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THE

Madras Review.

Vol. I. NOVEMBER 1895. No. 3.

OUR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE introduction of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 has been looked upon as one of the most interesting and important legislative experiments that have been made in India, and as a sufficiently long period—more than two years,—has elapsed since this important Act was passed, we are now in a position to form an opinion on the success of the experiment. The necessity for the improvement of the Indian Legislative Councils, has been pressed upon the attention of the Government year after year by the Indian National Congress, and the educated Indian public has looked upon the reconstitution of these Councils on a wider and a more representative basis as a most potent means of redressing the existing grievances. Many and varied were the changes that were expected to be effected by a thorough reform of these Councils. As a prominent Congress leader observed: "It is impossible to think of a domestic grievance or a matter of domestic complaint which will not be remedied if the constitution of the Councils were changed or remodelled according to our programme." It was hoped, for instance, that an effective check would be placed on the passing of ill-considered and objectionable laws. It was hoped that the reformed Councils would persuade the Government to carry out the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions, that they would insist on the wider employment of our men in the public service, and that they would even

produce a salutary effect on the incidence of the income-tax. It was hoped that attention would be drawn in Council to the various irregularities occurring in the Mofussil, in time to avert their mischief, and that, by these and other means, the whole administration would be popularized. It was also expected that to be called upon to take part in the affairs of the country, and discuss, with the sense of responsibility that power gives, public questions that have a direct bearing on the prosperity of the country, would prove an education in itself, and would tend to foster that sense of self-respect, without which we can never hope to become a nation, worthy of true political advancement. Let us see how far these expectations have been realized, or are likely to be realized, in the near future, under the working of the Indian Councils Act as it is at present carried out.

Though the need of reform of the Indian Legislative Councils has been pressed upon the attention of the authorities concerned ever since the educated community began to take a real, practical interest in Indian politics, yet it was only when the demand became too strong to be resisted that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed. It was in itself a very small measure of reform. The Act itself, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, did not embody the elective principle; It only paves the way for the adoption of that principle. The circumstances in the various provinces of India were so different that it was impossible for the House of Commons to formulate a satisfactory scheme, and it was, therefore, left to the Viceroy, in consultation with the various Provincial governments, to adopt a working scheme by which the Legislative Councils may be made partly representative. Considering the number of members that were allowed to enter the Councils by election, it was obvious that anything like an adequate representation of the various important interests was impossible. The House of Commons felt the difficulty, but though it did so, it expressed its views most clearly and emphatically on one point. Referring to the opinion of Lords Northbrook, Ripon and Dufferin, Mr. Gladstone said: "These men have entirely exempted themselves from whatever prejudices administration may have entailed on them, and they have distinctly and deliberately sanctioned the introduction of the elective principle. It is there that we stand upon solid ground, and Her Majesty's Government ought to understand that it will be regarded

as a most grave disappointment if after all the assurances we have received that an attempt will be made to bring into operation this powerful engine of Government there should not be some result such as we anticipate. I do not speak of its amount: I speak more of its quality." And again: "I believe we are justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but to a *real living representation of the people of India.*" Mr. Gladstone also said "my construction of the Under-Secretary's speech (I do not think it will admit of any other construction) is that it implies that, in the opinion of the Government and of the House of Lords, a serious effort should be made to consider carefully those elements which, in the present condition of India, might furnish material for the introduction into the Councils of the elective principle." On behalf of the Conservative Government the Under-Secretary replied: "I need only say in conclusion that I entirely accept the statement of the right honorable gentleman as to the objects with which this Bill is introduced." These assurances and pledges made in the House of Commons during the discussions on the Indian Councils Bill, place beyond all doubt the fact that the members who sit in the Council as representatives must be really elected, in the sense that they do not owe their seats directly or indirectly to the Government, but to the people or any section thereof, to whom they are liable to account for their conduct in the Council.

This view was accepted by the Government of India. The Viceroy quoted with approval, in his speech on the Constitution of the Legislative Councils, the following words of Mr. Gladstone: "I am not disposed to ask of the Governor-General or of the Secretary of State that they shall at once produce large and imposing results. What I wish is that their first step shall be of a genuine nature, and that whatever scope they give to the elective principle shall be real."

It is in the light of this view so emphatically insisted upon by Mr. Gladstone and accepted by the Government of India that we now propose to examine the rules framed by the Indian Government and the Government of Madras to regulate the Constitution of the Madras Legislative Council. Under the Act there are twelve non-official seats at the disposal of the Government, seven

alone of these have been thrown open to election. To the other five seats, the Governor himself retains the power of nominating members for the purpose of securing a fair representation of the classes who are in his view not represented by the elected members.

In passing, we would note that the Mahomedan community is supposed to be worthily represented by a gentleman, who is for all practical purposes, ignorant of the English language, and the great landlord class by a Maharaja, who is disowned as its representative by the Landlord's Association, and who, as far as in him lay, has in Council always supported the official interest in opposition to that of his class.

The seven seats thus thrown open to election are distributed among the following bodies :—

(*a*) The Corporation of Madras ; (*b*) such Municipalities or groups of them as the Governor may prescribe ; (*c*) such District Boards as may be prescribed ; (*d*) such association or associations of merchants, manufacturers or tradesmen as may be prescribed ; (*e*) The Senate of the Madras University.

Now, it will be found that two out of the seven seats have been specifically assigned by the Viceroy to the Corporation of Madras and to the Senate of the University. In the case of the Corporation of Madras we have representation in a certain measure. For though the Chairman of the Municipality is a Government nominee and a few of the members are nominated by the Government, they are not strong enough to return their own candidate. But the Senate of the University of Madras, fails entirely in this respect. It is practically a European body, for although it consists of about 140 members only about forty are natives ; and in the governing body of the Senate there is only one native. The two elections that have already taken place have shown that the results are such as do not meet the wishes of the graduates or the native members of the University. So far at least as Madras is concerned the University may be disenfranchised. The class of educated Indians must look elsewhere for representation. With reference to (*d*), the Governor in Council has authorized the Madras Chamber of Commerce to recommend one member for nomination. The Chamber is a purely European body as the members constituting it are all Europeans. The interests of the European merchants are, in

various important respects, in direct conflict with those of the native trading community. The prayer of the Landholder's Association to be allowed to recommend a member was disallowed on the plea of injustice to those who had not joined the Association, though the Chamber of Commerce, consisting only of Europeans, is allowed to nominate a representative for the trade of Southern India. This is an anomaly which stands in need of justification.

The four other seats available are distributed thus: The Presidency of Madras, excluding the capital, is divided into two groups of districts the Northern and the Southern. The Northern group, consisting of the 11 Northern Districts with an area of about 70,090 square miles, contains 25 Municipalities, and eleven District Boards; the Southern group, consisting of the 10 other Districts in the Presidency, with an area of about 52,000 square miles, contains 31 Municipalities and 10 District Boards. To the Northern group of Municipalities is awarded one seat and to the Southern group another. Similarly to the Northern group of the District Boards is awarded one seat and to the Southern group another. Each Municipality and each District Board must submit to the Government a statement containing two names, of which one is to be that of the person whom the Municipality or District Board proposes as candidate for nomination to the Legislative Council, while the other is to be that of the person whom the Municipality or District Board intends to appoint as its voting delegate. The voting delegates of all the Municipalities in each group are to meet together to elect a member for the Legislative Council from among the candidates proposed by the various Municipalities in that group. The voting delegates of the District Boards of each group are similarly to meet and elect a Member.

Do these rules satisfy the one condition on which alone we are prepared to accept the measure as an instalment of reform? Can these members so elected be regarded as the representatives of the people and outside Government influence? Though we regard the number of seats accorded to us as being very inadequate, we are here concerned at present more with the purity of the electorate, and with their independence of the official influence. We insist, and we have the support of the House of Commons on this point, that those who take their seats in the Council must be elected *entirely by the people*, as distinguished from the Government. Otherwise it would

detract from the independence and dignity of our representatives, enable the Government officials constantly to interfere against the popular candidate, and demoralize the constituencies as well as the candidates. It would enable hostile critics to point their finger of scorn at us for the poor results, due more to the nature of the rules and their unsympathetic working, than to any want of appreciation on the part of the people themselves of the privilege granted. Unless the voting delegates are, in the true sense of the term, representatives of the people, it can hardly be maintained that their nominee is a representative of the people. How can the voting delegates of the Municipalities and the District Boards be considered our representatives, if the Municipalities and the District Boards themselves are not representative? The District Board members are in some instances appointed by election by the Taluq Board, and some of the Taluq Board members are appointed by election by the members of the Punchayat. We have, therefore, to examine the constitution and the powers of the Municipalities, the District Boards, the Taluq Boards and the Punchayats.

We shall now deal, first with the Municipalities which are supposed to represent the urban population. The Governor in Council may, at any time, declare any town, village, hamlet, or bazaar to be a Municipality. Thus his powers of creation are unlimited. He may at any time, without cause shown, *cancel* such declaration and *dissolve* the Municipal Council. Hence a refractory Municipal Council may find itself non-existent in law at any time, and its fate would be a warning to other civic bodies if restive under official control. We are however glad to find that under the Bill, now before the Legislative Council, the Governor in Council has to record a statement of reasons for such cancellation. The power, however, is still vested finally in him. The Revenue officer in charge of the division of the district shall be *ex-officio* a Municipal Councillor, and it may be safely assumed that in the rural districts few members will care to contradict his views. The others may be either wholly appointed by the Governor in Council, or partly so appointed and partly appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Municipality, subject to such rules and conditions as may, from time to time, be prescribed—thus giving the officials such a control over the elections as would enable them to secure the election of their own

men. The Governor may also declare the proportion of the Municipal Councillors to be appointed by election. The officials therefore may at any time avoid the adequate representation of true public opinion when hostile to them. The Governor in Council has also the power to declare, the maximum number of Municipal Councillors, the proportion of elected members, and whether the Chairman shall be elected by the Council or appointed by himself; and such declaration may at any time be cancelled or modified. Accordingly, a Chairman elected by the Council, against official opposition, ceases to be the Chairman, when the Governor cancels the rule conferring the power of electing their Chairman under which he was elected. An elected Chairman is thus warned against contumacy. The new Bill before the Council goes further. Whether elected or otherwise, it was till now left to the Municipality to determine whether or not the Chairman was to receive any salary. A premium is now placed on his subserviency to officials by the proposal in the new Bill to empower the Governor in Council to remunerate him by monthly salary or otherwise, the salary of course being paid out of the Municipal funds. The Chairman's election itself takes place under rules and conditions framed by the Government, and it is not unusual for the Government to direct that an official of a certain grade should be elected. These powers are vast enough. But the Executive Government has conferred on the Governor in Council a power which interferes seriously with the autonomy of Municipal Government. The Governor in Council may at any time remove any Chairman or Municipal Councillor, if the latter's continuance in office is in his opinion dangerous to public peace or order. The history of the provision will be found in the protest of the Madras Congress Committee against creating Municipalities and Local Boards into an electorate. A riot broke out in the town of Salem, and an elected Municipal Councillor incurred the suspicion and displeasure of the Collector, "who terrorized by the unusual excitement of his surroundings," mistook the Councillor's honest endeavours to quell the tumult for incitement to further violence. On the Collector's *ex-parte* representation to the Government, the Councillor, without being called upon for an explanation, was removed from his office, under the provision of the then existing law which ran thus: ".....The Governor in Council may from time to time, remove any of such Commissioners for misconduct

or neglect of duty." The Government refused to assign any reason for its conduct in this particular case for dismissing the Councillor, though petitioned by him to do so. He sued the Government in the High Court for wrongful dismissal. The Government, declining to meet him on the question of fact, neither pleaded nor offered any evidence of misconduct or neglect of duty, but raised the issue of law that "an absolute discretion was vested in the Governor in Council to remove a Commissioner if he thought that the Commissioner had committed any act of misconduct or neglect, although in fact he had not." Judgment was pronounced against the Government on the 2nd May 1884, and on the 7th May the law was altered, and the Government was given the power for the possession of which they had unsuccessfully contended before the High Court; a Municipal Councillor may now be removed, if, as already stated, his presence is, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, dangerous *to public peace or order*; and further the Governor may prescribe a period during which a Councillor so removed shall not be eligible for re-appointment or re-election. A member may be thus dismissed and he may find himself excluded from re-election for a very long time without any reason being assigned to him, without the power of appeal to law, though his constituency may have full confidence in his ability and integrity. Public opinion, European and native, declared itself against this power of removal. The native non-official representative declared in the Council: "That clause is a veritable thunderbolt, or, at all events, is so understood by those who will have to enter the arena of Municipal self-Government, and for the success of this great and beneficient scheme it will be necessary to remove it from the Bill." The European non-official member protested that the provision "would prevent respectable men from serving on the Councils. For no man would take the risk of being removed unheard." But, in the face of this strong opposition, it was carried. The officials are not apparently satisfied with the powers of dismissal in cases of danger to public peace or order, and they, accordingly, propose under the new Bill, to take power to remove a member if his presence is, in the opinion of the Governor, *likely* to be injurious to the public efficiency of the Municipal Council, or to bring the Municipal Administration into contempt. Comment on this is unnecessary. If this new provision is rendered necessary on account of the increased inefficiency, as alleged by the Government

apologists, of the Municipal Council, it only justifies the gloomy forebodings of those non-official members, European and Native, who, with a far truer insight than that of the officials, foretold its effect as likely to result in preventing competent men from taking part in Municipal Administration. But, whatever the reasons may be, it is only one more step taken towards bringing Municipal Administration under complete official control.

We are aware of the usual arguments by which these provisions are supported. It has been said, for instance, that it would not be possible to weave into the texture of the Bill a set of rules that might suit the various Municipalities; that different constitutions are necessary for Municipalities differing widely in wealth and intelligence, and the provisions, therefore, should be sufficiently elastic, to allow of close supervision and control in the case of infant Municipalities. But it is a well known fact that no difference is recognized in Municipalities so far as official control is concerned,—the same control is exercised over Municipalities well advanced in wealth, intelligence and material prosperity, and long accustomed to the management of their own affairs, as is exercised over Municipalities newly formed and not fully developed. We are aware that the power of nominating a proportion of the Municipal Councillors is attempted to be justified on the ground that otherwise the interests of the minorities would suffer, though, as a matter of fact, this power is availed of by the Government for the entire disenfranchisement of the old Municipalities,—an exercise of power never asked for by the Government or intended by the legislature when the law was enacted.

These obnoxious provisions were passed in the teeth of the strong opposition offered by Native Associations and Societies. Curiously enough this "impatience of superior control" was declared by the Honorable Member in charge of the Bill to be due to a want of acquaintance with the principles of local administration, in other countries. Let it be noted however that there are other provisions under which Municipal Government is rendered perfectly innocuous, for example, the provision under which the officials may suspend the execution of any order of the Municipal Council or cancel such order, and may provide for the execution of any work at the expense of the Municipality—work which ought to have been carried out by the Municipality; and the Municipality may be directed to perform any duty which the officials wish to be carried

out. There is also a provision to the effect that the annual estimate of expenditure for the ensuing year should be submitted by the Municipality; and the orders of the Governor in Council, with reference to it, are binding on the Municipality.

The Council, as a body, being thus rendered impotent for mischief, we confess we fail to see any valid reason for the provisions we have above referred to, which places the Council, collectively, and the various members, individually, entirely under official control and influence.

The above provisions certainly seem to have been enacted to enable the Government to acquire an ascendancy of authority over Municipalities, as complete as is consistent with a decent outward compliance with the Viceregal mandate of Lord Ripon requiring the people to be invested with the privileges of Local Self-Government.

