famous Haroun Al Raschid and other Eastern monarchs, delighted in having court fools and wits around him. Pre-eminent amongst his wits was Mullah Do-Pyazah. Tradition relates how on one occasion, Akbar sent him to the Shah of Persia, with a casket containing rich presents. Before leaving the place, the contents were abstracted by some of the Mullah's enemies and stones and earth substituted. The Mullah reached the Persian court and on the day appointed the casket was opened in full audience. Conceive the astonishment of the Mullah and Shah to find the casket filled with rubbish instead of jewels. The Mullah was dumbfounded and the Shah speechless with rage. "Mullah! art thou tired of life that thou hast dared to come to me with this rubbish?" demanded the Shah in a voice of thunder. The Mullah guessed that a shabby trick had been played him, but his ready

wit saved his head. "May the Lord forgive us all," replied he, "for, O king, these things that you call rubbish, ought to be the most precious things in the eyes of the faithful; these stones and this earth are from the very place where the martyrs fell at Kerbella." It was with great trouble and expense that His Majesty Akbar Shah procured these relics and he has sent them to you, knowing well that they would be better appreciated here than by the Sunni population of India." The words had the desired effect. The Shah and the Grandees looked with reverence towards the casket, and the Shah distributed the contents amongst his eager courtiers and there was a regular scramble for the relics.

At another time, it is recorded, that the Mullah, who raised a number of enemies amongst the Persians, was asked in full court, who was the greater King,—Akbar or the Shah of Persia. The enemies of the Mullah knew that if he answered one way or the other, the party disparaged would be sure to take revenge on him. But they reckoned without the host, for the astute Mullah was equal to the occasion. He first hedged and hesitated but on the query being repeated by the Shah, the Mullah replied "Oh! Your Majesty! what comparison can there be between your august self and Akbar Badshah? You are like the full moon, while Akbar is like the new moon." The answer discomfited his enemies and pleased the Shah, who, soon afterwards, dismissed the Mullah with costly presents. Arrived at Agra the Mullah was coldly received by Akbar, who had been pre-informed by some of the Persian courtiers of the comparison drawn between him and the Shah. "Well Mullah, what is this that I hear of your doings in Persia," demanded Akbar, "are you one of those wretches who makes holes in the very dishes from which they eat." "What have I done, your Majesty," humbly replied the Mullah. "Did you not disparage me in the presence of of the Shah, by comparing him to a full moon and me to a new moon," was the rejoinder. Characteristic of oriental shrewdness was the Mullah's reply: "Oh King! this comparison is in no way disparaging to you, for while the moon, day by day, increases in lustre and magnificence, the full moon, on the contrary, wanes and dwindles away. Besides, your Majesty knows well, how eagerly the eyes of the world are turned towards the sky at the beginning of every

month, to look for the new moon, but no such eagerness is displayed, even to the least degree for the full moon." This ingenious reply put Akbar into good humour.

It is also related when Mullah Do-Pyazah was in Persia, he was one day invited by the Shah to look over his portrait gallery. The Shah was jealous of Akbar and thinking to have a joke at his expense, had previously ordered the portrait of Akbar to be put in the royal privy. After showing the Mullah the portrait gallery, the Shah told the Mullah, "there is now left only one portrait worth seeing and I am sure you will recognise the person in the portrait. My chamberlain will show it to you." The Mullah, piqued with curiosity, was conducted to that part of the building and shown the portrait of Akbar. The Mullah felt the insult keenly and resolved to be even with the Shah. He said nothing, but on the Shah asking him if he recognised the portrait, he boldly replied as follows:—"Yes, your Majesty, I recognised it. Your Majesty, the portrait is of an awe-inspiring Emperor, whom you are so much in dread of that the mere sight of his face acts on you like a purgative. You have, therefore, wisely chosen the site of the portrait, so that you may never have to complain of constipation of the bowels."

One more instance of the ready wit of the Mullah and I have done with him.

The Mullah once seriously incurred the displeasure of Akbar and the Emperor peremptorily ordered him to quit his dominions. Some days after this circumstance, as Akbar was riding through a forest, he saw a man, who at the sight of the Emperor immediately climbed up a tree. Akbar rode up to the tree and on looking up recognised the Mullah. "Are you here still," demanded Akbar angrily, "did I not order you to quit my dominions?" The Mullah humbly replied from amongst the branches, "Pardon your servant O! Akbar. I travelled over the whole world, but wherever I went, on asking the inhabitants, whose dominions these are, I received invariably the reply they belonged to the Emperor Akbar. So now, I have no other resource left but to go to Heaven and to-day you see me already arrived at the first halting station." The reply so pleased Akbar that he laughed aloud and once more the Mullah basked in the sunshine of Akbar's favor.

Akbar's policy was far-seeing and its effects far-reaching. He pursued his policy of placating the Hindu Rajas chiefly by intermarriages. He also took good care to provide a career for the lesser Hindu States. He appointed his relatives and sons as governors of provinces and raised Hindus to high positions in the State, according to qualifications. He abolished the *Jaziah*, the hated tax on non-moslems and placed all his subjects upon a footing of political equality. He showed his taste for literature by having all the Sanscrit sacred books and Epic poems translated into elegant Persian and evinced a keen interest in the religion of the Hindus and Christians. He respected their laws but put down all inhumane rites. He forbade trial by ordeal, animal sacrifices and child marriages. He legalised the re-marriage of Hindu widows and tried his level best to abolish *Sati*, which was centuries afterwards made a *fait accompli* by Lord William Bentinck, one of the Viceroys of India. Akbar incorporated his Hindu subjects into the effective force of his empire, both civil and military. With their aid he reduced the independent Mahomedan kings of Northern India. He subjugated the petty Hindu Potentates from the Punjab to Bihar. The Rajputs of Chitor were overpowered after a protracted and strenuous struggle but they would not mingle their high-caste Hindu blood even with that of a Mahomedan Emperor. The Rajputs were the only Hindu race who stood proudly and sternly aloof and found shelter among the mountains and deserts of the Indus, where they eventually founded Udaipur, which remains to the present day. Akbar extended the Mughal Empire from the heart of Afghanistan across all India north of the Vindhya range, eastward to Orissa and westward to Sind. He removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra and founded Fatehpur Sikri as the future capital of his empire, but owing to the superior position of Agra on the great waterway of the Jumna, he gave up this project and made Agra his capital. In 1566, he built "Agra Fort," whose red-stone battlements majestically overhang the river. The fort is a massive one and to a lay mind looks impregnable. But Lord Kitchener, who lately visited Agra Fort, said that with the modern implements of warfare he could raze the fort to the ground in a few hours. Akbar's efforts to establish the Mughal Empire in Southern India were frustrated by the

valour and statesmanship of Chand Bibi, the Mussulman queen of Ahmednagar. But Southern India was afterwards subjugated by his grandson, Shah Jahan, the builder of the glorious "Taj".

On Fridays, it is said, Akbar loved to collect professors of many religions around him and listened impartially to the arguments of the Brahman, the Moslem, the Zoroastrian, the Jew, the Jesuit, and the Sceptic Philosopher, and the controversy is recorded in his *Akbar-namah*,—a book said to be written by himself.

It appears Akbar was well disposed towards all classes of Christians. Two of the most noted Catholic Missionaries that were with Akbar at Agra were Father Rudolph Aquaviva S.J., son of the Duke of Arragon and Atria, and Father Jerome Xavier, nephew of St. Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies." Father Aquaviva (called Redif by some Historians), it is recorded, disputed with a body of Mahomedan Mullahs before an assembly of the Doctors of all religions and had the best of the argument. To Akbar's great grief, he subsequently sealed his faith in Martyrdom at the island of Salsette. Father Jerome translated the Gospels into Persian and presented the work to Akbar which he greatly prized. It is also authentically related that a chapel for the Christians was built at the Emperor's own expense and that an imperial *firman* was issued by Akbar, that under no circumstance were the Christians to be molested and that they were to be allowed to perform their rites with perfect freedom. In this, probably, Akbar was persuaded by his Christian wife Mary and his brother-in-law Nawab Bourbon, as well as his latitudinarian principles.

Starting from the broad ground of general toleration, Akbar assisted by his friend and Vizier, Abul Fazl, was gradually led on by free discussion, to promulgate a new State religion called "The Divine Faith," which was based upon natural theology and comprising the best practices of all known forms of belief. Of this patched-up creed Akbar was the Prophet and every morning he worshipped in public the Sun, as the representative of the divine soul which animates the universe, while he was himself adored by the ignorant multitude. This highly incensed his Moslem subjects, but so great was their love and respect for Akbar, that they remained quiet and looked upon his new-fangled ideas as the results

of flotage. His favorite son and heir-apparent, Jehangir, an orthodox Mahomedan, took umbrage at Akbar's doings, and got rid of Abul Fazl, the promoter of the new religion, by violent means, and soon afterwards Akbar returned to the religion of his fathers.

It was undoubtedly wrong and mean of Jehangir to have Abul Fazl treacherously beheaded by the Rajah Narasing Dev of Urcha, for Abul Fazl was well advanced in years and was the faithful friend and Vizier of Akbar. In those unscrupulous times, might was right and everything was fair, where love, war and religion were concerned. The death of Abul Fazl was a severe blow to Akbar and when he beheld the lifeless mangled body of his staunch friend despoiled of his head, in his bitter anguish and poignant grief, he threw off a couplet in Persian :—

"When full of zeal my Sheik to meet me came,
To kiss my feet without a head or foot he came."

Akbar's last years were embittered by the intrigues of his family and by the misconduct of his beloved son Salim, who ascended the throne under the title of Emperor Jehangir, and in whose court appeared Sir Thomas Roe as British Ambassador.

Akbar had rendered a great Empire possible in India by his policy of conciliating the Hindu races and by his beneficent rule. Under his successors his wise policy was eschewed, hence, the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

The late Poet Laureate in his "Dream of Akbar," graphically describes the situation :—

"I watch'd my son
And those that followed loosen stone from stone
All my fair work; and from the ruin arose
The shriek and curse of trampled millions, even
As in times before."

The evening of Akbar's life was very sad. The loss of his friends and Viziers, Abul Fazl and Feizi, greatly preyed on his mind. Added to this, the untimely death of his two sons and of his dearly loved mother, was more than what he could bear, and which brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. It is stated that Akbar kept up a deep mourning for his mother,—a mother who shared in his sorrows and joys; he clad himself in black, shaved his head and beard, and avoided all ornament in his apparel; and when her body was conveyed to Delhi, he placed his shoulder under the bier and

helped to bear it for several paces. Shortly after his mother's death, when he was about to be gathered to his fathers, he summoned his nobles and after giving them much counsel and advice addressed them thus :—"If I have done any of you wrong, be pleased to forgive me." All burst into tears, and Jehangir the heir unable to bear the sight and touched probably by remorse, threw himself at his father's feet and wept with a loud voice. Akbar made signs to him to gird on his sword in his presence and Jehangir did so. Barely had he fulfilled the dying behest, when Akbar breathed his last,—"the breathing miracle into silence passed." A gloom settled upon all and India was in deep mourning for its king,—a king who stood head and shoulders over all oriental sovereigns, yea, even among very many occidental ones, and who is certainly entitled to a prominent niche in the temple of fame.

Space forbids me to comment on the successors of Akbar. Suffice it to say that during the anarchy and confusion which followed the wake of the degenerate and luxury-loving successors of Akbar, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire, thus realizing the continuation of the Poet Laureate's lines in his "Dream of Akbar":—

> "But while I groan'd
> From out the sunset pour'd an alien race,
> Who fitted stone to stone again, and Truth
> Peace, Love, and Justice came and dwelt therein,
> Nor in the field without were seen or heard
> Fires of suttee, nor wail of baby wife,
> Or Indian widow; and in sleep I said
> All praise to Allah by whatever hands
> My mission be accomplished"—

Akbar died in 1605 and was interred in Sikandra near Agra, where a costly and noble mausoleum was erected to his memory and on one of its pillars shone the "Kohinur," which afterwards passed into the hands of Queen Victoria and figures as the brightest gem in the British crown. To the credit of Lord Northbrook, be it said, that during his *regime* as Viceroy, he presented a costly silk cloth of honor to cover the plain marble slab on Akbar's grave. Speaking of Akbar, Colonel Malleson justly observes :—"We are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation's trouble to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can ensure the happiness of

millions" and in the words of Col. Sleeman :—"Considering all the circumstance of time and place, Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets, and feeling as a citizen, I reverence the marble slab that covers his bones, more perhaps than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted."

What nobler tribute can we have than the above? Of Akbar it can be truly said, that "though dead he yet speaketh, and that to live in hearts we leave behind is not to die."

M. A. WILLIAMSON.

Sankethams or the Ancient Religious Corporations of Malabar.

By Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B. A., B. L.

A *Sanketham* is one of the many peculiar institutions of Malabar, which has, in the course of the many political revolutions the country has been subjected to, altogether disappeared. The term itself has lost its original signification and is now used simply to mean a tract lying within certain defined limits. Originally it meant the independent jurisdiction of Pagodas and Brahman communities which were places of refuge altogether inviolable by any one by long established custom.