It is unnecessary for us here to discuss further the *rationale* of these provisions. Our object is merely to point out the exact nature of the bodies to whom the privilege of electing the representatives of the people have been conceded.

But the official apologist may say that though the rules empower the Government to interfere in, and to control, Municipal administration, yet that they are elastic enough to enable the Government to make Municipalities really representative bodies. Let us now examine the nature of their representative character.

Out of the twenty-five Municipalities in the northern group, ten consist wholly of members nominated by Government; and out of the thirty-one Municipalities in the southern group eleven consist wholly of such members. It was said in 1884, on behalf of the Government, that the Chairman and the Councillors were to be appointed by the Government only in the case of Municipalities newly formed; while in more advanced localities the elective system was to be applied. But we find now that even long exercise of the power of election has not placed a Municipality in any advantageous position, nor has it proved of any avail against the interference of the District officials.

It is impossible to imagine how these twenty-one Municipalities could in any way be regarded as representing public opinion. Their members have nothing either to gain or to lose from the public as they owe their seats to Government officials. The remaining

Municipalities consist of members partly nominated and partly elected. There is no instance of a Municipality whose members are wholly elected. Though the Councils, whose members are in part elected, may have a slightly stronger claim to represent public opinion, yet the presence of the officials in the Council, the influence of the nominated members who entirely depend for their seats on the revenue officials, the apprehension that Government may at any time deprive the Municipality entirely of the privilege of election, even though such election is confined to a portion of its entire body, the fear that a Municipal Councillor may at any time be removed and the fact that he holds his seat at the pleasure of the Governor in Council, the circumstance that Municipal Councils, bold in the assertion of popular rights, may at any time be dissolved, all these tend to reduce the Municipal Councils to a state of subserviency and impotence. They can, therefore, hardly be regarded as the representatives of public opinion.

If this is the case with the Municipalities, representing the urban population, it is even worse with regard to the Local Boards which are supposed to represent the rural population. There are three kinds of Local Boards whose constitutions (as already stated) have to be considered. We shall first take the Punchayat the one having the simplest of the three constitutions. The Governor in Council has the power to declare any village or group of villages to be a union and the body of persons established for such union is called a *Punchayat*. The Punchayat must consist of not less than five persons, the headman of each village being *ex-officio* a Member. The headman in a great number of districts is a Government nominee, and in every District he is entirely under the control of the Revenue officials. According to the Statute the other members of the Punchayat may be either wholly appointed by the Government, or partly so appointed, and partly appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Union, subject to such rules and conditions as may from time to time be prescribed by the Government. The Governor may not only remove the Chairman or any Member of this village Council, if his continuance in office is *in the opinion of the Governor in Council* dangerous to public peace or order, but he may also dissolve the Union itself at his pleasure. The Governor has also the power to fix the proportion of the elected members, and he may also declare that any person

whom he has removed shall not be eligible for re-appointment or re-election for a certain period. The subjection of the village Punchayat, therefore, to official influence is complete. So long as a member is liable to be removed and to be declared ineligible for re-election or re-appointment, how can he be expected to act in opposition to the official directions? But, as a matter of fact, the Government have not only reserved for themselves these vast powers of interference, but they have also declined to avail themselves of the power to allow any of the members of the Punchayat to be elected. Eleven years have elapsed since the Madras Act 5 of 1884 was passed, and yet there is no village Punchayat, which contains any Member appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Union; and the provisions enabling them to do so have, therefore, remained a dead letter, as no rules have been made by the Governor to carry on such elections. It will thus appear that the village Punchayat consists purely of nominated persons. They cannot, as a matter of consequence, claim to represent public opinion independent of the Government.

Higher than the Village Union is the Taluq Board, which has authority over the former. It must consist of not less than twelve members and a President. The Revenue Officer, in charge of the division of the district wherein the Taluq is situate, is *ex-officio* the President of the Taluq Board. The members of this Board may be appointed either wholly by the Government or partly by the Government and partly appointed by election by the members of the Punchayat, in the Taluq or by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Taluq, subject of course, as in the case of the Punchayats, to such rules and conditions as may be prescribed by the Government. The Taluq Board itself may, at any time, be dissolved by the Government, and any member removed and further declared ineligible for re-election. As in the case of the Punchayats, no member of any Taluq Board has at any time been appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants. Direct representation, therefore, of the people on the Taluq Board there is none. The Punchayat itself, we have already seen, is a purely nominated official body and those members of the Punchayat who become members of the Taluq Board by election cannot of course claim to be in any way the representatives of the people. Where the Taluq Board consists wholly of members appointed by the Government no claim to repre-

sentation can of course be, in any way, put forward. The Taluq Boards, we thus see, are purely official bodies composed either wholly of persons nominated by the Government or partly nominated by them, and partly nominated by persons who are themselves nominated by the Government. These Taluq Boards are, therefore, useless as representative bodies.

We now come to the District Board whose delegates elect the member for appointment to the Legislative Council. It consists of not less than twenty-four members of whom the Collector of the District is *ex-officio* the President. Every Revenue officer in charge of a division of the District is also a member. The other members may be appointed either wholly by the Government or partly by the Government and partly appointed by election by the Taluq Boards, or, in their absence by the Punchayats and by the inhabitants of that part of the District, subject of course to such rules as may be prescribed by the Government. The Governor in Council has reserved to himself, as in the case of a Taluq Board member, the power to dismiss a member of the District Board, if his continuance in office is *in his opinion* dangerous to public peace or order. He may also declare that person so removed to be ineligible for re-appointment or re-election. A member, therefore, if obnoxious to the Government, may be excluded from all participation in Local Board administration notwithstanding his ability, honesty and popularity. We may add here that as in the case of the Taluq Boards, no member has ever been elected by the inhabitants themselves. The Governor in Council has never passed any rules enabling them to do so under the provision we have already noticed. The District Boards, it will be seen, are thus composed of members either nominated by the Government or nominated by the Taluq Board members, who are themselves the nominees of the Government officials. In no sense, therefore do the District Boards represent the popular feeling. Not only is it the fact, as we have already stated, that they are all nominated by Government officials, but the various powers of interference that we have already referred to, make the subjection of the District Boards to authority complete. These District Boards are supposed to represent the rural population, amounting to 17,054,307; and such is the nature of the local bodies whose delegates are called upon to nominate a member for appointment to the Legislative Council.



This statement of the constitution of these local bodies shows clearly their complete dependence on officials. The law vests in the officials the same power over the District and Taluq Boards and the village unions as over the Municipalities; and the observations we have made with reference to the District Municipalities apply with greater force to the Boards. It must be borne in mind that the Revenue officials have naturally greater influence over the Board members, as none of them owes his seat to election, while some at least of the Municipal Members are elected. It is hardly necessary for us to say that for real representation at least two conditions are necessary (1) that the members of the electoral bodies or the majority of them at least must be elected, and (2) the power of the officials to control their action and to punish them must be curtailed.

To give effect to the first condition no change in the existing law is necessary. The Executive Government has only to carry out, honestly and in a large-hearted spirit, those provisions of law which now to all practical purposes remain a dead letter.

These were some of the reasons which induced Madras to maintain in 1889 that Municipalities and Local Boards should not be constituted into an electorate. After reviewing the constitution and powers of these Municipalities and the other local bodies, the Madras Congress Committee recorded their protest in the following words:—

"Such is briefly—for there is no pretence that the subject has been exhaustively treated—an outline of the constitution as authoritatively sketched of those assemblies to whose political fitness and stability the other Presidencies would have Madras entrust her destinies. Short of outspoken substitution of the Government for local self-rule it would not be easy to devise a more complete or effective control over Municipal freedom than the Government have by legislation devised for themselves over each link in the chain of Civic administration from the Municipality to the Punchayat. We believe we have established, from the incontestible evidence of public acts, our position that Municipalities are Government in disguise. On the short and simple ground that to confine the electoral privileges to such bodies would be to substitute the Government for the people and to continue nomination

for election, we most emphatically decline if we can help it to be subjected to a despotism from which we have been long and are still struggling to be free." The Madras Congress Committee however was not supported by Bengal and Bombay and we see now the Municipalities and local bodies form the electorate.

The experience of two elections *i.e.*, of 1893 and 1895 has unfortunately justified the forebodings entertained in Madras.

The Government of Madras like the Government of Bengal had to point out the undesirability of the officials taking an active part in the elections of the Delegates and when a European Club which had among its members the Collector of the District, and the Police Superintendent could go so far as to expel one of its members for voting for an Indian gentleman who stood for election to the Legislative Council, it is plain enough that we cannot confidently rely on the impartiality of the European officials. Their attitude towards new India is undoubtedly one of veiled hostility. It is therefore indispensible that the electors should be above any fear of official interference. . . . . .

Yet with all these drawbacks, and under all these adverse conditions the experiment has been a remarkable success.

In this article it is impossible for us to deal adequately with the work done by the elected Members in Council.

Before 1893 there was really no effective independent public criticism of any measure brought before the Council. The members nominated by the Government naturally did not feel themselves under any responsibility to the people, and they generally had not the previous training requisite for useful criticism. The result was, laws after laws were passed which unduly interfered with the liberty of the subject, and which imposed taxation without any vigorous protest in the Council on the part of the nominated members; and it is not therefore a matter of surprise that keen dissatisfaction was felt and expressed. But every measure that has been passed during the last two years has been passed after a discussion and criticism that has certainly brought to light every possible defect in the measure. An important Bill as it is finally passed would scarcely be recognised as the Bill introduced by the Government and it is only fair to say that in many respects the attitude

of the Executive Government is sympathetic. It is not in the discussion of the legislative measures alone that improvement is perceptible. The attention of the Government and the public has been drawn, by questions asked in the Council, to grievances the existence of which has been scarcely known before, at least beyond the locality immediately affected.

These questions have also enabled the Government to remove misapprehensions, to dispel wild speculations as to the intentions of the Government and to discuss the measures submitted to them by the District officials with special reference to specific grievances indicated by the questions. The increasing confidence in the ultimate redress of any grievance, due to the power to bring before the Government and the public in an authoritative manner any alleged act of injustice, is also remarkable. Briefly, we refer both our opponents and sympathisers to the published proceedings of the Legislative Council for the last two years to note the very great improvement in the quality of the work done in the Council.

While therefore full of hope, a hope justified by the progress of the last two years even under extremely unsatisfactory conditions, we have yet to urge with regret that until the electorate is reformed, until the majority of the members of the Municipalities and the Boards entitled to elect themselves owe their seats to election, the intention of the Parliament and the British people will not have been complied with. We are entitled to bring this complaint not only before the constituted authorities in India but also before the House of Commons as in the words of Mr. Gladstone "It is also the duty and function of this House to comment upon any case in which we think the authorities in India have failed to give due effect" to the introduction of the elective element into the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT AND ITS TENANTS.

IN accordance with my undertaking in the last issue of this Review, I propose in the present article to examine some of the other factors that so seriously complicate the Agricultural problem in this country. But before addressing myself to that task, I must crave leave to return for a moment to the subject of settlement. The vast importance of this element, overshadowing all the others, will be sufficient excuse for a parenthetic retrospect.

First, I should like to quote what appears to me a very striking presentment of the evils of want of permanence and a very neat exposure of the fallacy of the argument so often adduced from analogy. In 1858 Mr. J. W. B. Dykes, the well-known Collector and historian of the Salem District, was so impressed with the mischief springing from change of system that he published a pamphlet, in the form of a letter to the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, containing what he calls "a Manual of Ryotwar Tenure," with special rules for his own District, and a "general report." The whole is practical and suggestive, but I must limit myself to the following quotation :—

10. "The rules . . . sufficiently indicate the great encouragement given to the free outlay of private capital. This indeed is the great advantage of the system. . . . The more that capital is sunk in the land, the more the ryots are encouraged to improve their holdings—the less is the extent of land that is likely to be thrown up rashly, and the greater is the stability of the land revenue. . . . And, before going farther, I would now consider respectfully, how far this all-important principle is affected by the recent orders from the Honourable the Court of Directors, limiting the period for which the assessment is fixed at 30 years.

11. "When the Permanent Settlement was made in 1802 the assessment to be paid by the Zemindars to Government was fixed *for ever*. And the assessment to be paid by the ryots to the Zemindars has long been held by the Courts of this Presidency to be similarly protected. The estates of the Zemindars have lapsed from time to time for arrears of revenue, and the ryots have come generally into direct communication with Government, or, in other words, under the Ryotwar Tenure. But, to the best of my knowledge, nothing has yet been told the ryots officially that could make

them think any change was contemplated in the nature of the assessment. The assessment has been reduced. But the assessment has never been raised as yet. It is generally considered to be fixed *for ever*; and thus the ryots, in this respect, have had, hitherto, every inducement to improve the land.

12. "Capital is freely sunk at home on a limited lease with an unconditional surrender at the end. A Scotch farmer, for example, will not hesitate to embark his whole fortune on 30 years. For, at the end of his lease, if he and his landlord can't agree as to terms for the future, he realizes his stock, &c., and moves with ease to where he can get land on terms that suit him better. But in India, it is not one, nor a thousand, but perhaps a hundred thousand ryots, that must take up this 30 years lease at the same time; and it is 100,000 ryots that must be prepared, when the lease is up, to realize also, at one and the same time, and move if necessary. But how is the agricultural stock of a district of ten or fifteen thousand square miles to be realized? And where are 100,000 ryots to go to? The position of Scotch and Indian leaseholders at the end of the lease is very different; and this affects the whole question.

13. "An unconditional lease leaves the agricultural capital of *a whole District* at the mercy of the officer chosen to revise the rates; and I fear that such a change in the Ryotwar Tenure will be felt more and more injuriously as the lease draws towards a close."

Secondly, I wish to draw attention to the very newest instance of what can only be dubbed "settlement humbug." The *Madras Mail* of 28th August last contained a communication from a correspondent—a most pronounced official advocate and therefore an admissible witness—upon the Godavery settlement. This letter includes a report of a meeting, presided over by the Collector and composed of Divisional officers, Tahsildars, and representative landholders from each Taluq, whereat Mr. G. P. Clerk expounded the *data* on which he had based the proposed re-assessment of the wet-lands of the Delta. The first *datum* was that there was such "a remarkable geographical similarity between the Tanjore and Godavery Districts that the Deputy Commissioner's experience in the former was largely utilized in drawing up his settlement scheme for the latter." Godavery, however, according to Mr. Clerk has many advantages over Tanjore, and "the possibilities therefore of improvement and extension in the Godavery are practically illimitable." One would therefore imagine that a "scientific settlement" would result in a higher assessment than the 28 per cent. of Tanjore. What, instead, do we find? That the enhancement all round will probably not exceed 15 *per cent.* We beg to call the attention of the Government to this, ere it is too

late. Either the Tanjore assessment is monstrously high, or the calculating machines on the Godavery have gone sadly out of gear. For let there be no mistake; the Deputy Commissioner assured his hearers that this classification of soils had been "scientifically and carefully arranged"; and announced that every landholder "will be given an opportunity of proving, *if he is able*, that he has not been accurately assessed." Nor can any doubt be insinuated as to the accuracy; for Mr. Clerk, rejecting as unreliable the evidence of landowners, ryots, Revenue Inspectors, and similar subordinates, "based his figures on estimates taken either by himself, by his assistant, or by his own staff only."

But Mr. Clerk made a further statement which, if correctly reported, shows that he is in complete ignorance of the Government Order of 11th May last, quoted in my former article (*page* 149). He said that this classification of soils "would be final." A gentleman present immediately reminded him that Government had, in an Order, given the same assurance at the last settlement. This inconvenient interrupter was promptly ruled out of order. The Proceedings of Government containing that assurance are not printed in the collected papers referring to this settlement (*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, No. XXII., 1870); but we do find it recorded that the calculations (by Messrs. Nevill and Master) were "made with the utmost care and in accordance with principles approved by Government after much consideration," and further that Government, adopting the cautious advice of Shore, allowed three years, during which the "practical working should be carefully watched" and unforseen errors or anomalies corrected.