Many of the more important Devaswoms or temple endowments had their own Sankethams which were well defined and of large extent. Within these limits the temple Corporation used to exercise Sovereign authority. The temples and the lands attached to them were originally the creation of Brahman lords and communities who under the early theocratic form of rule owned the proprietorship of all lands in Malabar. Those Brahmin lords identified themselves with these Corporate estates which they had created and as time flowed on they associated with themselves, for political reasons, a secular leader to defend those possessions. That secular leader became part and parcel of the Devaswom Corporation. The Brahman lords themselves never gave up their right of ownership or management. They along with the secular leader and other persons attached to the temple collectively termed a *Yogam* managed the temple lands and ruled the tracts lying within the limits of the *Sanketham*.

The very existence of such a constitution as that of the *Sanketham* was much discussed recently in connection with certain disputes regarding the exercise of Sovereign rights within the limits of the lands attached to the Elangunnapuzha and Annamanada temples between the States of Travancore and Cochin. These disputes along with others were referred for settlement to the arbitration of an officer appointed by the Madras Government. The two temples mentioned may be taken as typical instances of Devaswom

Corporations. According to both parties the Elangunnapuzha endowment was the creation of a local Chief or Raja. Travancore contended that the pagoda was built by the Raja of Parur, and the villages which formed part of his territories were ceded to the *Devan* (god) and constituted into a *Sanketham* under his protection, on the 24th day of the month of Makarom of the year 2767 Kaliyugam Era (B.C. 335). According to Cochin the Devaswom was founded and endowed by the Raja of Cochin, who is said to have purchased 5½ *Desoms* or villages and presented them to the temple—date not known.

With regard to the Annamanada Devaswom Cochin stated that it was founded and endowed by ten Nambootiries and that the *Sanketham* of the Devaswom comprised 12½ villages. According to Travancore the lands attached to the temple were known as forming Adoor Gramam comprising many villages with a superficies of about 10 square miles and was styled Adoor Grama *Sanketham*. It is described as a remnant of Brahman sway over the Malabar country.

Travancore referred to a document containing answers to questions alleged to have been put to four Nambootiri Brahmans at the instance of Major Cadogan, British Resident in Travancore and Cochin in A.D. 1829 and answered by two of them. These questions were :—

1. What is meant by a *Sanketham*?
2. How many kinds of *Sankethams* are there?
3. What Sovereign powers can a Raja, whose territories surrounded a *Sanketham*, exercise over the properties and ryots of the said *Sanketham*?
4. Does the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction in a *Sanketham* vest in the Raja whose territories surround the *Sanketham*?
5. Please state in detail what *Koima*, *Aka Koima* and *Samudayam* are, and their respective functions and powers?

The substance of their answers was to the effect that the term *Sanketham* applies to a village over which no Sovereign has any right or jurisdiction, that there are two kinds of *Sankethams*, viz., those self-existent, as remnants of Brahman supremacy of old, and those created under concessions made by Sovereigns in favour of pagodas or Brahman communities from motives of religion ; that the

Sovereign whose territories surround a *Sanketham* has, as such, no authority of any kind over it, but all powers are vested in the *Sanketham* authorities conjointly with the Sovereign elected by them; that the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction over *Sanketham*s vest in the constituent members elected or in the Sovereign protector of their choice; that the terms *Koima, Aka Koima, Samudayam* are applicable to the managing members who are generally Sovereigns elected for the purpose. In short, then, a *Sanketham* meant according to them an independent constitution governed by its own members and presided over by a Sovereign elected by them.

Cochin stoutly denied the existence of any constitution as above set forth and put forward its own version thus :—"*Sanketham* is a tract of territory, belonging to a Pagoda, the limits of which are defined. Within these limits no act calculated to pollute the Pagoda, to which the tract belongs, can be committed. Such lands as are exclusively set apart for the performance of ceremonies, &c., at the pagoda are said to be lands comprised in the *Sanketham*; and the Sovereign has as much sovereign supremacy over it as he has over other portions of his territories."

Mr. J. C. Hannyngton the arbitrator rejected the Travancore document as "inadmissible under the rules of evidence," which, however, are not applicable to proceedings before an arbitrator,*—and expressed his opinion that "the existence of such an extraordinary Corporation as is described as a Sangaitham or Sanketham in paras 13 to 15 of the Travancore Statement, must be admitted to be improbable, inasmuch as no trace of any such constitution exists." He continued, "That a Sovereign who founded a pagoda and endowed it with lands should give to the managers the power of emancipating themselves at pleasure from his sovereign authority and adopting at will a different and probably a rival chief as sovereign is well nigh incredible. The learned Arbitrator was forced to admit that "the condition of things in the days when this Pagoda (that of Elangunnapuzha) was founded and endowed was very different to anything now existing. I am justified in stating that the Sovereigns of the State in which this Devaswom existed even though they themselves were the individual founders of the Devaswom

* See Indian Evidence Act, Section 1.

conceded to the deity through his managers, powers within the limits of the Devaswom which included every function of Government save and except Royalty. Within their Devaswom limits, the managers of the temple collected revenues and exercised all judicial powers. The Sovereigns themselves yielded homage and paid substantial tribute to the Devaswoms (they do so still). The various chiefs or Swaroopams assisted in the management of the Pagoda and in the celebration of its ceremonies. In course of time these endowments were infringed upon and these privileges curtailed as the secular influence prevailed and the religious influence diminished."

Possibly the learned Arbitrator was correct in his decision regarding the constitution of the particular Devaswoms with which he was dealing. But the reasons on which he founds his conclusion seem to throw doubt on the possibility or even the probability of existence at any time of any such institution as a *Sanketham*, as "an independent constitution governed by its own members and presided over by a Sovereign elected by them." We are in no way concerned with the merits of the dispute between the two States, but in the interests of history we think it necessary to scrutinise the general reasoning on which the non-existence of such a constitution at any period of Malabar history is sought to be based, It is argued that such an extraordinary corporation could not have existed as it is "improbable inasmuch as no trace of any such constitution exists at the present day." The argument is, to say the least, unsound and fallacious. Because we are not in a position, now, to detect traces of an ancient institution that had flourished in the remote past, does it follow that it could not have existed at any time at all? If so, many an ancient institution now defunct, having passed into the limbo of oblivion, leaving behind but a bare name will have to be declared as having never existed at all and yet we have instances of institutions and usages of hoary antiquity of which very little trace can now be found. Mr. Hannyngton himself observes "I believe that the condition of things in the days when this Pagoda was founded and endowed was very different to any thing now existing." He adds "In course of time these endowments were infringed upon and these privileges curtailed as the secular influence prevailed and the religious influence diminished" and this supplies a conclusive answer

to his objection that "no trace of any such constitution exists at the present day." Not to travel beyond Malabar itself we find at present no traces whatever of the following old institutions and customs, viz., *Kudippaka*, *Mamankam*, *Changadam*, the custom of Nairs constituting themselves "Amoncos" or Amocchi. Nor is there any trace at present of the custom mentioned by Barbosa of the Kings of Quilacare publicly cutting their own throats clean at the end of their 12 years' term. Such instances, e.g *Pangam*, *Purapad*, *Pattini*, &c, may easily be multiplied specially with reference to the period of Brahman sway in Malabar.

The early Jewish and Syrian Copper Plates unmistakably show that when those deeds were executed there were guilds in existence exercising functions of government, not unlike those exercised by the constituent members of *Sankethams*. The Jewish and Syrian guilds assembled in their respective Corporate head-quarters at Anjuvannam and Manigramam "to protect the Church people's (Palliyar) town." Referring to the Syrian and Jewish Plates Mr. Logan observes "The light thrown by these deeds on the state of society as it existed in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. exhibits a community in a very advanced state of organization. At the head of all was the *Kon* or King or Perumal—drawing from the land a share of produce of the soil called the *Ko-pad's* share (*Varam*). Another share of the produce went to the *Pati* (over-lord) intermediary between the *Kon* and the actual land-holder. The *Pati* it seems was not any particular person, but a body Corporate of the Jews in their Municipal township of Anjuvannam, and (inferentially) of the Nairs in their Corporation called the "Six Hundred." But each body corporate had a hereditary head-man or chieftain. These bodies corporate seem to have constituted the political backbone of the country and their particular functions in the State were those of protecting and of supervising . . . ."* Where are these institutions or organisations at the present day? A hundred and odd years of British domination has wiped them off the face of Malabar so completely that the present day Malabar Christian, Jew and Nayar have no idea whatever of the position their fore fathers occupied in the body politic. These deeds further indicate

* Logan's *Manual of the Malabar District*, Vol. I, page 271.

the existence of other corporate bodies in Malabar such as those of the five kinds of artificers, the oil makers, Ezhavas, Chetties, &c.

To Mr. Hannyngton it seemed "well nigh incredible" that a Sovereign founder of a pagoda and its endowments should "give to the managers the power of emancipating themselves at pleasure from his Sovereign authority and adopting at will a different and probably a rival chief as Sovereign." Mr. Hannyngton has evidently failed to correctly understand the origin and nature of these foundations. In the particular case he was dealing with, he has assumed, or it may be that it was proved before him, that the temple in question was founded by the Sovereign and the lands attached to the Devaswom were a gift from him. But if we keep in mind the origin of the Malabar temples and the hierarchical rights given hereunder it will be clear that the learned Arbitrator's argument is of very little use to support his conclusion. To say that the ancient temples of Malabar were endowed by the Sovereigns would be to put the cart before the horse.

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* has given us a correct and rational account of the origin of these temples and their endowments and of the nature of the heirarchical rights so peculiar to Malabar.

"According to all legends and all available evidence, the Malabar Coast was populated by Aryan emigrants from the eastern side of the Ghauts. It is equally a fact that the priestly class not only predominated among the emigrants, but actually monopolised the whole of the land of their adoption to themselves, the rest of the emigrant population being their 'drawers of water and hewers of wood'—their serfs, or at the most, their tenants-at-will. But to stereotype the configuration of a society for all time to come is as much an impossibility as to fix that of the clouds in the sky. Aggregations and segregations of power, influence and wealth must ever and anon go on under the guidance of the universal law of struggle for existence and survival of the best. Those priests are the wisest, and consequently the most powerful, who without directly arrogating secular power to themselves can bring into the meshes of their moral influence, those in whose hands the universal law places such power. The ecclesiastics of the Malabar Coast knew this as instinctively

as the ecclesiastics of Rome. But they had the additional advantage of having something more solid than benedictions and indulgences to confer upon their political stewards—*viz.*, the sovereignty of the land which exclusively belonged to them. They were equally wise and far-sighted in another step they took. They foresaw that the halo of sanctity which encircled themselves might not be proof against the gradual degeneracy of religious feelings which time must produce and the consequent encroachment upon their supremacy in the land. And they constitutionalised that sanctity, by demising large tracts of land and their revenues to certain temples built and consecrated by them. Who would not hesitate to commit sacrilege on an object of general religious worship? Of these temples the priest assumed the proprietory wardenship. Almost every temple of note had a synod of these priestly wardens. They invited the leading lay-man or chief to a membership of the synod and entrusted to him the stewardship of the whole temple domain subject to their superior authority. Thus arose these rich temples. Thus arose the sovereignties of the Malabar Coast."*

Most if not all of these Devaswoms were Brahman foundations and the body of the Brahmans—the Yogam—the community to which these belonged called in the Sovereign or elected him only to protect the temple and its endowments, and to preserve the rights and customs, just as the Namboories called in or elected Perumals from outside Malabar to rule over them for a term of 12 years. The fact that these Sovereigns were generally Samantha Kshatryas and were designated Koviladhikarikal (Temple Managers) is significant enough. "Namputhiri Brahmans" observes Mr. Justice Kunhi Raman Nair in his Memo on the land tenures of Travancore," who held sway over the Devaswoms or Pagodas possessing immense wealth and landed property, invoked the assistance of Samantha Kshetryas, and these managed the Devaswoms under the designation of Kovil Adhikarikals. The Devaswoms exercised sovereign functions within the limits of their landed property as did wealthy classes of Brahmans generally within the limits of their Sankethams (tracts assigned to Brahmans). The life and liberty of the

* Vol. for 1883, pp. 286—7.

Devaswom tenants were at one time at the mercy of these Devaswom communities."*

The Copper Plate inscription dated Puthuvaipu 103, i.e., 619 M.E.—1444 A.D. filed by Cochin and marked A by the Arbitrator affords ample support to this. For, it concludes by saying "Perimpadappu (the Cochin Raja) has the authority (in the Elangunnapuzha temple) to cause the different Swaroopams (Principalities) to pay the fines should they have committed any irregularities, *to protect* the Sanketham and to preserve the rights and customs thereof." The Cochin Raja still styles himself Kovil Adhikarikal in the documents he executes with regard to landed properties. In the early days of Brahman supremacy their political and spiritual influence over the constituent members of the corporations as well over the various sovereign rulers whom they themselves had created or called in was so great that it was almost impossible for any conflict such as contemplated by Mr. Hannyngton to arise. It is an open secret that the ecclesiastics of Malabar like those of Rome always kept the rulers of the land under the thumb. To a large extent they do so still. There is indeed considerable force in the Travancore Dewan Ramiengar's observation that "such Corporations as Sankethams in olden days are by no means the myths he (the Arbitrator) imagines them to be. If there was such a thing as the Hanseatic League—a mere trade union—in existence till the fifteenth century exercising acts of sovereignity and judicial power which were incompatible with the supremacy of the rulers in whose States they were enforced; and if it is a fact that the Head of the Romish Church at one time so arrogated all civil power to himself as to set up kings and to depose kings, there is nothing incredible or extraordinary in the existence of such independent hierarchies as are implied by Sankethams in a country at all times acknowledging the domination and influence of its Priesthood."