Mr. Clerk's statements afford ground for much thought and comment. I further refer to one only, and do so because it is germane to another branch of our subject. He states that, for the purpose of assessment, "the soils are divided into 34 kinds, which are grouped together into ten classes, according as *experience* has shown their yielding capacity." Now, what is this *experience*? It turns out not to be *experience* at all, but *experiments* made by Mr. Clerk or his staff on 12½ cents of land at a time. As to some of the best kinds of land, a number of experiments were made; but as to others they were few or non-existent. This mode of arriving at the out-turn was severely criticised and its accuracy rigorously impugned; but the important point to

notice is the disastrous affects that mistakes produce among the lowest kinds, just where accuracy is most essential, where the margin of profit is smallest and may vanish altogether. Compare these two classes :—

	Value after deducting 10 °/₀ per acre.	Cultivation expenses.	Rate.	Balance profit to ryot.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Best kind ...	38 2 8	14 0 0	12 0 0	12 2 8
Worst kind ...	13 4 5	6 0 0	3 8 0	3 12 5

It is at once apparent how disturbing influences must affect the small margin of profit much more quickly and acutely than the large. Take, for example, a short-fall of 20 per cent. in the out-turn all round, or a fall of prices equivalent thereto. This would leave the owner of the best kind of soil with a balance in his favour of Rs. 4-8-6, while that of the proprietor of the worst kind is reduced to a miserable Re. 1-2. It is this uncertain but always insufficient margin of subsistence that plunges India's submerged tenth in debt, and prevents it getting its head above water; until Government has intervened with some heroic measure like a Deccan Relief Act or a Usury Bill. I have assumed that the result of the experiments coincides with the result of experience; but if it is not so, the chances of disaster are infinitely enhanced. Mr. Clerk's valuation of the worst kind is based upon a calculated out-turn of three-quarters of a putty per acre. As against this a gentleman of the authority of the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao asserted with confidence that the average out-turn of the worst lands would not exceed one-quarter of a putty. If this be so, the tenant will, after paying his kist, be left with the princely sum of 14 as. 10 p. for subsistence and cultivation expenses. Mr. Clerk explains the anomaly by the assertion that, if the tenant spends on cultivation expenses the amount set down in the table, he is bound to get the return also there set down. This is a very short way of turning the ryot into a scientific and capitalist farmer, and anticipates his hardly-earned increment with a vengeance.

Such arguments only clearly demonstrate the proposition that the re-valuation of soils on each settlement is purely a dodge for doing what the authorities by mouth and pen are always protesting they could never do—robbing the ryot of the benefits accruing from the labour and money he has expended on the land. Soil valuation corresponds to what in America and Australia is correctly called "prairie value." We cannot call it so in India; for the productive value of the soil when acquired by Britain is the prairie value plus an indefinite number of increments and decrements, earned or unearned, which give it however a definite value at a definite point of time, and this may be called "*conquest value*." But "conquest value" once ascertained is as unchangeable as "prairie value," and should be the one immutable factor in all rent assessments. And why is this principle held so holy in the Permanent Settlements and treated with undisguised contempt in others? Simply because settlements of the former class were made with wealthy and powerful noblemen and landlords, strong to resist any infringement of their rights, never wanting defenders in Parliament or in the press; while the latter are for the most part entered into with helpless peasants, too weak to fight, too ignorant to combine, too poor and insignificant to enlist the aid of powerful champions.

My third point has somewhat of a personal bearing. The *Madras Mail*, after generally aproving of my argument, states that my paper loses weight by "attempting incidentally to defend a number of well-known Congress nostrums." I feel bound to notice this statement, absurd though it be, because a great many people, without honouring me by reading the article, will form their sole opinion of it from the remarks in the paper,—indeed one anonymous gentleman of this kind favours me with a whole column of criticism based on what he assumes I said. Now a *nostrum* is, as far as I can gather from dictionaries and other sources of information, a quack medicine, or, at best, a secret remedy,—a thing, we know, seldom favoured by the faculty. Nevertheless a *nostrum*, like a fact or an argument, must stand on its own legs, and I cannot for the life of me see how a *nostrum* becomes either better or worse for being a "Congress *nostrum*" or a "*Madras Mail nostrum*," or a "*Madrás Review nostrum*." What I presume the writer means is, that I have defended certain remedies proposed or supported by the Congress, and therefore, being the offspring

of such a political Cagliostro, of the very quintessence of quackery. I am sorry I cannot further defend these remedies, for I do not know what they are. I have re-read my article several times and have been unable to discover that I proposed or supported or defended any remedies whatever. I stated my intention was not to suggest remedies, and I endeavoured carefully to refrain from suggesting any—beyond indeed the great one, permancy in the principles by which Government rents are adjusted. Thus these imaginary "well-known Congress nostrums" will certainly not diminish any weight that my paper may have been fortunate to gain among the readers of the *Madras Review*; though they will no doubt serve the purpose of their inventor among those who never wander for their literary pabulum beyond the impeccable pages of the *Madras Mail*.

A stable tenure, though the first and most important, is yet only one of the requirements of agricultural prosperity in this or any country. When we talk of improving agriculture, what we really aim at is the increase of the production of the raw material (excluding minerals) of manufactures and of food staples in the country. Now, this involves various administrative and executive operations and adjustments which in this country and in this century can only be, and in fact only are, undertaken by Government. This action of Government is imperative, first, as we have already seen, because Government is the *de facto* landlord; secondly, as we shall endeavour to show, because the mere physical extent of the operations involved negatives the possibility of their being carried out by any less potent agency; and thirdly, because the great bulk of the land is held by peasant proprietors. This last proposition is seldom realized, and occasionally distorted into something very different. There must of course be circumstances special to all countries, but it is a prevalent enough error to seize upon some common feature and treat it as a special vice or virtue, as the case may be, of the people in question. That difficulties arise and Government aid is frequently demanded by the ryot, are too often laid as special sins at the door of the poor Indian; it is quite forgotten that peasant proprietors exist in other countries, and it is still more often overlooked that they too have their difficulties; that they too, in nearly every country at the present day, owe no inconsiderable share of such prosperity as they possess to the fostering aid of Government. The facts

here usually astonish those who have made no study of them. One instance will suffice to illustrate this point, for I shall have again to refer to the altered economic condition of the peasant proprietor owing to causes which are rapidly becoming as potent in India as they have been for some decades past in Europe. Of all European peasants, the French is continually held up to admiration as the model of thrift and prosperity, assiduity and ingenuity. Yet even he has to be kept up to the mark by Government. A very decided tendency had set in for the small properties to become absorbed, for the small proprietors, in fact, to give up the fight in despair. How was this checked? Mr. Egerton, of the British Embassy at Paris, writes in 1890.*

"The improvements in the methods and system of cultivation . . . is attributable in great measure to the admirable energy of the Agricultural Department, which, with small means at its disposal, has done very much.

"Independently of giving assistance to agricultural education, the Government has established experimental fields (*champs de demonstration et d'experience*) for the instruction (on the principle of example being better than precept) of the peasantry, to demonstrate the advantages of this or that manure, seed, or improved variety of the plant cultivated. These fields are generally offered by one of the land-owners, for whose benefit they are intended, and *no less than 20,000 of these fields*† have been experimentally employed, and with excellent results, for there is steady improvement in the crops, and the cost to the State of this encouragement does not amount to more than £6,400.

"The improvement in the production of the soil of France—owing to amelioration of cultivation and manuring—has been very marked indeed of late, and the Agricultural Syndicates, or Co-operative Agricultural Societies, are playing a very useful part in promoting this improvement; but the number of members has not yet attained more than 400,000, and the system is yet in its infancy, though already it has proved of service to the land-owning peasantry, more especially to the small owners.

"The general object of these Syndicates is for the defence of common interests, suppression of middlemen in sales and purchases, mutual credit and insurance, arbitration and saving expenses of litigation, and in the

* This and the other quotations as to European Peasant Proprietors are taken from a Parliamentary Paper, 1891, C.—6250; *Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives abroad on the position of Peasant Proprietors*, &c.

† This would give for the Madras Presidency, in the same ratio,—on the basis of area, 16,000 fields; on the basis of population, 18,500; and on the basis of agricultural population probably many more. The total cost, and it could surely be done here as cheaply as in France, would be about a lakh of Rupees.

main, for furthering the progress of Agriculture : but, as it is only six years ago that the Law of 1884 called these Syndicates into being, they have not yet apparently done much in the purchase of improved machinery, breeding animals, &c., for use among members, though this has been done in instances."

It will be noted that, even in progressive France, the strong lead of the Government was required to start such Agricultural Societies as Lord Wenlock desires to see developed; though it would be matter of some interest to see how much fostering care Government would extend to a Society of which one of the principal objects was "the defence of common interests."

The second reason mentioned was the magnitude of the operations involved. In some of these the cost of the works is so great and the direct benefit accruing to each individual peasant proprietor so small, that only a great landlord or association of great landlords could undertake them. A good example of this class of operations is that of Irrigation. What agency but that of Government could undertake a Periyar Project, or the Irrigation systems of Kistna and the Godavery? But, apart from these huge works, and also apart from petty irrigation by wells, it is difficult to find a landlord owning an area sufficiently large and at the same time so conveniently circumscribed physically as to admit of his incurring the great expense involved in irrigation projects. There is indeed one alternative, co-operation; and this was the mode by which in ancient times a great number of irrigation works, certainly those of a minor nature, were constructed; just as by the same agency many of the ancient temples were built. In an interesting and suggestive paper read recently in London before the Society of Arts by one of the most experienced and ardent agriculturists of this Presidency, Mr. C. Krishna Menon, it was urged with great force that Government should endeavour to take advantage of the lingering traces of village communism, which is simply village co-operation; should encourage and strengthen it, and make it available for carrying out works of this nature. There are no doubt many cases where this plan could be advantageously tried, but great difficulties lie in the way. There is, first and primarily, the feeling already alluded to, namely that of insecurity that the benefit of the advantages accruing from such joint effort will be allowed to remain for any considerable time with the co-operators and not filched away by Government; and there is the other and more important consideration, that the area

over which joint operations must be extended has so largely increased, that concerted action becomes more difficult and individual benefit less and less apparent. This is due to the complete change in agricultural economy and conditions to which I am about to refer, chief among them being the improvements in means of communication and transport. Perhaps the best solution of this, as of many other problems of a similar kind, will be found in an extension of the area and augmentation of the powers of local self-governing bodies, which have to some extent replaced the older voluntary associations.

Another factor which inevitably compels Government in India to undertake work of this kind is the uniformity of administration that is required over large areas, if not over whole Presidencies,—a uniformity necessitated in some cases by considerations of justice or even of mere expediency, in others by the breaking down of the old isolation by modern improvements, and the consequent decay or inefficiency of old methods. An example of this class is Forest Administration, with reference to at least a considerable portion of the operations of which it cannot be denied that a certain uniformity of policy and practice is desirable over areas much larger than any private effort could cope with. It would be impossible here to enter at length upon a discussion of the many vexed questions connected with the Forest Policy of the Government of India; I must content myself with pointing out its importance and its intimate connection with the whole field of Agriculture, and more especially with the branch of it to which Lord Wenlock draws particular attention, cattle-breeding to wit. For this factor, in so far as it is closely bound up with agricultural operations, is as important in India to-day as was that cognate one of Commons and Inclosures in England in the first halves of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet although the interests of agriculture and those of the Forest Department are identical and their work should be for a common end, it is undoubted and deplorable that there is constant friction, amounting at times to antagonism, between them. It was with a view of putting a stop to this suicidal tendency that the Committee so frequently referred to suggested that the Agricultural and the Forest Departments should be administered by the same head. As Mr. Nicholson said :—"The principal object of the Forest Department is the

benefit of the ryot, whether indirectly by conserving his sources of irrigation or directly by providing reserves of timber and pasturage. It is therefore obviously necessary that forest operations should be so managed as to safe-guard these interests, duly balancing the needs, conditions, and interests of the present and of the future." Mr. Nicholson we fear takes rather an optimistic view of the principles of the Department—certainly of their "obviously necessary" practice. The Madras Manual of Administration (Vol. I., *page* 311) puts it more bluntly. "The objects of Government in connection with forests are two-fold. First to establish an equitable and reasonable correspondence between the resources of nature and the present demands of the inhabitants of the country, which will include not only the supply to the people of timber, fuel, charcoal, tree-produce, &c., but the guarantee through the forests of the regularity of the water-irrigation required by their fields." [*Query*: What about grazing?] "Secondly, so to husband the resources of the forests viewing them as an estate or farm, as to ensure that they will exist hereafter in at least the same state of vigour and replenishment as at present; for without a rich vegetation India would soon cease to be inhabitable. According as attention is chiefly directed to the former considerations, there will be a tendency in the direction of making forest conservancy into a pecuniary consideration, of endeavouring to show a commercial profit on it, and even of making new forest imposts. According as attention is chiefly directed to the latter consideration, there will be a tendency in the direction of regarding forest conservancy as a matter of absolute State necessity, to be maintained if necessary as a charge on the common purse." One would have thought that the first object is an equally pressing "absolute State necessity"; and one's first supposition is that in the above extract "former" and "latter" have been unwittingly transposed. Considering that the forests belong to the State as landlord, and that the people to be benefited are its rack-rented tenants, one would have thought our rulers might find their duty to lie in the direction of denouncing and repressing any tendency to make such an extra profit. The State, however, does not in practice look at its duty in that way; and accordingly the figures show a startling development of the "tendency." In 1885 the revenue from grazing fees in the Madras Presidency was under Rs. 50,000; by 1889-90, four years after, it reached Rs. 1,43,845;

by 1893-94, another four-year period, it had sprung up to Rs. 2,66,891. These figures show that the Forest Department possesses capabilities as a tenant-squeezer that are not likely to be over-looked by a needy Finance Minister.

The recent Minute by the Governor-General certainly recognises more liberal principles and enunciates a more statesman-like policy; the difficulty always comes when the policy is to be carried into practical operation. Fine words butter no taxes; and not until financial burdens are reduced and harrassing restrictions removed will the people affected begin to believe in the beneficent intentions of their rulers. A good deal of the difficulty has arisen from the use of the word "Forests"—a sad misnomer that has puzzled many an outsider. If the operations of the Forest Department were restricted to the management of forests proper, and not allowed to extend into a sphere where their presence cannot be justified, much of the friction, so constantly recognised and deplored, would be avoided. As I have said, I am loth to suggest remedies: but I cannot help thinking that were the administration of forests proper and the practise of forestry, as generally understood, left as at present with the Forest Department; and were concurrently the management of what are really not forests at all but common lands, waste, handed over to the Agricultural Department or to an office analogous to the English Enclosure Commissioners and co-operating with local bodies, much good would be effected. The opposing tendencies would at least be divorced. The true Forest Department would look for its reward in the thanks of grateful generations to come and would not mind being a burden on the State; while the Agricultural Department would see that its true profit was to be found, not in screwing an extra tax out of an already impoverished peasantry, but in affording them every facility and encouragement for thrift, energy, and the application of capital to their industry.