That such institutions did actually exist and that they exercised sovereign powers within the limits of their authority, even though there were Sovereign protectors placed over them, we have abundant evidence to show. An *imperium* in *imperio* is not more

* Mr. Justice Kunhi Raman Nair's Memo on Land tenures of Travancore, para 26, pp. 10-11.

extraordinary in mediæval Malabar than in mediæval Europe. Have we not instances of Republics flourishing under the protecting ægis of Monarchies? The earliest mention we have by Portuguese writers of a Sanketham is that of Elangunrapuzha itself. It is referred to as a "Sanctuary the Samorin dared not violate" to which the Cochin Raja retreated for safety after his defeat at the battle at the Edapilly ford where three of his nephews including the heir-apparent Narain, (Marumahan?) were killed* (A.D.) 1503.

Again we read of the "free Desam" of Nedumpuram into which the Queen of Peritally retired when hard pressed by the King of Travancore. The Dutch Governor Mr. Adrian Van Moens in his 'Memorials' speaks of 'Replim' or Elappilly as a "free town." He says:—"The Company has little to do with the Chief. However, it is expedient for us to know that his little State is a kind of asylum, like a free town, to which people, who are afraid of prosecution and punishment, retreat, and where they are safe; and more especially when they are able to reach a temple or pagoda there. This privilege is acknowledged and respected by all Malabar kings. However, I never could find out on what right or grounds this privilege is based, unless it be that this State obtained this privilege as a matter of course on account of its ruler being a priestly and a very pious chief of the principal priestly caste among the natives." But the Ambalapuzhay or Chempakaseri Raja who also belonged to the priestly caste and who as Hough assures us on the authority of Gouvea was no less pious never possessed the privilege so far as his territory was concerned. The origin of the privilege has to be sought for in the early peculiar institutions of Malabar. Close upon a century after Barbosa and the other Portuguese authors wrote, Gouvea in his Journada describing the visitation of Archbishop Menezes to the Romo-Syrian Churches mentions Chengannoor in Travancore as forming a Sanketham. We take the following extract from Hough who writes on the authority of Gouvea. "After passing through these villages he (Menezes) visited the Church of Chenganore. This town is said to have been more celebrated for the worship of idols than any other in Malabar. In fact, the country itself was the property of a pagoda

* *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*—Whiteway.
The Keralapazhama, p. 39.

or temple *whose brahmans exercised sovereign power*, and appointed governors and subordinate officers throughout the province."

"The Church at Chenganore stood out of the town, and so absolute was the power of the brahmans there, that the Christians were not allowed to repair it without their consent. Gouvea says, that it required a miracle to obtain for these poor people permission to tile their Church; for the Brahmans objected to it, lest the Christian temples should vie with their own."*

Ward and Conner in their *Memoirs of the Great Trigonometrical Survey* (1816 to 20) describing Travancore say: "The original likeness, the ample space included within the modern limits of Travancore, is not to be traced in its present united form; at the commencement of the 18th century it presented the same divided authority as the other parts of Mallialum, but the imperfect memory of its ancient State, can now enumerate only a few of the larger principalities. Kotium was held by a Kurtav, Keedangoor Koymah was the independent possession of a number of *Sankaidoms*, (independent possession of pagodas) *was ruled by Brahman authority which extended through other tracts.*"¶

As to the nature and extent of the authority exercised by these Corporations within the tracts ruled over by them it may be difficult to define them with precision at this distance of time when all traces of ancient institutions have been ruthlessly effaced. Still such Grandhavaries or contemporary chronicles of temples as have fortunately escaped the vandalism of the iconoclastic tendencies of modern times which have found expression in the organised and systematic destruction of old records in Government offices, &c., give us some faint conception of the powers exercised by Sankethams originally.

In the Grandhavari of the temple at Vaikkam, in Travancore, we read that it was the duty of the Nambootiries of the four *Cheries* or divisions into which the gramam was divided to report to the Samudaya Yogam, i.e., the Committee of Management, any crimes *or derelictions of duty committed* by any one in their respective divisions and it was the duty of the Samudaya Yogam to summon the offender at once to their presence, investigate the matter and

* *History of Christianity in India*—Hough. Vol. 2, pp. 175-6.

¶ *Selections from the Travancore Records*

inflict condign punishment on those convicted. Again before hoisting the flag for the *Utsavam*, i.e., the annual temple festival, the Committee of Management had to see those convicted by them of murder, within the Sanketham limits, hanged. This was observed till the year 977 M.E. (1802 A.D.) when it was stopped.

A *Chatta Variola* or Rules for the regulation of business in the Elangunnapuzha Temple drawn up in 958 M. E. (1783 A. D.) embodies a provision for the hanging of murderers by the temple authorities within the Sanketham.

Even the Sovereigns themselves were subjected to penalties for acts of tyrrany committed by them within the Sanketham limits and on the officers and men of the Sanketham. The constitutional rules of the Sanketham were such that if ever any of the chiefs or their followers committed an atrocity within Sanketham limits the Sanketham was held to be dissolved and till ample amends are made by the delinquent chief or till they are exacted from him by the Sovereign protector the working of the Sanketham comes to a standstill. The Sovereign protector himself is not exempted from these penalties if he is the erring individual. Thus in the Elangunnapuzha temple we gather from the copper plate inscription already referred to that "should any of the Swaroopams (Principalities) of the Sanketham be found guilty of any irregularities, the Nambooripad (the chairman of the yogam) fines the party and then gives permission to hoist the flag (for the *utsavam*) sending the Tevari Namboory along with him," and it is the duty of the Cochin Raja to levy the fine as protector of the rights of the Sanketham. Again another document dated 10th Kumbhom 191 Puthuvaippu Era, 697 M. E. 1522 A. D., embodying the observances of the Devaswom marked D in the Arbitrator's records says "when all the Yogakkars (members of the Sanketham) shall have fully assembled they shall repair to the aforesaid place and ask the Nambooripad whether he would give permission for the Kodiyettu, commencement of the *Utsavam* (by hoisting the flag) and the Nambooripad shall, on his part, enforce a penalty from any of the Swaroopams (sovereigns) who has been guilty of any fault: and then grant the sanction applied for." It further proceeds to say "on the 18th Vrichigam 88 at half past 9 P. M. the individual named Peroomparavan was put to death by

Thekkankoor Raja. On the occasion the Sanketham was dissolved. Twelve months after the said date the Koimasthanam (an important office in the temple) was surrendered. For the above and certain other faults of Thekkankoor Raja in accordance with the decision of Arbitrators composed of a representative of the Perimpadappu Swaroopam, Parkalamattah Vasudevan Nambootiri, Perayil Narayanan Kumaran Nair and other Arbitrators then present, the Perempadappu Swaroopam (the Cochin Raja) who was the Melkoima, sovereign protector, presented (a euphemestic expression to mean that the Raja was mulct of an elephant as a penalty for not restoring the Sanketham) an elephant together with the Thotti and Walara (hook and stick) and thus renewed the management of the Sanketham." Another document a Grandhavari of Pallipurath Nambooripad marked E by the Arbitrator, of the date 740 M. E. 1564—1565 A. D. recording the encroachment and tyrranical acts committed by the Pintani Vattathu Swaroopam (the Paroor Raja) within the Nedungad Desam of the Elangunnapuzha Sanketham, on a particular day, mentioning the atrocities, goes on to say: "We (Pallipurath Nambooripad, a high functionary of the temple) withdrew from the place on the same day; on that day the *Desam fell* (customary observances of the Desam were stopped)." Other atrocities followed. The Nedungad people retaliated by entering Paroor territory pulling down houses. The differences continued for about 8 years when the Pallipurath Nambooripad, says the document, "went in person to Elangunnapuzha and having said what was proper offered to do what was necessary. After this the Perimpadappu Swaroopam (Cochin Raja) and the Pintanivattathu Swaroopam (Paroor Raja) arrived at Elunggunnapuzha on the 7th Kumbhom and summoned Moothedathu Namboory * * * * * * * Rayathil Para, Ponancottil Bhattathiri and Palikkamana Bhattathiri to act as Thatassers (arbitrators) in adjusting these points. In accordance with their decision the Pintanivattathu Swaroopam paid compensation for losses inflicted and expenses of the Pattiny fast as also fine for the wrongs committed. For the acts of aggression committed by the Perumpadappu Swaroopam the Pathies (on behalf of the Raja) presented an elephant and placed its Thotti and Walar (hook and stick)". The document then proceeds to prescribe the manner in

which the fines are to be levied. It says:—"When the latter ceremony takes place (i. e. the levy of the fine) Pazhedath Panikkar should stand in the Kanni Rasi. We (Nambooripad) should occupy a seat in the Mandapam (raised stone platform in front of the inner shrine) and Thevari (priest) and Yogakkar (members of the Sanketham) assemble and stand in the Telikkappura (Portico of the temple). When the Yogakkar ask us "whether we are satisfied with the fine we should signify our assent and order it to be levied and then Mannath Noothathu should take charge of it."

On the 23rd of April 1814 the Uralers or Elders of the Elangunnapuzha temple and various aged men of the Desams attached to it, having been called on to depose "to the rules and usage observed in the Elangunnapuzha Devaswom Sanketham and Desams from ancient times," stated that Ochenthuruth, Manjanacaud, Moondengad, Vysrakal, Poocad and Nedungad Desams (villages) formed the Sanketham or jurisdiction of the Elangunnapuzha Devaswom. Among the rules and usages mentioned by them is the following: "If a man commits a crime in any of the Desams, so that it becomes corrupt, the Paroor and Cochin Rajas should both jointly repair to the Vadulmatam gate, in the Pagoda, and cause the culprit to be punished and the Sovereign of the culprit should present the Pagoda with an elephant."

In the Trichoor temple Grandhavari for the year 945 M.E. (1770 A.D.) we see that before the Kalasam ceremony was performed in the Pagoda heavy penalties were exacted from the Ayanikkoor Chief for having shot thirty-two men of the Devaswom and committed other atrocities in the Sanketham. He had to surrender 3,941 paras of seed-sowing land, Mangalath Matapad, one of his residences, as also six villages in addition to it. The fine was levied at a public ceremony in the temple in the presence of the Swamiars, Vadhyan Nambootiri, the Brahmans of the Yogam, Kakkat Karnavapad and other local Chieftains and the Cochin Raja. The Kakkat Karnavapad as the head of the Ayanikkoor family had to confess the crime, pay the penalty and present an elephant. The Cochin Raja, too, had to present an elephant for the delay in enforcing the penalty on the wrong-doer. This was on the 14th of Medom 825 M.E. (1770 A.D.)

Similarly, the account preserved in the Archives of the

Trevandrum Pagoda show several entries of heavy payments exacted by the Yogam from various Chiefs as well as from the Rajas of Travancore for acts of aggression committed by them in the Devaswom Sanketham. So far as can be ascertained at present these entries range from 500 M.E. (1325 A.D.) to 903 M.E. (1728 A.D.). The earliest entry says that a sum of 30,000 fanams had to be paid as fine together with the surrender of valuable lands sowing 150 paras of paddy seed to the temple by Kunninmel Sree Veera Kerala Varman Tiruvadi (of Travancore) for killing the officers of the temple. The latest one says that Sree Veera Rama Varma of Trippapoor Kizhapperoor, (Travancore) being the Mootha (eldest) Pandaram of Cheravai, was mulct in an elephant for his having, on the 14th of Medam 896, committed various atrocities and killed Devaswom officers within the limits of Aykkonam, Veeranarayanasseri, Vikramanadichamangalam, Pulloor Kuruchi and Rajakkamangalam, lands belonging to Sree Padmanabha Perumal (the presiding deity of the Trevandrum temple). Another entry of the 15th Dhanu 894 refers expressly to the Sanketham. Payments had to be made in full by Sri Vera Aditya Varma of Trippappoor Kizhapperoor (Travancore) being the Mootha Tiruvadi of Cheravai for committing atrocities within Sree Padmanabha Swamy's Sanketham and collecting revenue therefrom. Villages yielding an annual revenue of 12,000 fanams were surrendered for this. For committing incursions in the Sanketham Villages two elephants had to be presented and in place of men and slaves killed others had to be given up.

A document produced by Cochin and marked K in the arbitration records gives us a fair idea of the government of a Sanketham and the rules and observances obtaining therein. They deal in deed with the Elangunnapuzha Devaswom but they are an index of the general system followed in other Devaswom Sankethams as well.

A perusal of the document certainly leaves the impression that the administrative functions of the Sanketham are complete in their own way and provide for no intervention of an outsider. Para 2 lays down that the Uralers conjointly with the Aka Koymas constitute the governing body. Para 4 states that the Koyma or the representative of the Sovereign, whose duty is to administer the villages,

was to be nominated by him on intimation being received of a vacancy and the procedure to be followed at the ceremony of nomination. Paras 5, 13, 16 to 20 and 35 provide for punishment of offences and paras 8, 24 to 26, 32, 33, 39 and 40 provide for the collection of different kinds of land revenue from all the Villages. While paras 11, 12, 21 to 23 and 36 provide for a system of registration of all deeds relating to transactions of immovable property and the fees to be levied for the same paras 5, 16 and 17 show that the Koyma assisted by the Pathies exercised the authority to pull down houses, (simliar provisions are to be found in the Trichoor Temple Grandhavari) and to inflict capital punishment over the inhabitants of the villages. Para 32 lays down that the money and paddy paid to the Devaswom for the paddy lands and gardens owned by the States of Cochin and Travancore shall be continued to be paid in future without intervention. The amount, if any, in arrears, should also be paid after due enquiry. Para 40 says the '*Karam*' (tax) payable to the Devaswom on the paddy lands and gardens of the six Desoms (villages) shall be paid regularly from 958 M.E. Para 9 authorises the Koyma to levy a house-tax on the houses of certain classes of the inhabitants, and para 10, a profession tax on outside Pulayars (agricultural slaves) while para 15 imposes a cess on oil mills. Paras 7 and 13 show that the Yogam, *i.e.*, the Aka Koyma together with the Uralers, constituted the highest governing body while paras 14—31 and 34 state that they received a subsidy from the villages besides other dues. Paras 2, 7—13, 14, 29, 31 and 34 make it clear that the Aka Koyma presides at the meetings of the Yogam bearing a prominent part in the ceremonies attendant on the appointment of a Koyma to the villages, receiving a double share of subsidy. He had at one time the privilege of demanding grants of money from the villages.

An attentive consideration of this document places it beyond dispute that the *Sanketham* in itself constituted a self-contained and independent community exercising sovereign powers. In fact we find in it all the elements that go to constitute a body politic which, though of primitive structure, was self-working and independent owning no Sovereign except the Yogam. Of course these Sanketham jurisdictions have ceased to exist with the rise of the Secular

power and the diminution of religious influences. Just as the Cochin Raja has stopped the Avarodham or installation of the Yogiathiripad in the Trichoor temple, he as well as the other Rajas of Malabar have infringed upon the rights of the Devaswoms within their limits and annexed them to their respective States. With the advent of British Supremacy which was not long after followed by the assumption of the government of the Native States of Cochin and Travancore by the British Resident, Colonel Munro, most of the rich and important Devaswoms were annexed to the States and it necessarily followed that their Sankethams also ceased to exist as independent jurisdictions. It was about this time that the Jews also lost their independent jurisdiction in Cochin. The age of materialism had dawned. The rights of Sovereign States to ride roughshod over the privileges and liberties of the subject population hitherto curtailed by popular assemblies and institutions designed and aimed to safeguard the interests of the people, but which had ceased to exist for some time past, came now to be protected by the mighty power of the British Government which as the Paramount Power became henceforward the final Court of Appeal both for Prince and people.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

The Battle of Bobbili.

By Mr. T. S. Narayanah.

MUHAMMAD ALI fell out with his English allies and was deserted by them. This was just the opportunity which Dupleix was waiting for. His hopes of founding a French Empire in India received a terrible shock at the battle near Pondicherry where the French troops were overtaken and utterly routed. Chanda Saheb fled southward and Muzaffur Zung fell into the hands of Nazir Zung. But Dupleix would not so soon give up his schemes. He possessed an uncommonly stout heart. The enmity between Muhammad Ali and the English revived the dead ashes of his ambition once more into a flame and he lost no time in sending General Bussy against Muhammad Ali. The latter was utterly defeated at Punnur and eventually murdered by a set of conspirators. Dupleix released Muzaffur from his confinement and placed him on the throne, but he could not long enjoy his high position as the same conspirators who helped in placing him on the throne by the assassination of Muhammad Ali, killed him also. The French then placed Salabat Zung on the vacant throne of Deccan, who ceded to them in 1752, as a token of his gratitude the Northern Circars, for the maintenance of a European army in his territory. The English were just at this time in a very critical situation. The whole of Deccan passed under French influence and their territory extended as far as Puri in the north, while the English were insecurely clinging to their settlements at Madras and Fort St. David. Dupleix's dreams of founding a French Empire in India seemed to be on the verge of realisation. But the French Government was dissatisfied with his method of extending empire and he was recalled in 1754, and Bussy's authority in India became for a time unquestionable. It was during this time that the memorable Battle of Bobbili was fought.

The Rajahs of Bobbili and Vizianagram, both in the District of Vizagapatam, were for a long time on terms far from friendly. The latter had cherished a deadly hatred and jealousy for the former, owing, as it is commonly believed, to a defeat he suffered at the

hands of Bobbili sometime before, in cockfighting, and was ever scheming to wreak his vengeance on Bobbili. The opportunity so anxiously awaited presented itself before long. It was alleged that the Rajah of Bobbili had caused the obstruction of the flow of water into his lands. The right over the canals through which the water flowed belonged to Bobbili but Vizianagram was by custom suffered to use the water of these canals for the irrigation of his own lands. The Rajah of Vizianagram thought that the ruler of Bobbili had no business to cut off the supply of water to his lands and this was provocation enough for him to declare war against Bobbili. But Bobbili was not easy to conquer. It was the land of the Velamas, a race of fierce warriors whose deeds of valour and heroism could be compared only with those of the Rajaputs of Chitore. So, Viziarama Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagram, wanted to befriend Bussy the French General and through him win his ends.

On the 19th of December, 1756, Bussy and his secretary Hyder Zung arrived at Rajahmundry for collecting revenue from the zamindars of Northern Circars. They pitched their tents near Kotilingam, a place of pilgrimage on the banks of the Godavery, and issued notices to all the zamindars demanding tribute. Many of them repaired to Rajahmundry to pay their homage and annual tribute to the French. Among those that were absent was the Rajah of Bobbili who was detained on account of some important marriages in his palace. Viziarama Razu noticed this and wanted to turn it to his advantage. He met Hyder Zung in secret conference and told him that Rajah Rangarao of Bobbili was an impertinent and independent zamindar who had not cared to pay his visit to the French General; that he was so much puffed up with pride that he would not care to obey the French. He roused the anger of the Mohamadan secretary to the highest pitch possible by clever insinuations and innuendoes and hinted that the prestige of French arms in India would go down unless they insisted on every vassal zamindar paying his homage in person to Bussy. He then disclosed his scheme and promised to pay the French 12 lakhs of rupees if they would dethrone Rajah Rangarao, and place him on the throne instead. The French were just at this time badly in want of money. The Carnatic wars dissipated their treasury and 12 lakhs of rupees would be

an irresistible bait to them. Hyder therefore readily consented to help Viziarama Razu.

Hyder Zung then duly represented to Bussy that the Rajah of Bobbili was an insolent and independent sort of zamindar who disobeyed the French General's orders to pay homage and tribute to the French, and urged on the necessity of inflicting an exemplary punishment on him. The promise of 12 lakhs of rupees was then communicated to Bussy and he was made to swallow the bait and become a willing party to the conspiracy of Hyder and Viziarama Razu.

The intelligence of an intended attack on Bobbili by the united forces of Bussy and Viziarama Razu was conveyed to Rajah Rangarao. He could not understand what made the French General treat him so badly. A meeting of his relatives, friends and courtiers was at once called for, and the expediency of addressing Mr. Gore, who was then in command of the French troops stationed at Masulipatam, was decided upon. Arrangements were made at the same time to place a strong garrison in the Fort of Rajam situate on the way leading to Bobbili. Tandra Papayya, one of the best friends of the Rajah and the bravest of the warriors of his time, was despatched to Rajam with an army of choice sepoys.

The Rajah's letter requesting Mr. Gore to interfere on his behalf and put a stop to the intended attack on his fort was duly delivered to him. Mr. Gore was a friend of Rajah Rangarao and he always admired the valour of the Velama. He could not understand what on earth Bussy meant by declaring war against Bobbili. He thought that the French General had been misled by Hyder Zung and immediately sent him a despatch stating that it was unwise to fall out with Rajah Rangarao and urging on the necessity of refraining from an attack on Bobbili and befriending the Velama Rajah. Bussy received the message delivered to him by one Mr. Martin and began to fume and fret at Hyder Zung. He knew that Mr. Gore was no ordinary politician and cherished a high respect for all his opinions. He then questioned Hyder about the truth of his representations against Bobbili and doubted the propriety of declaring war against Rajah Rangarao. Hyder found out that he was suspected and his position and honour were in jeopardy. He felt the

heat of the water he had been placed in, but he would not under any circumstance eat his words. He once more affirmed before the French General with all the loudness and vehemence he could summon to his aid, that the Rajah of Bobbili set the French authority at defiance in that he did not care either to come and see the French General or to remit his dues. He said he was a Mahomadan and as such he was not trained to pocket insults. His persuasive eloquence and mock-indignation convinced Bussy of the expediency of inflicting an exemplary punishment on the Velama Rajah by capturing Bobbili. The French General replied to Mr. Gore that he could not see his way to act up to his advice.

Much confusion prevailed in the town when the news had arrived that the French and Vizianagram forces were stationed at no very great distance from the Fort. Rajah Rangarao and his brother Vengal Rao, an equally brave warrior, were on the ramparts inspecting the defences. The Rajah then sent a message to Hyder that he was not in any way faulty, that he would fain pay his tribute and acknowledge the suzerainty of the French and requested him to desist from the unjust undertaking. But Hyder would not listen to any terms. He touched his sword and promised the Rajah of Vizianagram to dethrone Rajah Rangarao and he would do so under any circumstances. He replied to the Rajah of Bobbili that his absence from the French camp was a sufficient cause for capturing Bobbili. He further said that the Rajah's men had unreasonably caught hold of some of his sepoys on their march and thrashed them. He would therefore at any cost punish the leader of the Velamas. The fact was that at the instigation of Viziarama Razu some men of Hyder were intercepted near a garden that belonged to Bobbili and were roughly handled by Vizianagram sepoys and the false report was communicated to Hyder that some Bobbili sepoys ill-treated his men. This was an expedient schemed by Viziarama Razu to fan the wrath of Hyder against Rajah Rangarao to a full blaze. Hyder was perhaps willingly blind to the injustice of the cause he espoused but how far the French General was to blame in the matter it is not easy to decide.

The battle began early in the morning. The French sallied forth to the ramparts and attempted to scale the walls. For a time they

were unsuccessful. Their attempts to force their way through the gates of the Fort were equally unsuccessful. But a breach was at last effected and the fight that ensued was bitter. It was inevitable that the Fort should fall into the hands of the enemy. Rajah Rangarao ordered his brother to go to the zenana and kill all the women lest when the Fort was occupied they should be ill-treated by the Rajah of Vizianagram. All the ladies in the Fort were killed, but the queen had managed to save her infant son by placing him in a basket and sending him out of the Fort through a confidant. The royal child was however intercepted on his way to Samarlakota and delivered to Bussy. Many Velamas fell dead or wounded. At last the Rajah of Bobbili too fell down and died but not before killing a good many soldiers of the enemy. Bussy and even Hyder could not but appreciate the valour and heroism of the Velama princes. Hyder was stung by conscience and his face wore a gloom of repentance. Bussy felt at last that he was misled by his secretary and regretted that for a paltry sum of 12 lakhs he sent a whole race of warlike princes to premature graves.

Vengal Rao, the brother of the deceased Rajah, was still prepared to fight. But Bussy could no longer tolerate the battle. He admired the bravery of the prince and marching to him with repentance in his eyes shook hands with the Velama warrior. He was then saluted as Regent to the Prince of Bobbili and Rajam. The surviving child of the late Rajah was then brought back and handed to Vengal Rao.

Tandra Pappayya came to know the terrible fate of Bobbili. The news of his Rajah's death flamed him into a blaze and he left Rajam where he had been stationed, for the camp of the Rajah of Vizianagram. He forced his way to the bed-chamber of the Rajah and before Viziarama Razu had time to recover from the shock he felt at his sight, pierced a dagger into his heart and then heroically killed himself. There is now a column built on the tragic spot not many yards away from the present residence of the Rajah of Bobbili to mark the deed of Pappayya known among the Velamas as the "Tiger of Bobbili."

T. S. NARAYANAH.

The Problem of High Prices.*

By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A.