Lord Wenlock laid much stress, and rightly, on the urgent necessity for improving the cattle of the Presidency, and the question was fully discussed in all its difficult bearings by the Agricultural Committee. Into these technical matters examination cannot be made here; but I should like by an object lesson to enforce the importance of the question of forest-grazing in connection with this subject. That cattle-breeding is not wholly neglected in the Presidency is true; but it is

also true that a century ago it received much more attention from Governments and capitalists than now. The most potent cause of degeneracy seems to be the failure in the demand. Government required the finest oxen for commissariat and artillery purposes; and the origin of the celebrated Amrut Mahal herd can be traced to the military exigencies of Hyder and Tippu. But in those days oxen were employed almost solely for transport, and the scattered herds still to be found in Coimbatore, Salem, and Nellore, are survivals of the day when the traffic through the Ghats between the Karnatic and the Dekhan plateau was carried by pack-oxen of a most expensive type. A very interesting account of the cattle-breeders and forest administration of a Native State is given by Buchanan in his "*Journey through Mysore.*" It throws light upon more than one side of the question and a few particulars will not be out of place here. When at Sira he heard that in the woods to the north and north-east many cattle were bred, the principal places being Paragadu with twelve large herds and Nidugal with ten. These being too far out of his way, he went to Midagesi, about midway between Sira and Penukonda, where he was told there were several herds. Arrived there he was "not a little disappointed on being told by the civil officers that in the whole district there was not a single cow kept for breeding; and that the whole cattle in the place were a few cows to give the village people milk and the oxen necessary for agriculture." Next day, however, the native officer commanding the sepoys in the Fort told him this was all nonsense, and that the people were deceiving him, being afraid that he had come to take away their cattle for the use of Colonel Wellesley's army. This turned out to be true; and at a neighbouring village he was able to inspect several herds and obtain a large amount of useful information on the subject.*

The actual work of herding the cattle was performed by the Gaulis (Goalas, Goullis), a pastoral tribe specially distinguished for their dirty habits. These were under the jurisdiction of a renter called by the Muhammadans, "head of the butter office." There would be no lack of qualified candidates for this post in

* *Buchanan*, Madras Reprint, Vol. I., pp. 295—305.

India now-a-days. "He resides at the capital and pays to Government an annual revenue. He goes to every village where any regular families of Gaulis are established, and from each levies the tax which they pay to Government for liberty to pasture their flocks on its property. In this neighbourhood every family, whether it consists of many persons or few, or whether it be rich or poor, pays the same tax; which is indeed a mere trifle, being only six *fanams*,* or about 4 shillings a year. For this small sum they are exempted from any tax or rent for grass and may feed their cattle in whatever woods they please." "A Gauli not belonging to one of the regular tax-paying families could graze 100 cows for an annual rent of five fanams (3*s*. 4*d*.). A rich Gauli will have 200 cows, 30 female buffaloes, 50 ewes, and 100 she-goats, and labouring oxen for three ploughs." It was calculated that such a man, after paying rent and keeping his family, would make a yearly profit of 100 pagodas (£33-10*s*-10*d*). "His clothing, being a blanket, costs a mere trifle; and part of the money he expends in the marriages of the younger branches of the family and in religious ceremonies; the remainder is in general buried, and a great deal of money is in this way lost; as when the men get old and stupid they forget where their treasures are hidden, and sometimes die without divulging the secret." A paternal Government has since effectually stopped such a wasteful practice.

The breed of cattle was however kept up mainly by capitalists who employed the Gaulis as herdsmen. Capital was readily utilized, as a bull was worth from 10 to 20 pagodas, and the oxen sold for as high as 15 pagodas. These herds, it should be noted, were kept carefully apart from the ordinary village cattle. The oxen were fit for work at five years old, and laboured for twelve years, "all the best being purchased by merchants for carriage." The business was a very profitable one. The rich man sent out his cattle in batches of 100 cows worth 150 pagodas, with two bulls worth 30 pagodas, or 180 pagodas in all. The return he might reasonably expect from ghee, butter-milk, and oxen sold,

* This is the gold *Fanam* or *Panam*, of which 16 went to the Gold Pagoda (*varaha*, or *hun*) of Tippu, equivalent to $3\frac{5}{8}$ Rupees. But silver was at a premium then in Mysore: see *Buchanan*, Vol. I., pp. 436, 7.

is put at 72 pagodas. The expenses included the wages of two men at 60 fanams a year, with a blanket and shoes each, and five fanams grazing fees, say 14 pagodas in all. The net profit was thus 58 pagodas, or 32 per cent.* If anything like such a profit could be made now, there would be no lack of breeders or need of Government assistance.

Another department, and one that can be mentioned only to be dismissed, is that of communications,—roads, railways, and canals. This work can, for physical reasons, be more easily apportioned between Imperial, Provincial, Local, and private exertion; ethical considerations, so to speak, come less into play; the need is more pressingly apparent, the remedy is applicable more promptly and before all eyes; the individual benefit is instantly felt and appreciated. And for this reason nothing makes a Government more popular than a forward policy in providing means of direct and rapid communication.

Hence the Agricultural trinity, *Woods*, *Water*, and *Ways*, must in this country be to an overwhelming extent under the direct administration of the Government, Imperial, Provincial, or Local.

But it will be said,—Admit all this, and yet the great problem to which educated young men are invited remains almost untouched. This is in a sense true; but it is also true that if Government recognised the duties incumbent on it *as a landlord*, and discovered the true method of administering these great departments, it would open the road along which such private effort as is possible could travel. The problem, indeed, is barely appreciated. It is constantly discussed as if it were a mere question of ploughing, or manuring, or breeding, or one or other of the multitudinous operations that go to make up the producing machinery of the country. Too many also ignorantly or wilfully ignore the great change which is breaking up the old stereotyped customs and organisations, and penetrating, in spite of what optimists may say, to the remotest villages. In one of his eloquent papers,† Sir George Birdwood writes :—"The Indian plough is part and parcel

* I have taken the percentage from the pagoda amounts. Buchanan makes the profit 45 per cent., but his calculations in sterling are clearly wrong. In one line he makes 72 pagodas=720 fanams=£24-3s. 6d.; and in the next 180 pagodas=1,300 fanams=£43-13s.

† *The Mahratta Plough*. This interesting article commences on p. 417 of a volume of the *Calcutta Review* published about ten years ago.

of a fixed crystalized life, of which it is the primitive and primary integrant molecule, regulating the relations and determining the dimensions and ultimate character of the entire and indissoluble economic, social, and religious system built upon it. In that life all are but co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, in which the provision and respect due to every individual is enforced under the highest and religious sanctions, and every office and calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations of caste on which the whole hierarchy of Hinduism hinges. Thus the social aspects of a Dakhan village are as of a large family, all living together that united life of contentment in moderation, which is the perfection of human felicity." And on such canvas he portrays a perfectly idyllic picture of the Hindu peasant's life—such as it may have appeared to his poetic imagination in the days of his youth, while yet the Railway Station Master, the Registrar, the B. A. Official and the B. L. Pleader, Second Appeals and Revision Petitions, Government paper and Limited Liability mills were in the womb of futurity. But—alas! it may be, as some would urge—these and other irresistible forces have struck deep into the heart of this tree of ancient growth. As a scientific statement of the problem, I shall quote a remarkable paragraph written by Mr. Nicholson; and although it is long, I am only too glad to be once more able to adopt the words of a most experienced Civil Servant of the Government.

"The whole external conditions of farming and the economic position of the country have altered and are altering with great rapidity. In old times a scanty population dwelt in villages shut off from the rest of the world by want of communications and by fiscal barriers, with a consequent absence of trade both foreign and internal; hence a system of self-sufficing farming and petty village industries, under which system there was little more than the mere local market for these goods; only the better soils were tilled, the remainder being left to grow wild field grass for common grazing; the simple village needs were supplied within the village, while any surplus, finding no external market, was stored for use in years of scarcity. Hence local custom became stereotyped almost into religious sentiment, and the isolation of the ryot, both mental and industrial, became an almost impenetrable fence. But practically within a generation, certainly within 50 years, external conditions wholly changed; communications rapidly developed both by sea and land, so that an immense export trade, due to the low prices of Indian produce, and an equally vast internal trade have sprung up; hence the self-sufficing system is in a rapid transition to the system of farming for profit or trade: any surplus produce is easily

exchangeable for silver which in turn is equally easily spent ; population has enormously increased, both these causes operating to bring into tillage an immense area of the poorest possible lands ; village industries have decreased with the opening up of foreign trade so that larger numbers take to tilling the soil.....The net result is a much larger population on a soil less productive per acre and more uncertain in its yield by reason of its poverty, from which any surplus is carried permanently away, while the return in silver being easily obtained is often lightly spent.....Finally it may noted that private effort is in one way growing less able to deal with adverse conditions or to combat natural difficulties ; the old communal organisation has largely given way under the rapid influx of new ideas, new political, social, and economic conditions. Hence village or local combinations for the execution of protective work is daily growing more difficult, especially in the south ; individual welfare and success are more and more becoming dependent on individual effort, while as yet the individual is not strong enough, or is insufficiently provided, to meet the changes."

This is a succinct and striking statement of the change which has come over the economic condition of the agricultural community, and indicates both the extent and the difficulty of the problem. The question is at once raised, how far primitive systems of landholding are adapted to the demands of modern civilization and commerce ? and, if these be permitted to continue radically unaltered, what minor modifications or supplements are necessary to enable them to live at all ?

The great bulk of the land of this Presidency is held in Ryotwar, that is, practically by peasant proprietors. It is difficult to see how a graduate, however learned in agricultural science and however anxious to work for his country's good, could directly influence the methods under which the family plot of soil is tilled or rendered productive; and to cultivate the paternal acre or half acre personally would be an unpardonable waste of the best talent in the country. It is not done in other countries. The Scotch crofter, the Irish tenant, the French or German peasant proprietor or metayer, has no education beyond the village school. True there, as here, the laudable ambition exists of having at least one son educated to make famous the family name in literature, the church, or the professions. But the graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the University of Paris, does not return to the ancestral hovel to plant potatoes or trim vines. The peasant of France as regards the mode of land tenure and the system of descent of property perhaps more nearly resembles the Indian Ryot, than the peasant of any other country. And like him he is ignorant of every thing outside his own work, bigoted and obsti-

nately averse to change until it be demonstrated that such change will inevitably put money in his pocket. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that the graduate may do something indirectly to mitigate the pressure on the ryot induced by this change in environment, though such assistance can be rendered only in virtue of his citizenship and in concert with non-graduate fellow citizens, his sole advantages being that he will in most instances be a better educated, more intelligent, and less bigoted man. Special knowledge of Agricultural Science is here unnecessary. How in other countries do we find the peasant proprietor or tenant maintained in comparative prosperity in spite of the unfavourable economy of small holdings? In some instances, as in Ireland and the Western Isles, he is always on the brink of starvation and maintained, not in prosperity but in bare life, by public charity—for that is what most recent Irish Legislation amounts to. In France, one remarkable factor is found in the artificial restriction on the growth of the population, people marrying late and voluntarily having small families. Then the natural products are often specially favourable; in that the growth involves the addition of some process of manufacture which can be carried on on the spot and affords supplemental employment to the labourer. Thus the cultivation of the vine is accompanied by the vintage and the manufacture of the wine or spirit. Again in a manufacturing country like France, Belgium, or South Germany, thickly studded with industrial towns, the immense non-food-producing population creates an inexhaustible demand for the products of the most profitable of all cultivations, the *petite culture*, that is, of vegetables, fruits, flowers, and such concomitants as bacon, fowls, eggs, honey. This is a remedy to which as yet the bulk of our agricultural population cannot turn for relief. Then there are village industries. Throughout vast countries, especially when winter puts a stop to all out-door work, every household is busy with some hand industry, weaving, glove-making, toy-making, in endless variety. It may be safely asserted that everywhere in Europe peasants without capital and without auxiliary industries always, however thrifty, find the greatest difficulty in making both ends meet.

This brief summary is not a mere fancy sketch: ample details could be cited in support of it. Thus we read of Belgium:—

"Since 1880 especially the peasant class in general have grown poorer; there are only rare exceptions to be found, which must be looked for among those

peasants who have small holdings, which they cultivate themselves with the assistance of their children, and who possess all the absolutely necessary virtues —strict economy, exemplary activity and morality, abstinence from the public houses, and especially abstinence from alcholic excess; the villages the inhabitants of which have not kept clear of this curse have become poor.

"From 1850 to 1876 the peasant class, whether owning their land or not, were in prosperous circumstances. From 1876 to 1890, and especially from 1880 on, the liabilities of the generality of the peasant class have increased, especially among such as, in consequence of the great centres of population being at a distance, or of the insufficiency of their resources or skill, do not go in for high farming *or subsidiary industries*....."

And of Switzerland.

"The chief occupation of the peasant proprietors in the southern cantons is the cultivation of the vine, and in the Alpine cantons, cattle-grazing and cheese-making. One feature common to most districts in this country is the existence of *numerous small accessory industries* which enable the small proprietors to supplement their earnings from the land and occupy them during the winter months.

"Among other circumstances which I cannot help thinking considerably assist the Swiss peasant, may be cited the employment given in the tourist season by the large influx of summer visitors, the distribution of small pieces of forests and forest rights among the small proprietors, and the village system, in contradistinction to isolated homesteads, which afford valuable opportunities for co-operation and mutual assistance.....

"In districts like the Emmenthal and high lands where cattle breeding and the milk industry flourish, or in those parts of the Jura and Lake Districts *where house industries come to the aid of agriculture*, the peasant proprietor may be able to hold his own, even in years of scarcity. Where, however, his resources are limited to the uncertain produce of a small holding, his position, at the best a precarious one, must become untenable when exposed to the stress of bad times. There is then no alternative left to him but to part with his land altogether and to seek a livelihood either in one of the industrial centres at home, or in one of those countries of South America to which so many of his compatriots have emigrated in recent years."

As for Greece, the account of the prosperity of the peasant recalls all the pastoral joys associated in story with the name of Arcadia. But the causes are not to be lost sight of in the idyllic picture. *

"The working classes and peasant proprietors are as a rule abstemious and thrifty, intemperance is very rare among them, distilled liquors are avoided, and the wine of the country, which is mild and often mixed with water, is used in moderation. Among these classes the desire to obtain land and house property is very strong, and owing to their careful and thrifty habits they are generally able to satisfy this craving, and there is scarcely a family which does not own a small cottage or a plot of land or vineyard, which supplies it as the case may

* *Foreign Office Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, 1892, No. 980.

be, with oil, olives, wine, corn, and grazing for a few goats and sheep. These remarks apply principally *to the working and labouring classes inhabiting the larger towns and their neighbourhood.*

"The peasants who twenty or thirty years ago almost all led a pastoral life, inhabiting villages in the interior of the Peloponnesus, where, during the summer and autumn, they pastured their flocks on the high table-lands of Arcadia and on the slopes of Erymanthus, Taygetus, Hellene, and other high mountains, have mostly now become landed proprietors as well, for the Government wisely granted great facilities to all Greek citizens for acquiring Government lands in the plains of Achaia, Elis, Argolis, &c., which had been lying fallow for years. These facilities were largely availed of by the mountain peasants and shepherds, and large tracts which had long been waste and unprofitable have been turned in a few years by these indefatigable workers, into flourishing currant and grape vineyards, which all the members of the family, men, women and children, *cultivate on odd days and holydays, when employment is not easily obtained elsewhere*, and thus the amount realised for their produce is almost all profit. Principally by their means the currant crop, which twenty years ago used to average 70,000 to 80,000 tons, now produces 150,000 to 160,000 tons, and is annually increasing. . . . . .

"The Greek peasant woman is expert in the use of the handloom, spindle, and distaff. *All the cotton stuffs, woollen blankets, bright coloured carpets, and coats used are made by the women of the household*, besides these, each young girl, with the assistance of her friends, is expected to prepare her own trousseau of household linen, carpets, blankets, and even her future husband's brightly coloured saddle cloths and saddle-bags."