THE one great problem which more than another dominates the public mind at the present moment is the problem of prices. The high prices, that have recently become a feature of our economic condition, have come to claim a degree of attention few other questions have attracted during the past few years. This is because high prices more or less affect all people. The rich and the poor, the employers and the employes, the salaried and the wage-earners, the people, individuals and institutions—all these, in one way or another, are interested in this question of prices. Though the subject is thus an all-absorbing one, its seriousness is equalled only by the obscurity in which it is involved, and the difficulty of reducing the high prices to a definite cause and suggesting remedies to bring them down. Public opinion expressed in the press and on the platform, the Council Chamber and the Congress, has demanded an inquiry into the whole question and Government have been requested to appoint a commission of experts to investigate the subject. Assurance has been already given to us that the question is engaging the serious attention of the Government. Sir G. F. Wilson, in the speech he made the other day in the course of the budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council, adverted to the high level of prices and made a few general remarks on some aspects of the question. In passing he examined the theory of the exports of food grains as an important factor in raising prices and indicated that the adoption of a gold standard by India has something to do with the upward movement in prices. He said that the approached the subject with great reserve, both on account of its complexity and because it is at present being discussed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who opened this question in the Council last year, referred to it this year also.

He pointed to the inflation of the currency as being responsible for the continued prevalence of high prices in all parts of the country

* An extract from a Paper read before the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

and with a diffidence quite justified by the complicated circumstances of the case suggested a change in the present currency policy of Government. Other people, publicists or otherwise, have put forward various theories widely differing from one another and the complexity of the question has been made more complex for the ordinary man. When gentlemen of recognised authority in such matters differ widely and feel diffident about this perplexing problem it would be sheer rashness for any other person to express any definite opinion. I am not however going to rush in where other people have feared to tread and lay down any theory or make definite and dogmatic assertions. I merely propose to lay before you the various explanations of high prices that have been so far offered and see how far they can be said to contribute in raising prices. It is a question of practical economics and finance surrounded by a variety of difficulties, and I have ventured to take it up because I feel that a statement and discussion of the various theories is sure to be both interesting and instructive in as much as it may help us to arrive at the truth.

Causes of the Trouble.

There are a variety of causes, remote and immediate, direct and indirect, which have combined to force prices to their present high level. What is the exact degree of their influence cannot be definitely ascertained but that they have had a share more or less cannot be doubted.

(1) The first place in order though not in importance among these causes may be given to the occasional droughts of varying dimensions and intensity devastating large tracts and killing considerable number of men and cattle with which we have now become so familiar. If we begin with the year 1891-92 when there was a prolonged drought we find that prices which were sufficiently high during the quinquennium of 1886-90 were still further raised during the next few years. A strong Indian demand for rice was coupled with large exports; there was an unprecedented export of wheat owing to failure of crops in Europe which pushed up prices here to the famine point. With better seasons prices cheapened but they did not go back to their old level. Prices of food grain again went up to the highest level then on record during

the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900. During this period one export trade in rice was kept up on a large scale and in 1898-99, the years preceding the second famine, export of food grains exceeded three million tons. In the next few years prices went down but stocks exhausted by lean years take time to be replenished. In fact of late years the stocks of food grains, which were so common formerly, have disppeared and when there is a diminution of production in a year of drought, there are high prices and consequent distress.

(2) The second cause seems to be that the outturn of the food grains has not been keeping pace with the increasing demand for them. In some places, such as Bengal and parts of Bombay, the cultivation of jute and cotton, which are more paying, is being substituted for that of food grains. The area under food grains, which was 188¾ million acres in 1896-97, rose to 195 millions, in 1906—07 the highest figure during the last decade, which means an increase of 7·17 per cent., in ten years, while the area under cotton and jute increased by nearly 50 and 70 per cent respectively during the same period. The yield of rice which was nearly 500 millions cwts. in 1097—98., 505½ and 505½ million cwts. in the next two years, shows an average of about 444 million cwts. only during the last five years, the figure 500 never being attained for the past nine years. The yield of wheat which averaged 7½ million tons during the first half of the decade commencing from 1897—98, became no doubt 8½ on an average during the second half, the acreage under it increasing by nearly 25 per cent. in ten years. But now-a-days wheat appears to be grown more largely for export than for home consumption and supply. In spite of the havoc made by plague, malaria and droughts, the population of the country must be increasing to some extent, and this increase must press on the soil and the prices of food grains must go up. Another important factor is the increased demand for food grains created by facilities of communication and transport such as railways, steamers, which carry these grains into all the nooks and corners of the country. The phenomenon of a province with abundance of food bordering on a district with a population starving for want of the same, is becoming more and more rare. The large annual coastwise exports of rice from Burma

to Bombay and Madras are an illustration in point. These exports which were 195 thousand tons valued at more than 1½ crores in 1903-04, come to 460 thousand tons valued at 3½ crores in 1905-06 and to 979 thousand tons valued at 6½ crores in 1907-08. This more extended distribution tends to equalise prices. It will be obvious even to a superficial observer that the standard of life of people living on the line of railways is gradually becoming higher as things which were mere luxuries to them before are being brought to their doors by the easy means of communication.

WHEAT AND RICE.

(3). I have said above that exports of food grains have often been maintained on a high scale even in times of scarcity. Exports of rice, which is one of the most important food stuffs in this country, have been on a pretty high scale during the past few years. Both wheat and rice are grown more largely for export. Grain elevators about which so much is being said now-a-days and dock facilities at Karachi and other parts, as also railway arrangements on a more convenient and cheaper system, point to the larger and larger exports of wheat and other food grains. The Hon'ble Sir G. F. Wilson tried to show in the Imperial Council the other day that in as much as the quantity of the foodgrains yearly exported to foreign countries bear a very small proportion to the production of the same, they cannot be said to affect prices in this country. This was meant as a reply to the suggestion of some people who hold that large quantities of food grains being exported every year, the quantities available for home consumption are not adequate to the demand, and hence their prices have risen and who have proposed that a sufficiently high duty on these exports may be levied to the advantage of the Indian consumer, as these duties would lower prices. Whether this remedy is likely to serve its end or not, it will be easily seen that exports must tell upon prices, if it is borne in mind that owing to increased internal demand caused by extended facilities of communication and the growing wants of the people and the failure of the outturn of the food grains to keep pace with that demand, exports, however small proportionately to production, must diminish the quantities required for ordinary consumption at home and thus force up prices. Again we see actually that the higher prices fetched by the food grains when exported to the rich

foreign countries which can afford to pay highly for their food must naturally influence prices here and must bring the latter to their own level.

(4). Last but more important is the theory of the superfluity of currency in the country which has been advanced by gentlmen whose opinion is entitled to great weight in the matter of economics and finance. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale put forward this view of the cause of high prices in his budget speech last year and emphasised it this year also. That the prices of commodities in a country are to a certain extent regulated by the system of currency obtaining in that country seems to be generally admitted. It is a common place of economics that the number of coins in circulation in a place governs the prices ruling in that place. If the coins in circulation are not sufficient for the ordinary commercial transactions of a country there will be a very large demand for them which will raise their value like that of any other article and the purchasing power of the coins will rise. As a smaller number of coins will be available for exchange only a small number will be paid for articles. This means that prices of articles will fall. If on the other hand the coins in circulation are more than are required for the common transactions of the market the copious supply will lower their value and with it their purchasing power. More coins will be needed to purchase an article. in other words there will be high prices. This is exactly what has happened with respect to this Indian currency.

(5). The currency policy on which the Government embarked in the year 1898 however necessary and beneficial in some respects has in many ways disturbed the economic condition of this country: and having yoked India with the other gold-using nations of the world has launched us into uncertain waters. Waves of disturbance in the monetary position of the rest of the world do not fail to reach the Indian coast and involve us in the price fluctuations to which others are subject. The average wholesale prices of both imports and exports have not indeed been much infected by the uppish tendency noticed in the retail prices in the interior of the country. They are almost marking time except during the last few years when small disturbances might be discerned. The rise in gold prices outside must, however, affect the prices of those articles which are exported

to countries in gold currency. The same thing happens with respect to the imports. But these are disturbances which though affecting the general prices of articles in the country are a factor of a very minor importance when compared to the other causes that are at work in the country. Thus when the prices of food grains rose 16 per cent. in the United Kingdom during the last four years those in India have gone up about 43 per cent. How far the internal rise of prices induced by the rising gold price abroad will benefit the people of this country is problematical and even the Finance Member who suggests this close dependence of prices in India on those obtaining in other countries is not very sanguine about the future.

PROF. V. G. KALE.

Facts and Fancies about Snake-bite and Its Cure.

By Mr. R. Kulathu Aiyar.

RAJA Raja Varma, Koil Thampuran of Chemproor, Travancore, is a reputed authority in cases of snake-poison. He comes of a noble family, that of the Parappanad Rajas, a member of which house, H. H. Kerala Varma Valia Koilthampuran, shines so bright in the literary firmament. Another member of the same illustrious house, a brother of H. H. Kerala Varma, is a master of Aryan Medical Science (Ashtangahrydaya), and has been for a long time the honorary head of that department in the Travancore state. Raja Raja Varma, the subject of this sketch, is a genial old man, is a fair Sanskrit scholar, has made a study of medicine, and practises *Mantravadom* (excorcism) too on occasions. He lives a very retired life at his family seat, a good portion of his time being devoted to giving prescriptions and advice (free) to the poor.

From early boyhood, he had a great of fancy for travel. When scarcely thirteen, he left home in company with a "northerner", a former servant of the family. He first proceeded to Guruvayoor, associated with so many incidents of traditional celebrity. Thence to Gokarnam, the limit of Parasurama's land, it was but a short stretch, (though near fifty years ago it was by no means a holiday trip). While sojourning there, he fell in with a Nepalese Yogi, one of the class known in Malabar as a Gosais.* To judge from a description given by Raja Raja Varma himself, this *Gosai* seems to have been an extraordinary character. Like other Yogis, he grew his hair and beard very long but here the comparison ceased. He did not set up to be beyond humanity. He never affected abstemiousness. He could enjoy his bath, his dinner and his hookah. His forenoon was spent in devotion. He had his mid-day siesta. The rest of his day was taken up with writing (on palm leaf) and teaching, and rambling in out-of-the-way places for the collection of herbs and roots. He had a few disciples with him, always, who looked to his material wants. He never accepted money or valuables by way of offerings yet his necessities were always well-supplied. This *Gosai*

* Pilgrims from upper India.

with his disciples had been travelling from the foot of the Himalayas, and had at last come down to the "Land's end" of old India. The day our young traveller came across this divine, a marvellous cure was effected by him. The body of a wood-cutter was being borne along for cremation with the usual deathwail and auxiliaries. At a sign from the Yogi, one of the disciples ran up, and ordered the bier to be brought to him. It was an extreme case of snake-bite. After an examination, the Yogi injected a few drops of something into its nostrils. Satisfying himself that life was not actually extinct, he applied some more restoratives, in a few hours brought the man to consciousness, and by the next day effected a complete cure.

This incident settled our young *Thampuran's* future aspirations, and he resolved to follow the fortunes of the Yogi. For more than a year he accompanied the sage in his wanderings, anticipating his lightest wishes, and doing all he could to secure the *Guroo's* approbation. On the side of the master, too, the extreme devotion of the new disciple was not passed un-noticed. When the Yogi finally left the Deccan he called the young volunteer to his side, and asked him to name whatever wish was uppermost in his mind. One can easily guess what it was. After trying in vain to deter our Thampuran from following *Vishavaidyam* (poison-cure) as a profession, the sage initiated him into the mysteries of Garuda Thrayakshara and Panchakshara. He was, however, strictly enjoined on no account to accept remuneration for his services, and not to cause needless sufferings to the "poor" snakes. Thus they parted, the sage on his peregrinations and our young Thampuran to his family homestead.

The next few years of the Thampuran's life was spent in perfecting himself in his art. Old *Granthas* were hunted up. Live snakes were charmed out of their holes and experiments frequently made. Till at last, the matter reached the ears of his mother and he was strictly forbidden to practise his "unholy" art. For several years, the interdict continued, and when at last he resumed practice, it was with the hearty approval and the blessings of his mother. And this was how it happened. One evening, a faithful old servant of the family was ordered to climb up a *Vilva* (sacred to Siva) tree and procure some leaves. While descending, the man was viciously

bitten by what romancers might call "the guardian serpent of the Vilva". Inquiries were made after him rather a little late, when he was found lying unconscious at no great distance from the tree. The Thampuran was the only resort. At the express wish of his mother, he promised to try. The man, or rather the body, was removed to his own special quarters. Restoratives were applied. A tender plaintain-sheath was brought and cut into the shape of a serpent with head and tail and body complete. This was laid over the man with the head just touching the wound. Mantras were recited, and finally the *Bhishak* (Doctor) took a knife and dealt the sheath three furious stabs. The man was then ordered to be taken home and left to sleep off the after-effects. In two days he was as well as ever. Thenceforward the ban on the Thampuran was removed, and with the good wishes of everybody he was left for the future free to practise the art he had been at so much pains to learn.

Thereafter Raja Raja Varma has been devoting himself to his art with great success for the past several years. Cases from far and near are brought to him. And rare indeed are the cases in which he has not been able to bring about a cure. He has attained to such perfection in his art that he is said to feel a sort of premonition that a case would be brought to him at a particular hour. I have been informed that he sits up of nights betimes in expectation of a call. Very lately there was an instance that came within my personal observation. That was a case from Kumaranalloor, a distance of over thirty miles. The party arrived by canoe at night; and then at the landing-ghaut was our Thampuran's servant in waiting, to direct them to return, as the subject would have died by the way. And true enough, on examination it was found that life had ebbed out.

Such premonitions are based on a small treatise (in verse, as all old treatises are) called *Dhuta-Lakshanam* meaning literally signs from the messenger. The age and caste of the messenger, the direction from which he comes, the first words he utters to the *Bhishak*, the then-posture and attitude of the *Bhishak*, and a lot more of such details as any man might ordinarily regard as worthless, are the data from which inferences are drawn. Diagnosis thus seems to

proceed more from without than within. And yet one's scepticism meets with many a check in actual experience. The writer himself was one of those who started from a doubting post, though now he feels he would not be justified in scoffing at the whole thing as fanciful.

There are several different methods of cure and seven or eight ancient treatises bearing on the subject, viz.,

"Narayaniyam Uddesam
Ulpalam Haramekhala
Lakshanamritam Ashanga-
Hrydam Kalavanchakam."

Of these Narayaniyam and Lakshanamritam are the works generally followed in Malabar, though another treatise not among the number, called, Joalsnika, also has a fair following. Narayaniyam is the most important of these and is in old Malayalam. No counterpart in Sanskrit has hitherto been met with. And as Malabar with its magic and wonders, its native Nayars (= Nagars = serpents), and serpent groves in very homestead, has been noted for snake charming and snake-worship from the earliest times, it may fairly be presumed to be an indigenous work. It sets out with a classification of Snakes into four *Varnas* and eight *Vamsas*, and thence into a hundred and twenty varieties. One or two stanzas may be quoted as specimens:—

"Anantho Gulikaschaiva
Vasukee Sankapalakow
Thakshakastha Mahapadma
Padma Karkodaka Sthatha

Of Moorkhas 26——"Moorkhanmar Irupatharu
Of Mandalis 60——Jati Mandali Shoadesam
Of Rajilam 13——Rajilam Pathimmoonundu
Of Viyanthiran 21——Moovazhuntoo Viyanthiran"

And then it proceeds to describe the characteristics of the different kinds of snakes etc. Some of these *Granthas* are extremely rare, while probably the names alone of a few others have survived. *Joalsnika* has been set in print, though copies are not generally available.

The methods of treatment prescribed in the above works come under the three classes *Mantra*, (exorcism), *Tantra*, (making displays with the hand and other organs, *e. g.* the stabbing of the plantain-sheath described above) and *Oushadha* (medicine). From an examination of the bitten part the *Bhishak* is able to judge the

variety of the snake that caused the wound, the time that has elapsed since the bite as well as it is said the dimensions of the snake. In the *Tantra* process, the plantain-sheath or other substitute is cut to the probable length and figure of the snake, laid on the wound, and stabbed or cut up according to "the taste and fancy of the Bhishak." It is alleged that the snake which actually bit the subject would have felt the stabs, and that on proper search, it might be found with the identical marks on its body. Often-times, a cock or a hen is brought and the tip of its anus placed in contact with the wound. Sometimes the fowl is pricked about the leg, a little blood drawn, and the pricked part placed in contact with the snake-bitten wound. Of course the "all-essential" mantras are not omitted. The fowl, it is said, draws the poison to itself and the man recovers.

Another wonderful system is where the *Bhishak* by his *mantras* is said to induce the snake to return and suck up its own poison. Scores of such instances are quoted in daily life. The writer has been seriously assured as to the truth of this practice by people whose integrity* he finds himself unable to question. The system is said to be fraught with danger to the snake concerned. After the operation, the snake, which generally falls into a stupor, is thrown into a vessel filled with milk and water in which some antidote is dissolved. In the course of a few hours the snake will have recovered.

In the purely *Mantric* or *Dhyana* process, the *Bhishak* does not even need a sight of the patient. He only demands particulars of the name, age, and star of nativity, of the subject. The *Bhishak* lights a lamp and begins to chew betel and recite his mantras, when little by little the poison declines. The writer has come across a few of such instances, but whether the *Dhyana* had anything to do with the cure he is not able to pronounce. The treatise *Kalavanchakam* referred to above is based on *Dhyana* or exorcism exclusively.

Before our Criminal Codes became so stringent, there were some really dreadful practices current. In exceptional cases an incision

* Unhappily 'integrity' is not the only factor which should be taken into consideration in estimating the value of such personal evidence. The intellectual capacity of the individuals in sifting facts from fancies, in weighing evidence to satisfy the the strictest scientific requirements, has oftentimes more to do with the probative value of their testimony than is commonly supposed.—[Ed. M. Q. R.]

is made in the head, a globule of medicine inserted and the incision closed up. A coarse saucer is next placed over the covered-up wound, and a stream of scalding medicated oil poured in, till the subject sweats in every pore and recovers (or succumbs). A piece of burning charcoal was sometimes placed on the head of the subject. Instances of the bitten part, if a finger or toe, being burnt up is quite an ordinary occurrence. Suffocation too was practised as a cure, the subject being held under water. Whatever claims our *Bhishaks* might put forward to the superior sanctity of their *mantras* they are not often found to discard the use of medicine in actual practice. As regards *mantras* and medicines alike, strict secrecy is enjoined and observed. Many of our Snake-charmers are known to possess special knowledge regarding the efficacy of diverse roots and herbs. Such knowledge becomes hereditary in the family. There is a special caste in Malabar,—the Kakkalars,—one branch of whose hereditary occupation is the catching and taming of snakes. A remarkable aspect about our *Bhishaks* is that they never receive remuneration for their services. The offer of a fee is regarded as an unmitigated insult and the acceptance a sin. So that it cannot be suggested that any deception is being wilfully kept up. A *Bhishak* in Malabar is generally a centre of attraction for the marvellous. Indians have never been open to the charge of barrenness of imagination. And with a subject of unlimited potentialities before them, the sons of Malabar are not likely to bring discredit on their nationality. Hopeless indeed is the task of him who attempts to detach fact from fiction. A Bhishak of the writer's acquaintance is prepared to stake anything, that with his *mantras* he will induce a kite *(Garuda)* flying in the heavens to come down and swoop off with a refractory snake. Another promises to make a mungoose do the same. The Nambudris of Pampoommakat in the Cochin State are believed to be the hereditary guardians of the snake-community. If a snake pit is found near a dwelling house, the Nambudri is appealed to and straight away he issues a mandate to the snakes to clear off. (That an orthodox Hindu will never harm a snake, goes without saying). Groves and woods are never cleared without the sanction of a member of that Illom. The Nambiathis of Mannarassalay, who own one of the most famous serpent-temple and groves in Malabar,

who fondle and make pets of serpents, are believed to be immune from snake-poison.

Stories might be multiplied, romantic, freezing and indifferent. Even as it is it may be pointed out on the one hand that we are past the age when such stuff might find credence amongst rational beings. The new spiritualists, on the other hand, attuned by nature and study to find, "books in running brooks and sermons in stones," might find something occult in such matters. It is hoped however that a dispassionate study of snake-bite, and the methods of cure, might repay the time and attention bestowed.

R. KULATHU AIYAR.

Legislation and Social Reform—A Reply.

By Mr. S. Ramanath Aiyar, F. S. Sc., M. R. A. S.

PERMIT me to offer a few remarks on some of the points raised by Messrs T. R. Pillai and G. Raman Menon in their rejoinders * to my paper on the above subject. The former confines his remarks less to the question of legislation in relation to reform than the other points with which he deals. The latter dwells more on the question of legislation and is less concerned with the other points in respect of social reform. It is convenient to follow the former first as regards some of the general points to which he calls attention and then take up the question of legislation in answer to both. Mr. Pillai starts with "a doubt as to whether I am in favour of reform" and, instead of reviewing me in my own position, creates a fictitious position for me by the unwarranted assumption that I am "not a promoter of or sympathiser with the movement for social reform, if not a positive reactionist." I need hardly state that my attitude is *not* that of an advocate committed to a side. To regard my attitude as such is a thorough misunderstanding, if not a deliberate distortion, of my views. Even a casual perusal of my paper will not fail to convince all except those who are wilfully blind, that I do not shut my eyes to the numerous evils that eat into the vitals of Hindu society and that I fully recognize the value, the necessity and the expediency of reform in several directions. My quarrel is only with the absurd attempt to lay the train for any social explosion, whether the attempt be in the nature of legislation or any form of activity as provocative agent of the present-day passion for reform at any cost, irrespective of consequences. I hold that adventitious stimuli or hot-house pressure of any sort will serve only to excite into fury the passions and prejudices of a thousand years. In other words, I set my face against "the method of rebellion" so aptly termed and vigorously denounced by the late Mr. Justice Ranade whose life was one noble record of glorious exertions for the regeneration of India's teeming millions. "The method of rebellion" has

* Vide the *Malabar Quarterly Review* for December 1908.

had its due share of vigorous denunciation from all true lovers of social reform. Mr. Pillai himself does not seem to favour this belligerent process, for, conscious of the evil effects of causing any rude shock to the existing state of things, he too advocates the adoption of "*gentle* measures such as those of personal example, mild persuasion, gentle advice, cool reasoning and dispassionate remonstrance" as some of the varied means to be employed for carrying out reform. Does he not therefore run full tilt against himself when, in spite of my unmistakable but different expression of the same sentiment—that "any forced upheaval, even if possible, is calculated to give a fresh momentum for the downward move"—he seeks to establish that we belong to opposite camps? Is not the cloven hoof of contradiction clearly discernible when arrogating to himself the pretensions of a champion of social progress, he assigns to me the part of "a positive re-actionist," both the arrogation as well as the assignment having for their common basis the adherence to the same principles of reform? It is gratifying, however, that Mr. Menon takes a different view and admits me into the "reformist's camp."

Again to explain the conditions in which the orthodox section of the people finds themselves is no more "upholding conservatism or championing social stagnation" than the exposition of the views of the liberal section is a plea for what Mr. Pillai describes as "the redemption of humanity from the flames of eternal hell." Explanations are surely no "remedies" and it is a gross blunder to take them as such. On the other hand, they are very essential to the gauging of the exact situation of affairs whether in religion, society or politics. Prof. J. Sully says:—"The intellectual progress of mind commonly takes the form of a triple movement:—(1) the assertion of a partial truth; (2) there-action from this to the affirmation of the complementary half-truth; (3) a synthesis of the two partial truths in a more adequate conception." It was in view of such an adequate conception that I chose the method I followed in the treatment of the subject and it was for the same reason that I urged strongly that "the 'rush-forwards' and the 'let-alones' should approach each other, blend together and work in hearty fellowship." Resort should be had to all courses that would possibly give a wide view of all circumstances so indispensable for an adequate conception of our exact situation. This is especially

the case because as warned by a powerful European writer on Indian affairs, "most of the critic's weapons in this country are borrowed from the English arsenal and phrases which express the national growth in England are hurled at men and institutions of India as if they were certain to tell upon Indian Society with the *same effect*." History alone will disclose the conditions of the soil in which those central ideas have taken root and their suitability for transplantation in other climes. To history therefore one has to appeal both for the ascertainment of the conditions of social life as well as for the applicability of the fundamental laws of social progress. I am pleased to find that Mr. Pillai recognises the soundness of this principle and turns to history, while he discards my statement that "in India the Church got the better of the State in the struggle between the two." But does he not betray himself into astounding ignorance of the facts of history, when he makes the erroneous assertion that "history has not revealed to us of (sic!) any very serious struggle in India between the church and the state." Is not the ancient history of India covered by a long period of protracted rivalries for supremacy between the ruling and the priestly classes? What else do the stories of Vena, Nahusha, Nimi, Sudas and a host of other kings reveal? Is not the animosity between Viswamitra and Vasishta a reflection of the struggle between the priestly and the secular power? Who, that knows anything of the history of the Kshatriyas and Brahmins, knows not that it was a period of struggle for supremacy between the two? What do the twenty-one memorable excursions of Parasurama for the extirpation of the Kshatriya aristocracy indicate, save the preponderating ascendancy of the Indian priests and their influence in society? With the feudal system at the apex, the kings asserted their supremacy in Europe where during the middle ages similar struggles for supremacy between the Church and the State have taken place. In India, things took a different turn. The priests acquired a monopoly of privilege and influence which they were not slow to utilize in the building up of society. Such being the case, does not Mr. Pillai cut the ground from off his feet and make a wreck of himself by setting at defiance the authentic facts of history? Facts, as old Burton said, are stubborn things which can neither be brushed aside nor blinked out of

existence. Remarks that are the outcome of an audacious defiance of facts cannot claim to rise above the level of the ridiculous chatter of irresponsible frivolity. No wonder that such remarks often debouch and degenerate into a despicable swagger in utter scorn of "reverence for the past" and "loyalty to its traditions." Now, a full significance of the past course of history should always be borne in mind in examining the merits of our social condition lest the zeal to renovate it be misled into the absurdity of grafting mangoes on apples. The late Mr. Justice Ranade, the acknowledged champion of the reform party, preaches the Gospel of sanity and caution in the following memorable words :—"We have one continuous stream of life flowing past us and we must accept as valid the acts which were noted in the past and on the principles of the past and seek to turn the stream with a gentle bend here, a gentle bend there, to fructify the land. We can not afford to dam it up altogether or force it into a new channel. It is this circumstance which constitutes the moral interest of the struggle and the advice so frequently given—that we have only to shake our bonds free and they will fall off themselves—is one which mature and larger experience seldom supports. We cannot break with the past altogether; with our past we should not break altogether, for it is a rich inheritance and we have no reason to be ashamed of it." He goes on to say that while respecting the past we must ever seek to correct the parasitical growth that have encrusted it and suckled the life out of it and exhorts the social reformers "to seek their inspiration in the best traditions of our own past and adjust the relations of the past with the present in a spirit of mutual forbearance." To revere the past and to be loyal to its traditions is surely not to shut one's eyes to the defects of our ancestors. To denounce such reverence and loyalty is mischievous and ill-advised and equally opposed to historic reason and patriotic sentiment. It is no part of wisdom to eschew the sincere and solid support of society at large. Reform is not for the educated and enlightened few. It is for the backward many. Not that the former need it *less*, but the latter *more*. To suppose that, since a few among the educated few are prepared for reform, therefore the whole society is ripe or prepared for it is to cherish a delusion. It is manifestly an unserviceable hobby

to assume that the majority of the people are inherently vicious or incapable of reform and to brush them aside and resort to a method of coercive detachment from them, under the mistaken delusion of the misapplied maxim.