I have no space to quote the account of the happy, independent, hospitable life, led by these prosperous peasants, but it would be one more instance of the fact, that it is not toil that disheartens and ruins. Secure to the labourer the fair fruits of his labour, and you shall still find over the whole world,

"*Pingue solum lassat, Sed juvat ipse labor.*"

It is owing to the important position thus held by accessory industries in rural economy that the Department of Agriculture becomes in some countries really a Department of Industries. An interesting account of the working of such a Department, showing how industries have not only been revived but created, with the most marvellous effect on the prosperity of an agricultural population, will be found in a paper in the *Contemporary Review* for October 1886, describing the operations of the Bureau of Agriculture and Rural Industries in Wurttemberg. It is possible that graduates may at least help Government in any efforts it may

make in this direction ; unfortunately our village industries, where not dead, are in a state of rapid decay ; and any action to save them must be prompt.

But the most striking analogy to the present status in India is to be found in the condition of agriculture in England in the early part of the present century. As pointed out by Dr. Cunningham * the increase of population, the vantage ground occupied by the speculative capitalist, and the changes in the economy of manufactures produced by the invention of machinery, completely altered the conditions of rural life. Before 1815 the manufacturer was generally a petty farmer as well, and the agriculturist was almost universally a petty manufacturer. Thus it came about that "the differentiation between town and country became more complete... The survey of 1615 shows that Sheffield cutlers, who had a considerable struggle to pay their way, combined the management of some land with the production of whittles. At Pudsey, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, the woollen weavers practised agriculture as a by-employment at the beginning of the present century. They were able to add considerably to their personal comfort, and to pay high rents for pasture land; though their agriculture was backward in the extreme."

As to the domestic industries of the agricultural population, he writes thus :—

"It is still harder to trace the steps by which those who were mainly supported by labouring on the land *ceased to practise industrial pursuits as by-employments*. It does not appear that the ordinary husbandman engaged in weaving, though some of them seem to have done so in the Leeds district ; but it is quite clear that *spinning was very generally practised as a domestic industry*, and was carried on by the wives and children of husbandmen ; spinning was thus a by-employment which gave an additional source of income to families.

"The invention of machine-spinning and the enormous saving which it effected rendered it impossible for the hand-spinners to compete.....Since it had merely been a by-employment, the women and children could not follow the work to factories, unless these were established at their very doors ; and as agricultural wages were unusually high during the first decade of the century, they had but little temptation to try and compete with machines ; there was no violent opposition to the change at the critical time. As a consequence this by-employment in rural districts died out, while nothing was substituted for it as a means of augmenting the family income.....

* *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* ; Vol. II., pp. 480 seq.

"The migration of spinning and weaving was the most noticeable change which occurred; it left the husbandmen and their families entirely dependent upon the soil, but other influences were just beginning to change the character of country life. Machinery has been adapted to so many purposes that the village artizan is no longer required. The capitalist farmer in all probability preferred the better goods which he bought for less money at a distance, to the productions of the local artisans; as a consequence there have come to be fewer occupations than before."

As to the variety of these home and by-employments, Dr. Cunningham quotes an interesting passage from Mr. Prothero.*

"Hitherto the rude implements required for the cultivation of the soil or the household utensils needed for the comfort of daily life had been made at home. The farmer, his sons, and his servants, in the long winter evenings carved the wooden spoons, the platters, and the beechen bowls; plaited wicker baskets; fitted handles to the tools; cut willow teeth for rakes and harrows and hardened them in the fire; fashioned ox-yokes and forks; twisted willows into the traces and other harness gear. Travelling carpenters visited farm houses at rare intervals to perform those parts of work which needed their professional skill. The women plaited the straw for the neck collars, stitched and stuffed sheepskin bags for the cart saddle, wove the straw or hempen stirrups and halters, peeled the rushes for and made the candles. The spinning wheel, the distaff, and the needle were never idle; coarse, home-made cloth and linen supplied all wants; every farm house had its brass brewing kettle.....*All the domestic industries* by which cultivators of the soil increased their incomes, or escaped the necessity of selling their produce, were now supplanted by manufactures."

That a similar transformation, due to causes, some the same, some analagous, some no doubt special, is going on in our midst in India, can hardly be questioned; but to accurately define its conditions, delimit its progress, and suggest remedies or at least ameliorations, is a more difficult matter than a mere admission of its existence, and requires all the aid that Government and its ablest servants can give. Statesmen do not attempt to mend these things by turning them over to graduates. Pitt, at least, did not. At the instance of Sir John Sinclair, the celebrated author of the "Statistical account of Scotland," he established in 1793 a Board of Agriculture, with the well-known Arthur Young as Secretary, which did a great deal of practical good, until, mainly through the influence of the tithe-owners, it was discontinued in 1819. If only a native Sinclair or Young should arise, it would not be so utopian to look for a Pitt as Viceroy.

* "*The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*": (1888), p. 67.

Alternately or concurrently with a want of petty industries, we find a want of capital available for agricultural purposes. In many countries, and particularly in Germany, efforts have been made, apparently with much success, to supply the peasant proprietor with money needful for improvements by the agency of Agricultural Banks and other Associations of a more or less public character. Many proposals to this effect have been made in India, but hitherto they have come to nothing. The most healthy scheme, formulated by Sir William Wedderburn, proposed by the Government of Bombay, and approved by the Government of India, was quashed by the Secretary of State, for no given reason. The local Government has done something in this direction, but its loans have not been looked on with favour. Government itself tells us* that the "account for 1894-95 presents the same unsatisfactory features as marked the transactions of previous years." The unsatisfactory features are focussed in this fact that although a sum of *seven* lakhs was provided in the sanctioned budget for land improvement and agricultural loans, no more than 2·8 lakhs (or two-fifths) have been utilized.

We are informed that a revision of the rules is contemplated which will, it is hoped, effect an improvement, and His Excellency the Governor-in-Council fondly trusts that "greater advantage will in future be taken of the facilities afforded for improving agriculture and sanitation in the Presidency." It is understood that the proposed new rules are under consideration by the Government of India and are not available for publication. This I must characterise as a mistaken policy. Surely in a matter of this kind, where no party considerations could possibly find place, and no one could desire to do other than endeavour to render the rules as effective as possible,—it would have been wise for Government to have taken those most interested into its confidence and invited public criticism and suggestions.

The main reason for the disfavour with which the ryot regards the Government loan, seems to be the uncertainty as to the portion of the loan which, after passing through so many hands, will ultimately reach those of the borrower. If there be any truth

*G. O. 28th August 1895.

in the statements of witnesses on this point, the low nominal rate of interest becomes delusive; and its temptations vanish. In the Report of the Committee we find frequently such reasons as these.

"(1) Because the mortgage to Government hinders further mortgages if more money is required, as for marriage; (2) the loan is public and this spoils his credit with the money lender; (3) the estimate by Government officers of the work done is too low."

"Publication of his private circumstances, hard and fast rules, inspection of his property and improvements, restrictions as to his mode of carrying out the improvement, are objectionable to the ryot."

"Long delays: difficulty of access to officials: fear that the whole sum will not reach the borrower: fears as to repayment."

"High interest, worry and expense to ryots by lower officials, inelasticity and stringency of conditions."

The chief obstacle on the part of the ryot is undoubtedly the presence of the sowcar, from whom and whose fathers he and his fathers have borrowed for generations. He is as ubiquitous, as powerful, and as shrewd as the Irish *gombeen* man; and, like him, is a tough customer to fight. But there is no doubt it can be done if the second main obstacle, this time not on the part of the ryot, be overcome. I refer to the apathy of the officials. In fact, it was shown that practically all the money advanced in loans to agriculturists was lent in two or three districts, where the Collectors were enthusiasts and took special personal interest in this branch of their work. When Revenue officials learn that it is as much and as important a part of their duty to encourage the tenant to earn his rent as to collect the rent from him when earned, then the Government loan fund will soon over-swell the limits of the allotment in the budget. As one witness pithily put it, "Instead of the ryot going to the Tahsildar, the Tahsildar should go to the ryot."

Here, I may add, is evidently a field in which the educated non-official can help Government, acting as an intermediary and calming the fears and misapprehensions of the borrower. Here also is an opportunity for invoking the aid of Local Self-Governing bodies. As suggested by influential witnesses much good might be achieved by entrusting the management of these loans to Local Fund Boards.

But it may be suggested that many landholders are in a position to influence considerable areas of land and that to these attention should be directed. Unfortunately very few Zemindars or hereditary Mirasidars are Graduates of the University, and it is doubtful if it would do their estates much good if they were. Still more unfortunately such education as the Court of Wards provides for those under its charge does not appear to be specially suitable. Judging by the last Report there would seem to be no system or definite aim in the bringing up or training of these youths, and except in the cases of one or two who have the benefit of private tutors on their own estates, little attempt is made to impart any instruction likely to prove really useful. To study the elements of Revenue law and accounts can hardly be considered by itself satisfactory training for a landed proprietor. Were the Government to see that everyone of the Wards had at least the opportunity of being brought up as an educated country gentleman, with a knowledge of agriculture, estate management, and economy, it would—although only a small number might turn out successfully—confer an in estimable boon upon the country. But graduates unfortunately are for the most part landless and moneyless, and to tell them to turn to agriculture is to give them a stone when they ask bread.

Further it may be asked if there is any insuperable objection to the introduction of improved methods, as suggested by the agricultural experts, on the estates under the management of the Court. The Reports show great activity in collecting rents and a most praiseworthy devotion to the financial superintendence of these properties, but nothing more. Even as regards such improvements as come under the head of Public Works, the results are most unsatisfactory, and here at least Government does not seem to blame in intention, though its want of real interest is sufficiently proved by its remissness in seeing these intentions carried into effect. We are told that during the year 1893-94* the actual expenditure on Public works, including irrigation works, buildings, and communications—was only 38 per cent. of the allotment of over 5½ lakhs, against 52·4 per cent. in the previous year.

* G. O., dated 6th June 1895, No. 334 Revenue.

That is to say that although works to the value of 5½ lakhs were deemed necessary and budgetted for, little more than one-third of these were actually constructed. No wonder Government considers this "very unsatisfactory", and attributes it to "causes indicative of laxity or inefficiency in the management." This is not all. "In respect to the utilization of the surplus balances standing to the credit of the estates, little or no advance appears to have been made, the balances in the more important estates being generally higher than they were in the previous year. The report should have described in detail what steps were taken during the year to carry out permanent improvements with the balances on hand . . . ." Needless to say, we find no record of attempts to introduce improved methods of agriculture or cattle-breeding among the tenants, to do any of those things which we might expect from a good landlord, or to exert any of that influence which the Court of Wards would undoubtedly possess. I am again rather shy of suggesting a nostrum, but will nevertheless hint one and risk its being attributed to the Congress, though I have failed to find it in the ten volumes of the published proceedings of that body. Put the Deputy Director of Agriculture in charge of the Wards' estates, not as rent-collector merely but as land-steward or bailiff, and give him a free hand—of course within the resources of the estate—for five years.

Undoubtedly, after all is said, the fact remains that many graduates do make money and also undoubtedly they do not invest it in land to the extent that might be expected; nor, when they do buy land, do they devote time or capital to the improvement of their estates. As we have seen various causes combine to produce this result. The primal one, we need hardly repeat, is the uncertainty of the tenure. Moreover, the policy of the Government seems to be to restrict, if not to abolish, mirasi and kindred privileges and rights; while even the Zemindar's security is not so perfect as it was once deemed to be. Another, and a very potent reason, was thus formulated by the Hon'ble Justice Subramania Aiyar:—

"It is true that Government paper is now being preferred to land as an investment because the interest is better, because it is more easily realized, and *because the rights of coparceners in such moveable property are not so directly apparent.*"

The last ground is no doubt of far-reaching and powerful effect; and has often been adduced to me in private conversation. There is, indeed, a curious measure of uncertainty as to the law, an uncertainty that will remain until some wealthy Vakil deliberately leaves an expensive law-suit behind him. The principle which is apparently law could not, on the authority of the Hon'ble V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, "be applied in the majority of concrete cases"; nor "could it be practically worked without a distressing degree of uncertainty." These considerations led him to formulate his "*Gains of Learning*" Bill, to which, however, he has proved a very negligent parent. In introducing this, he said :—"Feelings of delicacy and other considerations postpone partition in many families and the uneasy feelings as to whether the acquisitions which are being made by a member thereof by industry, intelligence, and learning, will at the time of partition be regarded as his own separate and exclusive property or as merged in the joint family property, leads to mutual distrust, discord, and misunderstanding among the members of the family. A rule which, by depriving a person and his heirs of the fruits of his learning, skill, and industry, because he happens to be a member of an undivided family, enables other members of such family each to claim as of right a share therein equal to that of the acquirer, and which, on the death of the acquirer undivided, intercepts the descent of such property to his personal heirs, *cannot but act prejudicially to the interests, advancement, and material prosperity of the community*, in which such a rule is or is supposed to be in operation."

Without committing one's self to the support of Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar's Bill as it stands, it may be safely said that some legislation in that direction would greatly promote the investment of capital in land by wealthy professional men and merchants.

It may not be without interest in this connection to observe that among almost all communities of peasant proprietors in Europe the change in the economic condition which I have described, has been accompanied by alteration in the laws of inheritance. Sometimes these alterations have been openly introduced by statute with the object of meeting the altered condition of affairs; sometimes they have been accused of producing a share

at least of the evils now met with. And it is further very remarkable to note that sometimes old custom has prevailed over the new statute, and averted or hastened threatened evils. Thus we find that in Austria, to prevent extreme sub-division of peasant-holdings, an Act was passed by the Reichsrath in 1889, but it has proved "a dead letter, as none of the Provincial Diets have passed the necessary laws making it possible to apply it." In Belgium, on the other hand, the provisions of the Civil Code "were intended to effect, and have effected, the increase of the sub-division of properties and the number of proprietors." In Denmark again, special laws were passed in 1837 and 1845, with the view of preventing the sub-division of small properties while recognising the rights of the members of the family. This was effected by a system whereby the land went to one selected member, charged with money payments in favour of the others. The result is said to be an enormous increase in the indebtedness of the peasant proprietor class. In Germany, in 1874, a Land Act was passed "which gave the landowner the right to secure the inheritance of his estate to a single heir by registration." This Act is said to have been highly successful in Hanover, but custom was too strong for it in the more backward provinces. In France the law of inheritance is still that of 1793, which provided for the equal division of property among children. The effect of this law, however, we are told, "was in a great measure neutralized by the long formed habits of the peasant proprietary. This Law of Succession was eluded where possible, and the comparative sterility of marriages has been undoubtedly one of its results. In the south particularly, where the family system prevailed, the common practice continued, notwithstanding the new law. The father still remained the head and legislator of his family, all working for the common stock administered by him, and receiving the portion he allotted them when setting up for themselves, one son being selected by the father as his associate and heir. The change of system, therefore, has been only gradually carried out."

I hope no one will assume that I am suggesting such a supremely anti-Congress nostrum as an attack upon the joint-family

system. I am merely desirous of pointing out how modes of possession—absolute or qualified, joint, separate, or representative—and systems of inheritance—by will or by statute, primogeniture or family, conserving or dividing the estate—are inseparably bound up with the economic condition of the proprietor, and must be found more or less out of touch with the environment as the latter changes. The raising of the point as to "Gains of Learning" is a significant proof of this statement. Whether the inconveniences produced by the discrepancy or the evils likely to arise from any attempt to produce concord, should be allowed to preponderate in the scale, is another question and one of great difficulty. In this as in other spheres it may be better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of. But if we come to that resolution, we should clearly recognise it; the evil must be acknowledged as necessary; the presence of the disturbing factor must not be ignored. If it be found, for example, that the restrictions on the ownership of self-acquired property constitute one hindrance to the investment of capital in agriculture, we must admit that we cannot eliminate that element by telling the ryot to buy a new plough or the graduate to turn his dictionaries into pruning hooks.