"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

Sir Subramoney Aiyar truthfully observes:—"Even under the most provocative circumstances you should not say it is impossible to get on with this old community. Let us form a new community. You become a new caste and have a new marriage law enacted in statute book. But so far as the cruel customs you complain of and so far as the relief of the oppressed are concerned, you will not be able to do any good." This is neither cant nor any device for inaction. The zealous party that rush forward in the mist of self-deceit that they carry the world with them, whether it will move or not, and the party jealous of such clumsy haste but blindly asking one to wait till the whole world moves, are both stolidly impervious to the true significance and application of the progressive ideals that have come to us with Western education and civilization. It is not upon violence that the most lasting monuments of victory have been reared. Ignorance of this betrays abject inability to distinguish between reform and revolution. To seek the help of legislation for every item in the programme of reform or to use it as a weapon of coercion is really disastrous. I do not denounce legislative help wholesale. What I stated in my paper was that "to compel people by legislation to accept notions however uncongenial to them would only convulse society." Mr. Pillai is obviously guilty of monstrous misrepresentation when he asserts that I "positively eschew the attempt to set in motion the wheels of legislative machinery for safe-guarding social interests." I shall now turn to Mr. Menon's remarks. It will be seen from the foregoing that my views coincide with those of Mr. Menon. He says that "one who is familiar with the principles of social science will be the last person to call for undue Government interference in any matter." So far, we sail in the same boat. All that I mean to point out and lay emphasis upon in my statement which Mr. Menon makes the basis of his theories and arguments, is simply the pernicious effects of calling for the aid of legislature for anything

and everything in and out of season. It will be singularly appropriate and advantageous in this connection to focus the views prevailing among the leaders of the social reform movement.. In his presidential address at the fifth session of the Indian Social Conference Mr. Khaparde says:—"I am against legislation, first because I believe in the maxim that reform should begin from within, secondly because it creates opposition for opposition's sake and thirdly because it destroys the self-acting machinery which we wish to create in our society. But where this is not possible or has been found by trial impracticable, then and then only I go in—and go in with zest—for legislation." The Honorable Rai Bahadur Ram Kali Chaudhuri who presided at the sixth session holds the following views:—"We should avoid state-help in introducing reforms in social life. This mode is calculated to bring about evils of other kinds and tends to retard progress. We are only to avail ourselves of the social force that will be created along with the formation of the public opinion." Dewan Norendra Nath expressed himself thus in his presidential address at the seventh conference:—"The magnitude of the evil to be suppressed has to be weighed against the evils inseparable from employing legislation as remedy. Whether it is possible to create public opinion in our favour and to achieve by exhortation and advice what would otherwise be attained by more stringent measures, whether it is worth our while to abandon self-help and to reduce ourselves one step further as automatons in the hands of Government are questions which we should put ourselves before deciding to seek the help of legislation. There is however no touchstone which we can employ as a test to distinguish the evils to a suppression of which legislation can be directed, from other evils." Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar is of the following opinion:—"The social controversies of the last 16 years and more have satisfied many members of the party of progress who were first disposed to welcome outside help, particularly that of Government, that any proffer of such help or any demand for it, far from furthering the cause of progress, distinctly retards it by injuring the susceptibility of the people and rousing their suspicion. The change can be effected by the community alone. No compulsion from outside is feasible or desirable." Mr. Justice Ranade, whose whole life was devoted to the service of

our country, lays down the following principle. "I agree with my friend Mr. Manomohan Ghose in the view that social reform is eminently a question in which we must work for ourselves, and by ourselves, but there is one limitation to this freedom, viz., that where as in the case of the Age of Consent, as also in respect of the execution of restitution decrees and the disabilities of married widows, the law itself has laid down certain undesirable restrictions, a change in the law can alone remove the evil complained of. Manomohan Ghose is too good a lawyer not to be aware of this limitation. In regard to all other matters, the present programme of the Conference is to work out the changes proposed by organising and educating public opinion." The late Mr. Ananda Charlu, one of the most plain spoken men, who was for a long time a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and whose opinion both as an eminent lawyer and an ardent social reformer is bound to carry considerable weight puts the whole matter in a clear, trenchant and convincing manner:—"I wish to emphasise that I desire no legislation under this or any other head of our internal economy. In the first place, it is next to impossible to get the bulk of our legislators, who can have our keenness on such points, to realise how dreadfully earnest we are on them. At best, they will give us the half-hearted help which is the *sine qua non* of good-natured and soft-hearted souls who cannot bring themselves to say a brutal nay. In the next place, we must despair of achieving any good on matters in which the Government are not interested, under a system of legislation which seeks for none and swears by none but high-placed official and officialised voices and ears and therefore hears not murmurs and spies not muddles on lower, plebeian planes—which makes no provision for taking evidence to gauge the public feeling as in the case of the recent Malabar Marriage Act—and which is resolved to get through the largest amount of cut-and-dry law-making, within the shortest space of time. Let us further note and take warning from the mode the work was done by the good souls who passed the Widow Marriage Act. All honour to them and may God and man bless their memory! For all that, who can fail to detect that, in their overflowing sympathy, they gave us a law, which, in their nervous fear of bringing a hornet's nest about their eyes, they managed, as it were, to

render quite abortive. They were between the devil and the deep sea and they contrived to scuttle out of the job, offering solatium to one side or administering solace to the other side to the question. But they either forgot or conveniently ignored how the dullest person believes that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. That they should have ever seriously persuaded themselves into hoping that matrimonially-disposed widows would begin with giving up the certainty of present possession for a problematic prospect of being no worse, would be incredible without a pile of affidavits in support. In putting our houses in order, we might therefore take a warning not only from that piece of legislation but also—if I may say so, without the risk of being misunderstood as pleading for my little bantling—from the manner the ill-conceived and ill-framed Pagoda Act came into being—an Act which has stood untouched, notwithstanding that it has been an unremedied scandal for nearly two score years, without raising a single, solitary beat of official pulse at the frightful spoliation of property, innocently but piously endowed for charity to man and service to God—though to a "heathen" man and to a "heathen" God."

The significance of these extracts and their bearing on the question of legislation in relation to social reform are so plain that every reader will make them out for himself.

S. RAMANATH AIYAR.

The Two Primary Requisites of Nation-building:

PATRIOTISM AND ORGANISATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE political *summum bonum* of India, whether it be absolute self-government or modified autonomy, can best be obtained only by a gradual evolution of such a government from the existing autocratic or bureaucratic form of the Indian Administration. Naturally therefore Indian Political Progress has to depend upon the harmonious co-operation of two elements, in the absence of either of which complete success therein need not be hoped for. They are (i) the *de facto* government and (ii) the people. Indeed these two elements are so largely and so minutely interconnected that it is almost impossible to conceive of either as existing and working in isolation. The cry of the extreme wing of Indian Political thinkers, who advocate self-help, to leave Government severely alone is accordingly a meaningless, not to say mischievous, one. Nor is the attitude of certain Anglo-Indians of the strident Imperialistic brand, who advocate 'martial Law and no damned nonsense' as if there were none on the other side to count with, less open to objection. Both extremes, as we have so often seen elsewhere, are at fault in that each has signally failed to take stock of the views and capabilities of the other.

Confining our remarks to the popular side alone, we have first to dispose of the objection that there should not be any co-operation of the people with the government. In settling this question, we shall have to take into account three classes representing three shades of political opinion: (i) the mendicants (ii) the moderate self-helpers and (iii) the militant self-helpers. While the first class depends solely on the government for the amelioration of its present condition and also for its ultimate political salvation, the third is determined to have none of it. What the one class seeks at the hands of the rulers, the other is bent upon spurning disdainfully and casting away as so much trash—in words if not in reality. The intermediate body of moderate self-helpers, who are fully alive to the value of self-help in the moral equipment of an individual and of a

nation, seek to supplement self-help by a judicious pursuit of external aid. In their view, a rational system of self-help does by no means preclude help from others. It is one thing to whine and beg for others' help where you can help yourself, and another to accept the good which is proffered voluntarily and which is moreover beyond your reach. If the one who depends solely on others deserves to be branded as a lazy scamp, the other who scornfully rejects the proffered good is little better than a demented cynic. The arguments, that are generally trotted out by the extreme self-helpers, are that acceptance of extraneous help is not conducive to the development of character and that it oftentimes leads to disappointment. Now, even development of character is a means to an end and not an end in itself; if development of character is to be got by the sacrifice of individual well-being and social progress, surely the game is not worth the candle. As for occasional disappointments, few can deny the melancholy fact that uncertainty is an inevitable shadow which dogs the footsteps of every human undertaking. Even the most assiduous pursuit of self-help will fail to get rid of this insistent factor. Further, the edifice of extreme self-help rests on the assumption that co-operation is a lower phase of social existence which is in fact the very opposite of truth. That, which distinguishes the savage, the semi-savage, and the civilized types of humanity, is the utter want of co-operation in the first, co-operation for hostile purposes alone in the second, and co-operation for the cultivation of peaceful arts and industries in the third. Taking the foregoing facts into consideration, we have no hesitation in saying that the only rational method is the method of co-operation with the government in the introduction and working out of such reforms as tend towards national progress, aye even towards administrative improvement.

If, however, by co-operation with the government the people and their leaders really intend shirking off their paramount duty of building up the national fabric on secure and solid foundations then such a co-operation would be anything but a blessing in the long run. If, further, such a co-operation were with a government pledged to the eternal degradation of the subject population committed to its charge it would amount to a crime from the very start. But is the British Indian Government, taken as a whole and in the main, so selfish

and so shortsighted as to hold India's all-round degradation as the ideal to be attained? Who could ever lay at its door such a political blindness, such a stupendous folly? Selfishness in certain branches of public policy and shortsightedness in a few isolated cases are things quite compatible with the beneficent character of the work of evolving order out of chaos which the British Indian Government has been doing in our midst. It is on the anvil of such a foreign Government that the Indian Nation is being hammered and welded into soliditary and shape. Let us, therefore, instead of simply cavilling at this or that defect in the existing system turn our attention to a question of the supremest moment, the question of nation building, in which each individual, even the meanest, has his allotted task to perform.

The various nations of the world, which have emerged from primitive barbarism into the political state may be seen to fall under three well-defined groups: (1) Rigorous Despotism, where the ruler or rulers care for their own interests merely, (ii) Parental or Beneficent Despotism, where the ruler or rulers for the most part identify their interests with those of the people and (iii) Constitutional Government, where the people are the real rulers by the virtue of imposing a constitution on the nominal ruling body. The first is the lowest, the second, the middling, the third, the highest form of Government yet evolved by man. The third is the highest group because in comparison with the other two, it is more *progressive* and more *stable*. It is highly instructive to see, in this connection, how political stationariness and instability have been brought about in the case of the first two groups and also to inquire what steps we shall have to take to get rid of these signs of political nonage or it may be the fore-runners of political decadence. Glancing at the three groups, once again, we come to understand that *Patriotism* and *Organisation* are entirely absent in the first group, are present only in a rudimentary form in the second, and are in a most developed condition and in full working order in the third. The natural tie of race, language and religion is the only tie which binds the members into a political society in the first, the 'political instinct,' the 'sense of political rights and responsibilities,' the 'sense of co-operation for political purposes', the 'sense of public duty', the

'feeling of duty towards the state', the 'national feeling', the 'love of one's country', 'patriotism'—for all these terms signify the same thing—being entirely absent in them. Wanting the political sense of co-operation and the opportunity for its exercise which they cannot expect at the hands of a despotic ruler, they naturally lacked political organisation of any sort in their midst. In the second group, however, in addition to the natural bonds of union mentioned above, we have the sense of common glory and common danger—a nascent political sense—which drives the people to identify themselves with the fortunes of their beneficent rulers and brings about their combination at least for offensive and defensive purposes though not for guiding the internal administration of the state in the right channel. Consequently, their political organization too is of the most imperfect order, having very little to do with the every-day administration of the state except paying taxes and making prayers for the redress of grievances. In the third group, the individuals, in spite of distinctions of race, language or religion, are held together by a keener sense of political duty and political right, a sense which gets strengthened day by day, by constant exercise. Such exercise of political rights necessarily generates political organizations of an elaborate kind, which in turn safe-guard those political rights. The decreasing scale of political stationariness and political instability as we advance from the lowest to the highest group has been clearly due to the increasing incidence of the subjective cause, Patriotism, and of the objective cause, Organisation. The fulness of corporate life or life as a nation can be attained only by Patriotism, a sense of public duty which places the interests of the individual after the interests of the nation, and by Organisation, which sets the individuals in definite places carrying with them definite rights and responsibilities. The one supplies the motive power and the other, the instrument, whereby alone can the end of fulness of national life be attained sooner or later.

That these are the two primary requisites of Nation-building may also be inferred from the familiar, even trite, analogy between the individual organism and the social organism so well illustrated by many a political philosopher and sociologist. In the individual organism, the cell-life is subordinated to and merged in the corporate life.

Each cell contributes its quota to the general life and itself thrives on such a contribution. If it turns out injurious to corporate life, or in some instances even useless, it is thrust out of the colony of cells called an organism and replaced by other cells more fit for the work. From this biological fact we may infer the sociological truth that individuals who go to form a political society are each one of them bound not only to look after their own safety and welfare but also to ensure the safety and welfare of the society to which they belong. More than this, each individual will feel convinced by an impartial study of the conditions of human happiness that ultimately individual well-being hinges upon social well-being and an intelligent pursuit of the former presupposes a consideration for the latter, in the absence of which the other is bound to become a wild goose chase or worse still, a following of Will o' the Wisp. Again, in the individual organism, we see advancing differentiation of functions has necessitated a concomitant differentiation of organs of increasing complexity and these organs are connected with one another by a closer bond of union than mere local propinquity. Homogeneous structures are gradually replaced by heterogeneous ones and this heterogeneity instead of destroying the connection amongst the various component parts has only added to its strength and intimacy. In like manner, in the social organism too, more complex organisations should be taken as betokening completer life and furthering the stability and progress of it as a whole.

Having thus seen that the inductive generalisation previously arrived at by a comparison of human societies receives a deductive confirmation from the laws of life and conditions of organic existence it remains for us to apply it in the case of India. It is needless to observe, we think, that India of to-day, India under the British sway, comes under the second group of benevolent despotism. It is vastly superior to the kind of despotism wielded by the Muhammadan rulers; but falls, of course, very much short of the ideal of Constitutional Government. The duty which devolves upon the rulers and the ruled alike is just to assist at the birth of such a Constitutional Government, in this ancient land. Manifold experiments have been tried, through many long centuries and by different hands and yet in not one of them did they succeed in evolving a Constitutional

Government in India. Possibly it is because of this very isolation of the people from Government, that Governments have come and gone in quick succession "leaving not a wrack behind" to bear their melancholy message to later generations. The finger of Destiny, which has hitherto propelled India through Political vicissitudes of bewildering variety, must continue to propell it further till it reaches a condition of political existence wherein progress and stability would equally be ensured. It would not do to talk as though constitutional Government would not strike root in the Asiatic soil. That would be arrogating to oneself a power greater than Nature's to understand Nature's capacity and incapacity. Moreover, events too of recent Asiatic History have proved the utter baselessness of such *a priori* assumptions. Leaving that apart, we have to consider how far the general body of the Indian Nation possesses these indispensable virtues of patriotism and organisation and how far it brings them to bear on all public questions of national importance. We shall reserve such consideration for a subsequent paper.

Reviews and Notices.

Sundari: An Indian story in four chapters by Mr. T. S. Rama Sastri, printed by Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Mount Road, Madras and published by Mr. N. Narasimham, Book-seller and Stationer, Central Depot, Berhampore. Price As. 2.

Mr. T. S. Rama Sastri needs no introduction to the readers of this Review. In this short novelette he has depicted the conflict between the old and new ideals of Indian social life, Sundari, the heroine, standing as a type of new womanhood and Krishnan, her lover being "one of those perverted orthodox persons who failed to march with the times." At first we fail to see what reason Sundari, 'the clever girl' 'the envy of her companions' 'the cynosure of all the promenaders of the beach' could have had to fix her affections upon one who had nothing but contempt for her except the old one of "Love is blind and lovers cannot see." But Krishnan makes ample amends, for the scorn in which he held the 'charming young woman' for her "native christian" dress and "anglicised manners," by marrying her—a poor forlorn orphan and widow,—after his return from England. He, the full-blown barrister, becomes an out-and out anglicised man himself so much so that "many took him actually to be a sun-burnt European from his dress, speech and manners." Indeed the dashing manner in which he proposes to marry the meek Sundari leaves her but one answer. She interposes:—"But I am poor. And we shall be doing something uncouth by marrying each other" "Ah, devil take people and what they say!" cried Krishnan. "We shall be husband and wife and there is nothing wrong in that."

"Be it so" murmured the girl.

"Godward Ho!" (compiled from Annie Besant and Herbert Spencer) By Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Aiya, B. A., B. L., F. T. S Printed by Messrs. V. Govindon and Brothers at Shri Vidya Vinodini Press, Tanjore. Price two annas or two pence.

Under the above heading N. K. Ramaswami Aiya, B. A., B. L., F. T. S., High Court Vakil and Member, Advaita Sabha, Tanjore & Rationalist Press Association, London has published his last work which he says in his preface is the net result of his comparative

study of Science, Philosophy and Religion from 1830 up to date *i. e.* for a period of nearly 30-years. The present work contains 300 pages divided into 3 parts. Part I. deals with (1) Science, Philosophy and Religion (2) Evolution and Involution (3) Astronomy (4) Geology (5) Biology (6) Psychology (7) Sociology (8) Ethics (9) Universe ultimately resolvable into Matter and Energy (10) Matter and Energy inseparable (11) Indestructibility of Matter and Energy (12) Homogeneity of Matter and correlation of forces (13) How energy affects Matter (14) Matter and Energy ultimately indistinguishable (15) Spirit and Matter, the aspects of the one absolute Reality and (16) Brain waves and Human Personality. The contents of Part II are (17) The world's Religions (18) Theosophy, the common basis of Religions (19) Hinduism (20) Vedanta, the Philosophy of the Upanishads (21) Brahman (22) Ishvara (23) Jivatmas (24) Wheel of Births and Deaths (25) Exoteric cult (26) Yoga (27) Bhagavadgita, a Yoga Shastra (28) Yoga of Unity (29) Three-fold Yoga (30) Jnana Yoga (31) Bhakti Yoga (32) Karma Yoga (33) Nature of Yoga (34) Yoga as science and (35) Yoga as practice. Part III is devoted to (36) Religion, Sociology and Politics. The first part is compiled from Hudson's "Introduction to Herbert Spencer's Philosophy" and from the author's article on the "Religion of Science" published in the "East and West" (Bombay, India), February 1909, which is almost a copy of a pamphlet that he sent to Herbert Spencer just before his death and with reference to which he wrote to the author that he was glad to find a philosophy in India akin to his own. In that book the author compared Herbert Spencer's Religio—Scientific Philosophy of Monism with the Advaita Vedanta of Shri Shankara and the Theosophy of Annie Besant. The second Part of the present work is compiled from Annie Besant's Lectures on "Four great Religions" "Religious Problem in India," "Upanishads," "Bhagavad Gita" and "Yoga." The Third part is compiled from her Lectures on Theosophy in relation to Human Life." The conclusion of the author is that one who adopting the Philosophy of Science accepts Theosophy-the Religion of Science as the best working hypothesis and tries to realize in life the Unity of all by constantly meditating on and Practising it (the pranava Aum, the best symbol of the One Unmanifest Absolute Reality, may be well used for the purpose. A, which represents the

first sound symbolizing matter, U, which represents the middle sound, symbolizing spirit and M, which represents the last sound, symbolizing the manifested God, whose two inseparable aspects are spirit and matter) is in the words of Edger surely on the spiritual path, for salvation depends not on the externals but on the internals of Religion, though form is necessary for those who are not strong enough to retain the spirit. The author interprets A U M to mean May we realize the Unity of All and Vande Mataram to mean Hail! Mother-Earth! May we thy children realize our Brotherhood. The book is priced purposely low at two Annas or two Pence a copy (postage extra) so that it may be within the reach of all. Copies can be had from the author or from the publishers, Messrs. V. Govindan & Brothers, Shri Vidya Vinodini Press, Tanjore. (Madras. India).

The Tenth Annual Report (1908) of the Rationalist Press Association, Limited, London.

Dr. G. N. Roy of Rajamundry, the local Secretary of the Rationalist Press Association, has kindly favoured us with a copy of the Annual Report of that body for the year 1908. It is a very interesting document and shows what solid results the well-directed enthusiasm of a few thinkers could achieve in the by no means popular field of Rationalism. The objects of the R. P. A. should in themselves secure for it wider patronage and more substantial sympathy from among the intellectual classes of society than is now the case and they are in the words of the leaflet "to stimulate freedom of thought and inquiry in reference to religious beliefs and practices, to encourage popular interest in the physical sciences and the various branches of criticism and philosophy, as connected factors in progressive human culture which has no need of supernaturalistic assumptions, to re-issue, in cheap and convenient form, standard or notable books of a scientific critical, ethical or philosophical character, to assist in issuing the works of authors whose heterodoxy places them at a disadvantage in approaching the ordinary publishing firms, to promote a secular and ethical system of education the main object of which shall be to cultivate in the young moral and intellectual fitness for social and civic life, and to assist unifying human thought on the basis of experience logically analysed, and generally to assert the supremacy of

reason as the natural and necessary means to all such knowledge as man can achieve." Very few we think except mystics and those who have lost faith in human reason will fail to subscribe to these laudable objects. The progress of the Association during the past year measured by the increase of its members and o its funds is a very encouraging feature, so many as 350 having joined the Society as members or as non-member subscribers. Turning to the publications we see that in addition to the numerous six-penny reprints and pamphlets nearly half a dozen original works have been brought out among which the *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake* by Mr. Joseph McCabe deserves prominent mention. The platform Propaganda too seems to have received some, though not adequate, attention during the year, Mr. Joseph McCabe, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner and Mr. J. M. Robertson being the only speakers who have assisted the Society in this direction. The slender work turned out in this line is not however due to any lack of exertions on the part of the Association, but to "the great difficulty in obtaining speakers to meet Rationalists on the platform." This indeed is significant. It indicates to some extent the utter heplessness of those who relinquish reason and rely on a fancied faculty of higher validity to help them in searching after truth in any branch of human inquiry.

The Tamilian Antiquary, No. 3. *Some Mile-stones in the History of Tamil Literature or the Age of Tirujnana Sambandha, by the late Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., with an introduction by Rai Bahadur V. Venkkayya, M. A., Published by the T. A: Society.* Price As. 8.

We have to thank the Tamilian Archæological Society for bringing out a reprint of Prof. Sundaram Pillai's *Some Mile-stones in the History of Tamil Literature.* The work itself dealing with an important epoch in the history of the Tamils deserves to pass through many more editions and that in a eheaper form. Add to this the interesting and convincing manner in which the late Professor has presented his facts and figures for the determination of the age of one of the most prominent characters in the religious history of Southern India, the utility of the republication is indeed indisputable. The charge has been levelled, many a time and oft, against the Indian intellect, that it is utterly lacking in Historic instinct and that it is fitter by natural bent to lose itself in pure speculation than

to plod along in the dry-as-dust investigation of natural facts. Whatever be the truth underlying such a charge as regards ancient India, that it has little application to Indian intellects trained in the methods we associate with the higher branches of English education, is more than evident by the work before us. Herein we have a striking example of an Indian Scholar coming out successful in a controversy in which he has been pitted against one of the most renowned of Western Orientalists: Dr. Caldwell. Not only has Mr. Sundaram Pillai proved the utter untenability of Dr. Caldwell's hypothesis of assigning Jnana Sambandha to the closing years of the thirteenth century A. D., but has brought forward an array of facts from the Tamil Sacred Literature, Sanscrit Antiquity and Epigraphy to establish that the Tamil Saint lived and laboured in the early years of 7th Century of the Christian era. We cannot better close our remarks than by re-iterating the wish and the hope expressed by the author in the very last sentence of the work before us: "Not in vain, however, would this long and laboured essay prove, should the date which it has all along sought to establish, be found to offer a foothold for scaling yet higher in the neglected antiquities of an undeniably ancient and interesting people."