There is one other point which if touched on at all would require an article to itself,—I mean agricultural education, to use a convenient if not strictly accurate phrase. As far as Madras is concerned, this is a pitiful story. Elaborate proposals as to agricultural schools and farms were made by Lord Connemara's Committee, they were formulated into a working scheme and sanctioned by Government,—then the scheme fell dead and apparently its very memory is now forgotten. *Cujus culpa?*

I have indicated above an opinion that much will in future be done in connection with these agricultural problems by a greater devolution of work and power on Local bodies. Many of the practical questions here arising seem peculiarly fitted for treatment in this way. I have already made some general remarks on this subject in the first number of this Review. I now only allude to it in conclusion on account of its special appropriateness in this connection, and because also Lord Wenlock gave utterance to views upon it from which I must venture to dissent. He says:

"Under this heading I would cover the whole ground occupied by Municipalities and Local Boards. Local Self-Government is out here *but a plant of tender growth*, and one which for many years to come will require the most unremitting attention and care on the part of those who have called it into being. *It has to overcome prejudices encrusted in the dust of ages, and to run counter to the habits and customs engrained in the very nature of the people.* And it is in consequence I am afraid not altogether popular."

This is surely such a travesty of history as one does not expect to find outside the pages of the *St. James's Gazette*. Local Self-Government, as now established, is a plant of tender growth only in the sense that the older tree which had grown and strengthened through centuries had been ruthlessly and ignorantly cut down. The idea is hereditary among the people, the only novelty consists in the immense amount of Government interference and restraint. The Government does not require to make Local Self-Government popular, but to guide it wisely and to endeavour above all things to assimilate its methods to those which have become heir-looms among the people. And is it not a curious assumption to begin with that Local Self-Government in its work "must run counter to the habits and customs engrained in the very nature of the people?" This is to court defeat at the outset. The longer one lives in this country,—lives intelligently, with open eyes, I mean,—the more one becomes convinced of this, that there is a great deal to be said in favour of habits and customs engrained in the nature of the people. Some may seem incongruous and but ill adapted to our times, but we are always more ready to observe small incongruities than great congruities. In fact what is required is not eradication but modification. You do not want to root up the tree, but to trim and train it properly. What elements go to form national custom and character? Some are practically unchangeable, for example, the physical conformation of the country, its hills, valleys, and rivers; its climate, with its sun, its rains, and droughts. Others are modified with such slowness that the change is almost inappreciable, the physical constitution and intellectual character

of the people, their religion and morality. Others, again, move with rapidity and are mainly external, as the increase of communications, diversions of trade, education, &c. A custom which is congruous with elements of the first two classes cannot be far wrong radically, though it may want modification to remove its glaring incongruities with elements of the third class. But to work at reform, thinking only of the last class and neglecting the two former, is to attempt impossibilities. And in no department of administration are the two former more potent, than in the department of Agriculture. Here, if anywhere, the physical conformation of the country and the physical constitution of its people present barriers which make change in certain directions impossible. Like two parallel mountain ranges, they compel the river of progress to flow between them; and as surely as the waters of the river will never run up the slopes of the mountains, so surely will all attempts at change or progress be futile which endeavour to contend with the primeval conditions under which the land exists and the people have their being.

JOHN ADAM.

THE NATIVE CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS OF SOUTH CANARA.

1. *Origin.*—The Native Catholic Christians, of whom there are about 70,000 in South Canara are mainly descendants of local Brahmin converts as also of those who emigrated from Goa especially on account of disturbances there in the 17th century. It would appear that the Portuguese were instrumental in effecting conversions along the Canara coast early in the 16th century when their relations with the Vijayanagar Kings were friendly. Afterwards with the Sonda chiefs in the North and the Bednur chiefs in the South as their allies, the work of conversion was carried on apace, so that Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" notices a Bishop at Karwar in 1772, under whose jurisdiction the Catholics of Bombay then were. We all know how the great St. Francis Xavier was helpful by the might of his zeal and charity in drawing many even among the higher classes of Hindus to Christ. Miraculous indeed was the draught of souls that filled his apostolic net. The promise given to the Fishermen of old by their Divine Master was here literally fulfilled, and souls innumerable were drawn into Peter's net. Thus, all along the coast of Canara and in a more marked manner in Goa,—the scene of Xavier's apostolic labours,—many hitherto strangers to Christianity were, between the 16th and 18th centuries, taught to confess Christ, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Portuguese nation. Most of the leading places along the coast had priests, churches and Christian congregations, when Hyder Ali conquered Bednur and Sonda in 1763, and arrested the progress of Christianity. Up to 1784 the Christians remained unmolested, but when in that year Tippu the son of Hyder succeeded in driving the English out of Canara, he determined both on political and religious grounds to convert the Native Christians of Canara to Islam. In the same year, as narrated by Mr. Campbell in the "Bombay Gazetteer" to which (besides my own personal knowledge) I am indebted for much of the information contained in this paper, "Tippu issued orders that that a secret census of

Nasranis or Christians should be taken and the result sent to him. On receiving the papers he sent out detachments of soldiers under trustworthy officers, with sealed orders, and instructions that the orders should be opened and executed on the same day, one hour after morning prayer. These instructions were carried out, and of the 80,000 Christians, 60,000 or according to other accounts 30,000 were made prisoners. The Churches were dismantled and every trace of the Christian religion disappeared. Except infirm women and children the prisoners were marched under a strong military escort to Seringapatam, the capital of Maisur. Here under Tippu's orders they were divided into battalions of 500 each and officered with men who were versed in the Kuran. They were afterwards distributed among the principal garrisons where they were taught the Kuran, and named Ahmadis." The change of climate from the coast to the Mysore uplands, harsh treatment and the unhealthiness of some of the places to which they were sent so broke the health of these unhappy victims of moslem fanaticism that within a year 10,000 are said to have perished. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 only a few thousands of the survivors returned to their desolate homes. It is from these remnants that escaped the angry breath of Moslem persecution that the Native Catholic Christians of Canara are descended. It is believed that in the Native Christian population of Canara there is a strain of European blood passed down from the Portuguese who in the 16th and 17th centuries settled along the coast for trade and other purposes. However this may be there can be no doubt that the bulk of the Native Christians are, as stated above, the descendants of local converts.

2. *Classes.*—They have, especially among the illiterate classes, retained their native surnames, such as distinguish the Brahmins and Vaishyas, so that while European surnames, such as Gonsalves, Saldanha, D'Souza, Sequeira, Borges, Furtado, Rodrigues, Noranha, Gomes, D'Almeida, D'Vas, Lobo, Fernandez, Lopes, Rozario, D'Sa, surnames which their ancestors must have received from those who stood sponsors to them at the time of their baptism—are commonly met with, native patronymics, or rather distinctive caste names such as Parbu, Shetti, Naik, Shonoi, Shanbog, Poi, Kampti and Padval, are by no means uncommon. Old caste distinctions are to some extent still kept up among these Native Christians, not of course with the same religious rigidity as

their pagan ancestors, but as dividing marks in the social scale. The classes into which they are thus socially divided are:—Bammans, Sudirs, Charodas, Gowdis, of these, the Sudirs are craftsmen, while the others are cultivators. The Bammans and others who are educated enter Government service, and generally display considerable talent.

3. *Language.*—All speak the Konkani language, a curious mixture of Maharatti, Canarese and Portuguese, with no literature of its own. An attempt has in recent years been made to systematize the language, and it appears to have proved a success. To the Reverend Father Maffei, of the Society of Jesus, the Native Catholic Christians of Canara are indebted for thus evoking harmony out of what used to be generally regarded as a chaotic language.

4. *Style of Living.*—The habits of the poorer classes do not differ much from those of their Hindu neighbours except that under the influence of Christianity, they have been considerably softened, if not altogether refined. Religion indeed enters into their daily life, and permeates their manners and customs in a manner which to the superficial observer may appear trifling, but which really elevates their nature to a higher level than it is possible for their pagan neighbours to attain. The richer classes live in European style, though not altogether discarding their native habits. Very many even don the European costume, though the female portion of the community is rigidly conservative in this respect. One distinctive style of dress worn by the women is the white overcloth called *Vol* which supplies the place of both cloak and veil, and is worn only in Church. It serves to impart an almost Puritanical primness to their exterior, otherwise gaily bedecked with jewels and flowers. The ordinary diet of the poor is rice, fish and vegetables. Animal food is used only on Sundays and festive occasions. Both rich and poor consider rice their chief staff of life. Their morning meal accordingly consists of rice-gruel with a little mangopickle and dried fish; the midday and evening meals, of cooked rice strained dry, with fish or vegetable curry. Flesh is generally eaten with rice-cakes called *sánhans* which are made of rice-flour, cocoanut milk and unfermented palm-juice, baked in steam, like pudding. They have various holiday dishes appropriate to the festive occasion for which they are prepared One of these is rice-flour cakes stuffed with cocoanut and molasses.

About an ounce of kneaded rice-flour is spread on a green turmeric leaf to the thickness of a wafer-biscuit, an ounce of scraped cocoanut sweetened with molasses is laid on the paste and the leaf is folded double. These are called *pátolis*. Another holiday delicacy is what is called *manadares* or wafer-biscuits made of red pumpkin and rice ground together. They also make vermicelli called *shevio* by forcing rice-flour through a sieve. This is eaten with cocoanut milk sweetened with molasses. The poor indulge in country spirits, while the well-to-do prefer European liquor.

5. *Religious Customs.*—One prominent characteristic of the Native Catholic Christians of Mangalore is their enthusiasm for religious practices, which is fostered by their spiritual guides and those among them who have entered the religious state. It is not unusual to meet with families several of whose members have had a religious calling; and perhaps there is hardly a single family of any importance that has not furnished at least one member to swell the ranks of the clergy or religions. Every large settlement has a church, and small settlements have chapels which are visited by a Priest several times a year. Sodalities of men and women are established in all the leading churches, and each has its own distinctive badge. Some of the ancient brotherhoods wear, besides, special cloaks and tippets when assisting at the public functions of the church and according to their respective offices each individual member carries in his hand a wooden pole called *vara* or rod about four feet long covered either with a thin plate of silver or tinsel. Every Parish has its own special Feast which is celebrated at the expense of the President of the brotherhood appointed for the year and some of the members. These titular Feasts are celebrated with very great splendour. A nine days' devotion precedes the solemn celebration, and on the eve of the Feast, the neighbouring parishes are invited and received with honors. Each of the neighbouring Parish Priests leads his own Parish headed by a Processional Cross. The Vicar of the Parish where the Feast is celebrated, vested in surplice and stole meets them a little way off the Church, incenses the Cross and then allows them to pass on. This ceremony is repeated till all the Parishes with their brotherhoods have passed on to the church. Vesper follows, and then what is called "distribution of honors" in the shape of candles to the President and members who take a prominent part in the celebration of the Feast, as also to the leading men of the

Parish. The Native Catholic Christians are great sticklers for religious honors. Not a Feast but has its special donors and benefactors whose names are publicly read out in the Churches and who are presented with wax candles as a token of distinction. On the Feast day High Mass is sung with splendid solemnity, and with the Procession and Benediction that follows lasts for nearly 4 hours from 9 A. M. to 1. P. M. A touching custom is kept up on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin which is celebrated just when the paddy crops begin to ripen and are, in some places, about to be harvested. Sheaves of corn are brought from the various fields by their owners some of them marching in procession accompanied by music and the inevitable tom tom, and are afterwards publicly placed in the church before the Holy sacrifice begins. Then they are distributed first among the leading men, and afterwards among the assembled people. During the novena preparatory to the Feast, every day the boys of the Parish go to the church with paper chaplets on their heads and plates full of flowers in their hands. They stand in lines on both sides of the entrance to the chancel which is separated from the nave by a wooden railing and has a statue of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Babe, put up in the centre shrouded by lights and flowers. The sacristan and the boys sing a hymn in Konkani, and the boys beginning with the couple who head the two lines, go in pairs to the table whereon the image of the Blessed Virgin is set up, strew flowers at the feet of the image, and on the floor of the chancel and then come back to their places. A very tender devotional practice this, which proves the devotedness of the Native Catholic Christians of these parts to the Blessed Mother of God, as Catholics regard the Virgin Mother of Christ.

6. *Social Customs.*—Girls are married at any age after 14, but among the lower classes they are generally married a year or two earlier. Proposals for marriage come as a rule from the girls' parents. Among the higher classes matches are generally a matter of dowry, and agents are often employed to bring about settlements, and yet the religious character of matrimony is never lost sight of. Undue freedom between the betrothed is not permitted. The announcement of betrothal is made on three successive Sundays. At the houses both of the young man and woman two sheds called *matávs* are built, a guest shed in front of the house and a cooking shed behind. In the cooking shed a band of

married women prepare earthen hearths singing Konkani songs. When the hearths are ready sweetmeats are handed round. This is called *roshio ghaleho*. Invitations to the wedding are made personally by the mother and father or a kinsman of the bride and bridegroom. A day or two before the wedding the married female neighbours help in preparing articles necessary for the wedding feast, singing Konkani songs as they work. This is called *dalop*. It used to be the practice in former days on the eve of the marriage for the bride and bridegroom to be rubbed with cocoanut milk, while songs were sung by the women, and afterwards bathed; but this foolish ceremony called *roslancho* is now done away with, the common sense of the Konkani Christians revolting against it. I believe it is the practice also to have Mass said for the souls of the deceased members of the families entering into matrimonial alliance, and alms in the way of food given to the poor. This feeding of the poor is called *Almamchanjevan* which literally means food of departed souls, food that is given to the poor, to expiate by such charity, the sufferings of the souls of the dear ones in Purgatory. On the morning of the wedding day, the bride and bridegroom, having on their wedding garments and adorned with jewels, receive the blessing and good wishes of parents and friends and start from their respective houses in procession to the church, where a nuptial Mass is invariably celebrated after the wedding knot is tied with the usual religious ceremony. Then the bride and bridegroom accompanied by friends and relations go in procession to the bride's house. When they reach the marriage booth married women of the bridegroom's family stand outside and sing merry songs in Konkani, the bride's people praising the bridegroom, while inside the booth a band of friends sings the bride's praises. This lasts for about half an hour. Then rosewater is sprinkled on the guests, and among the well-to-do cake and wine offered to them. The bridal dress with flowers and ornaments are shortly brought for the bride by the bridegroom's people, and offered with much ceremony. All this while, the bride is seated inside the house and the bridegroom and bestmen outside in the booth or pandal. Soon however the bridegroom's female relations enter the house, and robe the bride in her new bridal dress, and tie the marriage necklace

round her neck, and deck her with flowers. As soon as the robing is over, the bridegroom walks into the house and stands by the side of the bride, and all present say prayers and sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. The bridegroom afterwards returns to the booth leading the bride by the hand. Then follow the giving of presents by the bride's people to the newly married and dinner to the guests. The next day the bridegroom and bride start for the bridegroom's house amid a shower of blessings from all the elders both men and women. Here the bridegroom's people make the customary presents of gold ornaments or wearing apparel and afterwards treat the guests to a dinner. This done, the father of the bride makes his daughter over to the parents of the bridegroom saying :— "From her birth till now I have cherished my daughter. I now give her to your charge and trust that you will treat her as your own child." For five or six days after this, the newly married couple and their respective parties are entertained, now at the bride's house, now at the bridegroom's, till finally the couple return to the bridegroom's house. In the seventh month of her first pregnancy a woman is dressed in a new robe, decked with flowers, and after feasting with her friends and relations, taken to the house of her parent for her accouchement.

7. *Progress of Religion.*—In the Diocese of Mangalore, which comprises the whole of the District of South Canara, and a part of the neighbouring District of North Malabar, there are 30 Parish Churches and several chapels served by 38 native secular Priests and by some of the Jesuit Fathers of the Italian Mission. Each Parish is divided into a number of circles or village groups with a *Budvant* or headman at the head of each. The *Budvant* has an orderly called Chamador or Kolkar. In distant out of the way villages where there are no stationary Priests, the *Budvant* watches the conduct of the community, and in cases of misdemeanour gives notice to the ecclesiastical authorities. In this manner lay help is very creditably utilized chiefly among the illiterate classes of the community. There is an ecclesiastical seminary at the Head Quarters of the Diocese, where over 30 young men, all natives of the soil are studying for the Priesthood. Not far from this seminary is a convent of cloistered Carmelite nuns, recruited, like

the former, from among the natives, though the superior is French. Education is fostered among the people through the sedulous and watchful care of the Jesuit Fathers. The College of St. Aloysius was founded in 1880 and two years later affiliated to the Madras University. It consists of a Middle and High School, and a College Department, and the number of boys on the rolls is nearly 400. That the Native Catholic Christians take to a liberal education with avidity is evidenced by the fact that the passes at the University Examinations from this College, have always been remarkably fair. The girls too have schools in several centres conducted by the Tertiary sisters of Mount Carmel. These good nuns have so ingratiated themselves in the esteem of the high caste Hindus of these parts that they have been able to open a school also for the high caste Hindu children. The Mission supports a large asylum for the sick and destitute poor, as also orphanages for boys and girls. Able bodied men and boys are trained to various industrial arts in the Mechanical Institute attached to the asylum. There is also a Leper Asylum under the supervision of the Revd. Father Aug. Muller of Homœopathic fame. Here poor wrecks of humanity are housed and fed and otherwise taken care of with truly Christian tenderness. But these details refer rather to the work of the Jesuit Mission, than to the subject of this article which is confined to the origin, habits, and social and religious customs of the Native Catholic Christians of Canara. I shall therefore conclude with the expression of a hope that this community will exercise a still greater influence over the surrounding population, and by the example of their lives, free from the trammels of vice and superstition, lead their neighbours on to virtue and happiness.

F. F. LEMERLE.

VEDANTISM AND NEO-PLATONISM.

THE evidence for the influence of Indian thought on Greek philosophy, previous to the Christian era, is extremely meagre, but we have strong proofs indicative of Indian influence on Greek systems, such as Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism, which flourished chiefly in the second and third centuries after Christ. There are, no doubt, some striking traits of agreement noticeable between individual systems of Greek thought in ante-Christian times and the ancient schools of Indian philosophy, but these are nothing more than what can be accounted for by the natural sameness of human thought. It is true such eminent authorities as Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Bathelémy Saint-Hilaire, Leopold von Schroeder and others have tried to prove the dependence of the Pythagorean speculations upon Indian philosophy and cosmology, and, in proof of this, have adduced some striking analogies between the Indian and Pythagorean systems. But, in the absence of historical evidence of the influence of Indian on Pythagorean philosophy, we are not justified in attaching much importance to even a number of coincidences in regard to cosmological and philosophical conceptions; so long as these conceptions are what would suggest themselves naturally to the ancients, who attempted to reason concerning philosophical and scientific problems, without any extraneous aid. Colebrooke, in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, assigns the following reasons for advocating the Indian origin of Pythagorean philosophy :—

"Pythagoras, and Ocellus in particular, distinguish as parts of the world, the heaven, the earth, and the interval between them, which they term lofty and aërial. . . Here we have precisely the heaven, earth, and (transpicuous) intermediate region of the Hindus."

"Pythagoras, as after him Ocellus, peoples the middle or aërial region with demons, as heaven with gods, and the earth with men. Here again they agree precisely with the Hindus, who place the gods above, man beneath, and spiritual creatures, flitting unseen, in the intermediate region."

"Nobody needs to be reminded, that Pythagoras and his successors held the doctrine of metempsychosis, as the Hindus universally do the same tenet of transmigration of souls."

"They agree likewise generally in distinguishing the sensitive, material organ (*manas*), from the rational and conscious living soul (*Jivatman*), one perishing with the body, the other immaterial."

"Like the Hindus, Pythagoras, with other Greek philosophers, assigned a subtle ethereal clothing to the soul apart from the corporeal part, and a grosser clothing to it when united with body; the *sukshma* (or *linga*) *sarira* and *sthula sarira* of the Sankyas and the rest."

Now, there is nothing very peculiar in any one of these doctrines to justify our claiming for them a purely Hindu origin. They are broad guesses or half guesses at truth that would naturally suggest themselves to every thinking people. Even the doctrine of metempsychosis has been shewn by E. B. Tylor and others as having prevailed among some of the lower races of mankind, such as the Tlascalans of Mexico, the Zulus of Africa and the Dayaks of Borneo, from the earliest times.

Whilst the coincidences between the Pythagorean system and Hindu philosophy do not warrant our ascribing an Indian origin to the former, the points of agreement between Neo-Platonism and Vedantism are of a more striking nature, and point distinctly to the influence of Indian thought on later Greek philosophy.

Neo-Platonism, as the term implies, is only a further development of Platonism. It is in fact the union of Platonism with oriental mysticism. When philosophy, on Greek soil, after passing through those remarkable stages of development, in the hands of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno and Epicurus, ended in a hopeless scepticism—a scepticism which tried to demonstrate that 'We can know nothing, not even this itself, that we know nothing'—it had evidently reached a stage of decay beyond all hope of recovery. Philosophy, therefore, driven from its home in Greece, found a congenial soil in Rome and Alexandria; but the Romans took no share of their own in the development of philosophy, and hence, on Roman soil, philosophy was but a weak paraphrase of the Grecian. In Alexandria, that great centre of religious struggles and of gigantic commerce, the case was different. Lively relations had been established in the first century A. D., and even earlier, between Persia and India and Egypt; and Alexandria was the great meeting place of Eastern and Western thought. Oriental mysticism was in the air, as it were, when philosophy, exiled from Greece, found a congenial home, for a time, in Alexandria; but the only system of Greek thought that could thrive in such an atmosphere was Platonism, which had already

shewn a leaning towards mysticism. On Greecian soil philosophy remains as philosophy, but in Alexandria, under strong oriental influences, it becomes a theology.

We shall take Plotinus (205-270. A. D.) as the best representative of Neo-Platonism and then trace the striking points of agreement between the system he developed and the Vedanta and Sankya systems of thought. Plotinus follows closely Plato in drawing a sharp line of distinction between the world of sense and the world of intelligence. The world of sense is in itself manifold, impermanent, half real. It is marked by multiplicity, for it appears to us as an interminable host of sensations, of sight, sound, touch, taste, smell, all in a constant state of change, like a stream of water. All that appeals to our senses is like a drifting cloud; before you can point your finger at it it has taken a different shape. The condition of sensuous existence is a ceaseless play of antagonism. In this material, contingent world everything depends on something else, everything is bound by the iron chain of causality. There is no freedom. The sensible world cannot, therefore, be understood in itself. The world is like a mirror in which a man sees the shadows of realities. There is a world higher and better than the world of sense; an existence in which a face to face knowledge with realities is possible. Above, around and within the world of sense, therefore, there is another world, the world of intelligence, which is characterised by Unity, Eternity, Goodness, Beauty, Truth, Freedom, and Life. So far, Neo-Platonism is merely an echo of Platonism. Vedantism agrees with Platonism in regarding the life of sensuous existence as a lower life, and in drawing a distinction between the world of sense and the world of intelligence, but this agreement is of too general a nature to make us infer a dependence of the one theory on the other. The resemblances, however, between Vedantism and Neo-Platonism are more striking.

One peculiar feature of Neo-Platonism, which distinguishes it from its Greek prototype, is the doctrine of the mystical absorption into divinity or the One. Plato had said that the soul should try and free itself from the shackles of sensuous existence in order to have a face to face knowledge of realities and enter the world of intelligence. There he stopped, but Plotinus points out the way in which a knowledge of the true may be attained. Such knowledge can only be won by a process of intuition, which consists in a swooning back as it were into the

absolute, and thus losing all consciousness of Self and Not-Self. The supreme degree of cognition is vision of the true being, the single principle of things; in which all separation between it and the soul ceases; in which this latter, in divine rapture, touches the absolute itself, feels itself filled by it, illaminated by it. He who has attained to this veritable union with God, despises henceforth even that pure thought which he formerly loved, because it was still after all only a movement, and presupposed a difference between the seer and the seen. To quote Plotinus: "The faculty by which the mind divests itself of its personality is *Ecstasy*. In this ecstasy the soul becomes loosened from its material prison, separated from individual consciousness and becomes absorbed in the infinite intelligence from which it emanated. In this ecstasy it contemplates real existence; it identifies itself with that which it contemplates." This doctrine of mystical absorption into divinity is pure Vedantism. The one object the Vedantist has is to penetrate beyond the unreal to the real, and thus make the individual soul recognise and recover its unity with the universal soul. The way to this is by a process of abstraction, the laying aside of the vestures of the soul by the repression of every feeling, every desire and every thought,—the renouncement of family, home, and worldly ties. By further and further abstraction the soul reaches the last and highest stage of development, the spiritual unity of undifferenced being. After the soul has reached the highest stage,—the intuition of self—nothing remains but an undifferenced unity. This is also the consummation which the Neo-Platonist puts forward as the goal to be reached by every individual bent upon emancipating himself from this life of sensuous existence.

It is regarded as a historical fact that Plotinus, with the view of perfecting his experience by personal acquaintance with the wisdom of the Persians and Hindus, attached himself to the expedition of the Emperor Gordian against the Persians; but that after the disaster of the expedition he returned immediately to Antioch. On Porphyry, the disciple of Plotinus, the Indian influence seems to have been even more direct. He made use of the treatise of Bardesanes, from which he copied an important passage about the Brahmans. And Bardesanes is said to have acquired information about India from the Indian ambassadors who were sent to the Emperor Autoninus Pius. This being so we are not surprised at the Indian stamp that is borne by Neo-Platonism.

The peculiar theory of emanation of the Neo-Platonists also bears more or less a Vedantic stamp. This theory assumes the world to be an effluence or irradiation of God. The all-perfect and eternal Being, in the fulness of its perfection, permits to emanate from itself—what is equally everlasting though only second to itself—reason. Reason, therefore, is the reflexion of this eternal one. From reason again there emanates the eternal soul of the world. This universal soul in its turn fashions the visible world, forming it as material copy of its own Self, penetrating and animating it. Thus from the highest series, the one eternal Being, we have reached the lowest, the world of sense; but this eternal being is the only noumenal reality. Neo-Platonism, therefore, is pure Monism and as such is akin more to Vedantism than to the Sankya system. The Vedantist doctrine of emanation also takes for granted one ultimate reality and that is Brahman, the impersonal self. Brahman, or self *per se*, is changeless, but in union with *Maya* becomes fictitiously the basis of this baseless world, and underlies the world fiction out of which the ever-changing figment worlds proceed. In the following exposition, by Sankaracharya, of the doctrine of emanation, as contained in one of the Upanishads, we cannot help noticing the prototype, as it were, of the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation:—

"First there is the one and only Self, apart from all duality, in which have ceased to appear the various counterfeit presentations or fictitious bodies and environments of the world of semblances; passionless, pure, inert, peaceful, to be known by the negation of every epithet not to be reached by any word or thought."

"Secondly, this same Self emanates in the form of the omniscient Demiurgus, whose counterfeit presentment or fictitious body is cognition in its utmost purity; who sets in motion the universal undifferenced germ of the worlds, the cosmical illusion; and is styled the internal ruler, as actuating all things from within." (This corresponds to the universal soul of the Neo-Platonists.)

"Thirdly, this same Self emanates in the form of Hiranyagarbha (Prana, the Breath of Life) which accounts for the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep, the sum of the dreaming consciousness of the world.

"Fourthly, this same Self emanates in the form of waking sentiencies in its earliest embodiment within the outer shell of things as Virâj or Prajapati. He is identified with the totality of waking consciousness, with the sum of souls in the waking state, and the sum of their gross, visible and tangible environments. (This corresponds to the third and last stage of emanation of the Neo-Platonist which accounts for the coming into existence of the visible world.)

There is one more peculiar doctrine of the Neo-Platonists, the doctrine of the *Logos*, which seems to have its counterpart in Hindu philosophy as well. The *Logos* doctrine plays a very prominent part in all mystical systems beginning with Neo-Platonism. God being incomprehensible and inaccessible, an intermediate existence was necessary as an interpreter between God and man, and this intermediate existence the Neo-Platonists called the Word—*Logos*. God's Word or thought is two fold, according to one of the earliest Neo-Platonists, the thought as embracing all Ideas (in the Platonic sense of the term idea,) *ie.*, thought as thought, and the thought *realized*, thought become the world.* The *Logos*, therefore, came to mean that which forms the basis of the explanation of things, the cause or living force or energy which brings the thing into being, and makes it what it is.

Professor Richard Garbe of Königsberg, in an able and interesting article in the *Monist*, on "The connexion between Indian and Greek philosophy," quotes with approval the theory of Professor Weber, who regards the idea of the *Logos* as one of the Grecian loans from India. Professor Weber seems to think that the *Logos* occupies the same position in Greek philosophy that the Sanskrit *Vach* does in Indian philosophy. He has put forward the supposition that the Indian conception of the *vach* (a feminine noun, meaning voice, speech, word) may have had some influence upon the idea of the *Logos* in Neo-Platonism, and passed from there into the Gospel of St. John. To quote Professor Garbe :—

"Weber starts from the hymn Rigveda X. 125, in which Vâch already appears as an active power, and he refers to the personification of the "divine Vâch" or language, as the vehicle of priestly eloquence and wisdom. He then traces the development of this idea through the Brahmana literature, where the Vach becomes more and more similar to the *Logos* in the beginning of the Gospel

* Gospel of St. John, Chap. I. 1.

of St. John. In the numerous passages quoted by Weber, the Vach appears as the consort of Prajapati, the creator, in union with whom and by whom he accomplishes his creation ; yea, the Vách is even ultimately the most spiritual begetter, and now and then she is placed absolutely at the beginning of all things, even above the personal bearer of her own self. Weber concludes with the following words :—'There are certainly no difficulties in understanding the cosmological position of the Vach which is simply to be conceived as the culmination of glorifying priestly meditation and knowledge, while the same position of the *logos*, on the other hand, appears without any suggestion as to its origin or development."

Prof. Garbe himself goes a step further and contends that as the Platonists seem to have adopted the doctrine from the Stoics and these again from Heraclitus, who flourished in the fifth century B. C., Heraclitus himself must have been influenced by Indian thought. The doctrine of *Logos* was no doubted anticipated in previous Greek systems but it was given a peculiar interpretation by the Neo-Platonists, and, therefore, Prof. Weber is justified in not going the length that Prof. Garbe does.

Prof. Garbe also refers to Lassen's treatment of Neo-Platonism. Lassen makes out that the Sânkya system it is that has had the greatest influence on Neo-Platonism. There are no doubt some striking points of agreement between the Sankya system and Neo-Platonism. The Sankya system strives to lead men to discriminative knowledge and with it to redemption, that is to absolute painlessness; Neo-Platonism also promises to deliver the world from misery. The doctrine of the mystical absorption into divinity or the One, which Plotinus propounds, has much in common with the latter development of the Sankya philosphy viz., the Yoga system. Professor Garbe also points out that the *ecstacy* of Plotinus ("the union with the deity") is the same as the *pratibha* of the Yoga system (the immediate, universal knowledge of truth that comes upon one suddenly after systematic ascetic exercises). Moreover, the ascetic tendency of Neo-Platonism has its counterpart in Yoga philosophy. But every one of these points of agreement between the Sankya and the Neo-Platonic systems is to be found in the Vedantic system as well, whilst the fact that the theory of emanation of Plotinus bears a distinctly Vedantic stamp and the other consideration that Neo-Platonism is practically a monistic and

not a dualistic system, like the Sankya, clearly show that Vedantism it is that must have had the greatest influence on Neo-Platonism.

It is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of speculative thought,—this curious blending of Indian and Greek thought on African soil. It is true that, as a system of philosophy, Neo-Platonism has not had much influence but there is something fascinating in its mysticism, and in the bold attempts it made to solve by faith the problems unsolvable by reason. Greek philosophy expired with Neo-Platonism but before disappearing finally it made a desperate effort to regain its lost position by union with oriental mysticism; but a new influence, in the shape of Christianity, was at work, preparing new ground for an outburst of philosophy in a different direction altogether, and to this new influence Neo-Platonism succumbed completely. It is interesting to study the union of Indian and European philosophical speculations in modern times, and to compare the natuae of this union with that seen in Neo-Platonism, but this is a task which must be taken up on a future occasion.

S. SATTHIANADHAN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANÁGARÍ ALPHABET.

We are of opinion that though the *idea* of an alphabet—a system of written symbols giving a distinct visible form to linguistic sounds in their most elementary condition—may not have first suggested itself to the Vedic Rishis, still the mode of writing which they have employed to embody their thoughts on multitudinous subjects was all originated by them after they finally settled down in the country, and had leisure to devote themselves to a systematic study of their sacred hymns. And why did the Rishis invent the Alphabet? The Rishis repeated the Mantras (hymns) as their present descendants do, with the utmost scrupulosity, not mispronouncing a single word or fraction of it; and the words were carefully analysed, and each separate member subjected to a rigid scrutiny. In this way, the word came to be divided into syllables, and syllables into letters, and their separate properties were discovered. Naturally a desire was felt for a permanent preservation of the results of their linguistic inquiries, and distinct visible symbols were contrived. They were arranged in a systematic group, thus making up the Devanagari Alphabet, the most scientific Alphabet in the world, absolutely free from a single redundant sound or symbol. The Greek or Roman Alphabet is different. It was not produced to satisfy a felt want, and especially the want of purists, whether sacerdotal or literary. The Greeks and the Romans formed an Alphabet, which they used without inquiring into its scientific merits; and the first Greeks and Romans who used it were poets, who did not care how their poems were recited. They wrote them as they were moved by the afflatus which possessed them, and trusted for the appreciation of their performances or the correct enunciation of them to the same spontaneous inspiration. But it was different with the later Rishis. The poems composed by their ancestors were regarded by them as divine and potent engines for obtaining great gifts from the gods, for the efficacy of which correct articulation was essential. Hence the origin of the different

grammatical and rhetorical treatises that came into existence; and hence, also, the necessity that was felt for a mode of writing to preserve a knowledge of the accurate utterances of the sacred verses. The Devanagari alphabet thus sprang on the Indian soil, after the Mantra period, when the spontaneous poetic effusions of the primitive poets had come to be regarded as Divine charms. Each elementary sound was represented by an *akshar*—a distinct *indestructible* sign, and each full radical sound having been a syllable, the elementary symbol which denoted it was a syllabic representation. All the vowels and the consonants were syllables or akshars, the consonants having had the vowel *a* inherent in them.

Now the next question is, how did the letters of the Devanagari alphabet suggest themselves to the ingenious originator? Did he copy any existing alphabets or derive new forms by a modification of them? We believe the Indians did not borrow their alphabet. All the *akshars* are modification of one form or figure, and they could not, for this one form, go about either begging or borrowing. The Devanagari alphabet is formed upon one great principle:—*the passage of the breath in utterance*, and this principle can be traced throughout the whole of its scientific arrangement. The gutturals are placed first; then the palatals, then the linguals, then the dentals, and last of all the labials. The breath as it proceeds from the larynx is affected first by the muscles of the throat, then by those of the palate, the upper palate, etc. till it reaches the lips, when it explodes forcibly. So when articulation is traced from the lips backward we come to the larynx, which shows itself at the back of the mouth by means of *two round holes* making up a shape like this— ∞ —two circles placed in juxtaposition. This magic figure is the basis—the germ from which the whole of that most beautiful and systematic alphabet—the Devanagari—arose. Every letter or syllable of this alphabet is a modification of this copy of the two holes that stand staring at the beholder at the root of the tongue. A detailed account of the genisis of the Devanagari alphabet is given below.

The circles, in their perfect or imperfect form, were placed in every possible position in reference to a perpendicular line, and the full-fledged letters or characters came thus into existence.

I. THE VOWELS.

(1) In अ *a* the twin circles are placed perpendicularly in juxtaposition to the perpendicular line, and the two are joined by a short line. The circles in hurried writing would not form perfectly rounded figures; thus 8, ७, ३, ३, अ *a*.

(2) The आ *á* was made by adding the perpendicular line to अ *a*.

(3) The इ *i* is produced by writing the initial part of अ *a* with a twist at the bottom; thus, ७, ३, इ, *i*. This is the short इ *i*. The long ई is the short इ *i* with a part of it at the top, as इ + ◌ = ई.

(4) The उ *u* is the initial part of अ *a* with simply the horizontal line at the top; thus, ७, उ *u*. The long ऊ is the short उ with a part of it put at the side of it, as उ + ɔ = ऊ *ú*.

(5) The ऋ *ṛi* is a half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line with the whole of the initial part of अ *a*, put in an inverted form on the other side; thus, ɔ, ɔ, ɔ, ऋ + ∞ = ऋ, *ṛi*. The long ॠ is produced by giving a twist to the right portion of the ऋ *ṛi* as ॠ.

(6) The ऌ *li* is the initial part of अ *a* having its short line of union put upside down with a bent at the right end; thus, ल, ल, ऌ *lí*. The long ॡ *lí* is made up with a twist at the right end, as ॡ *lí*.

(7) The ए *é* is the half of the initial part of अ *a*, put perpendicularly and in a reversed position, with a slight bent at the lower end, and with the perpendicular line by its side; thus, ७, ६, ५, ए *e*. The long ऐ is the short ए with the lower part of its initial member put at the top; thus, ए + ◌ = ऐ *ai*.

(8) The ओ *o* is आ *á* with the upper stroke of ऐ *ai*, and औ is ओ *o* with an additional upper stroke.

(9) The अं *am* is the अ *a* with a dot at the top, and अः *ah* is the अ *a* with two dots at the side.

II. THE CONSONANTS.

(i.) *The Gutturals.*

(1) The क *ka* is the initial part of अ *a*, written horizontally, or sideways with the perpendicular line put in the middle, and the left half fully rounded; thus, ॐ, ক, क *ka*.

(2) The ख *kha* is the initial part of अ *a* with the first half of क *ka*; thus ३, २, २ + व = ख *kha*.

(3) The ग *ga* is a half of the initial part of अ with the perpendicular line by the side; thus, ग, ग, ग *ga*.

(4) The घ *gha* is the initial part of अ *a* turned inside and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, ६, ध, घ *gha*.

(5) The ङ *ña* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in the vowel इ with a dot on the right side; thus, ३, ङ, ङ *ña*.

(ii.) *The Palatals.*

(1) The च *cha* is the initial part of अ *a* put horizontally with the openings at the top, and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, ए च, च *cha*.

(2) The छ *chha* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in च *cha*, but with the right end curved and joined to an upper horizontal line with a perpendicular short line; thus, ६, छ, छ, छ *chha*.

(3) The ज *ja* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in च *cha* and joined at the right end to the perpendicular line; thus, ज, ज, ज. As in च *cha* so in ज *ja* the rounded part of one member of ॐ is straightened but in the reverse order: in च *cha* the first part, and in ज *ja* the second.

(4) The झ *jha* is the modification of the initial part of अ *a*, as in इ *i*, joined to the perpendicular line with a short horizontal line; thus, ३, इ, इ, इ, झ *jha*.

(5) The ञ *ña* is a half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line with a short horizontal line; thus, ञ, ञ, ञ, ञ *ña*.

(iii.) *The Linguals.*

(1) The ट *ṭa* is the initial part of अ *a* put in an inverted position; thus, ट, ट ट *ṭa*.

(2) The ठ *ṭha* is the ट *ṭa* with its lower part turned round; as ट *ṭa*, ठ *ṭha*.

(3) The ड *ḍa* is the initial part of अ *a* written as the guttural nasal ङ *ṅa* without the distinctive dot; thus, ड, ड, ड, ड *ḍa*.

(4) The ढ *ḍha* is the ट *ṭa* with the lower part bent in; thus, ट *ṭa*, ढ *ḍha*.

(5) The ण or ण्ण *ṇa* is the whole or a part of the initial part of अ *a* written with its two ends turned upwards, having the perpendicular line put by its side on the right hand; thus, ण, ण, ण ण, ण्ण or ण *ṇa*.

(iv.) *The Dentals.*

(1) The dental त *ta* is the half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line; thus, त, त, त *ta*.

(2) The थ *tha* is the initial part of अ *a* having its upper end turned round, and the lower somewhat curved in, being joined to the perpendicular line; thus, थ, थ, थ, थ, थ, थ *thá*.

(3) The द *da* is the inverted form of the initial part of अ *a* having its lower curve enlarged with a twist at the bottom; thus, द, द, द, द, द *da*.

(4) The ध *dha* is the initial part of अ *a* with a knot at the top and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, ध, ध, ध, ध *dha*.

(5) The न *na* is the elongated half of the initial part of अ *a* joined horizontally to the perpendicular line with a knot at the other end; thus, ३, ८, ८, न *na*.

(v.) *The Labials.*

(1) The प *pa* is the half of the initial part of अ *a* written upright and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, ७, ८, ∪, ५, प *pa*.

(2) The फ *pha* is the प *pa* with a bit on the other side of the perpendicular line, as in क *ka*.

(3) The ब *ba* is the प *pa* with its initial part fully rounded as in क *ka*, and having a stroke in the round part.

(4) The भ *bha* is the initial part of अ *a* written almost as in the dental थ *tha*, which see; thus, ७, ३, भ, भ *bha*.

(5) The म *ma* is the भ *bha* without the initial knot; thus, भ, ३, ५, म, म *ma*.

N. B.—The modifications of अ *a* have been made in the above forms of the consonants according to some fixed rule, and not quite at random.

(1) The guttural sounds are most close, and the parts of the initial portion of अ *a* are therefore mostly closed up; thus, in क *ka* the first part व is so; the same is the case in ख *kha*, in ग *ga*, घ *gha*, etc.

(2) The palatals are more open sounds and the initial part in them is open and flat; thus ८ in च, छ in छ, ज in ज, etc.

(3) The linguals are sharply and forcibly uttered, and the letters are formed in knots; thus ट *ta*, ठ *tha*, ड *dha*, ण *na*, etc.

(4) The dentals are soft and flat sounds, and the initial part of अ *a* assumes, therefore, a distended open form thus, त *ta*, थ *tha*, द *da* ध *dha*, न *na*.

NOTE.—These forms may be compared with the gutturals.

(5) In sounding the labials the breath appears to rise upwards, and the ends of the initial part of अ *a* are turned upwards; thus ∪ in प *pa*, फ *pha*, भ *bha*, म *ma*, etc.

(vi.) *The Liquids.*

(1) The य *ya*, which is the semi-vowel corresponding to इ *i*, is the initial part of अ *a* as in इ *i*, without the twist and the lower part being turned sideways; thus, ३, ३ इ *i*; ३ ३, भ, य *ya*.

(2) The र *ṛa*, which corresponds to ऋ *ri*, is the right part of ऋ *ṛi* written upright; thus, ऋ *ṛi*, ६, र *ra*.

(3) The ल *la*, which corresponds to ऌ *ḷi*, is the ऌ *ḷi* without the curve at the bottom; thus, ऌ *ḷi*, ल *la*.

(4) The व *va*, which corresponds to उ *u*, is the lower end of उ *u* turned round, and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, उ, ०, व, व *va*.

(vii.) *The Sibilants.*

(1) The श *sá* is the initial part of च *cha* to which it corresponds, written perpendicularly, with the perpendicular line written by its side; thus, च, ω, २, श, श *sá*.

(2) The ष *sha* is the lower part of ट *ṭa*, to which it corresponds, joined to the perpendicular line, with a stroke in it; thus ट, ᴗ, प ष ष *sha*.

(3) The स *sa*, which corresponds to the dental त *ta*, is the त *ta* with a twist, the initial being joined to the perpendicular line in the middle; thus, त, ८, ∝, ∝ स *sa*.

(4) The ह *ha*, which is a guttural, is the guttural ङ, *ṅa* without the dot, and a stroke at the left side of it; thus ङ, उ, ह *ha*.

(ix.) *Miscellaneous Letters.*

(1) The ळ *ḷa* is a modified form of ल *la*, thus ल *la*, ळ *ḷa*.

(2) The क्ष *ksha*, which represents क *ka* and ष *sha*, is the initial round part of क joined to the first part of ष *sha* with a twist, and both united to the perpendicular line; thus, ० + ᴗ =

ह, ह, क्ष. The internal stroke of ष *sha* is used for the twist of the initial part of क्ष *ksha*.

(3) ज्ञ *jna* which is composed of the palatal ज *ja* and ञ *na* is ज *ja* modified with a twist; thus, ज *ja*, ज्ञ *jna*.

When once the letters of the alphabet were formed, the figures expressing the numerals were easily derived. They were produced from the initial letters of their names. Thus,

१ = ए in एक	one	(1)	६ = ष in षट्	six	(6)
२ = द्व in द्वि	two	(2)	७ = स in सप्त	seven	(7)
३ = त्र in त्रि	three	(3)	८ = अ in अष्ट	eight	(8)
४ = च in चतुर्	four	(4)	९ = न in नव	nine	(9)
५ = प in पंच	five	(5)	१० = द in दश	ten	(10)

NOTE.—The origin of the numeral signs had been traced before. We have simply suggested the origin of the *Alphabetical Characters*.

G. R. NAVALKER.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued)

WE have a vivid picture of Madura in the verses left by the poets of this period (1). Long before dawn Brahmin students begin to recite Vedic hymns; musicians tune their lutes and practise upon them; pastry cooks clean the floors of their shops; and toddy sellers open their taverns for early customers (2). Minstrels go round, singing their morning blessings. In the temples, in the monasteries and in the palace of the Pandya conch shells boom, and big drums resound with deafening noise (3). The rays of the morning sun now gild the tops of the fort towers and reveal the proportions of the city. The main streets "are long and broad as rivers" and the buildings on either side of the main streets are, most of them, lofty mansions with upper stories, furnished with many windows (4). At every temple a flag is hoisted. Over each liquor shop floats a merry steamer. Each trader's warehouse is distinguished by a special banner. For every victory gained by the king's forces gorgeous colours are unfurled. So many, and of such divers shapes and colours are these flags that the city looks as if it has been decked for a grand festival. Detachments of the king's troops return to the city from their raids into enemies' territories, bringing with them such booty as horses and elephants, and beautifully carved gates removed from fortresses which they had stormed. Other parties of soldiers return with herds of cattle, lifted at night, in the light of burning villages, and driven with their long spears, which now serve as goading sticks. Feudatory chiefs follow with their tributes to be presented to the king. Later, flower-sellers with trays

(1). Mâṅkudi Maruthanar's Mathuraik-kâñchi—Nakkirar's Nedu-nal-vâdai and Ilanko-adikals' Chilappathikâram.

(2) Mathuraik-kâñchi line 654 and *ff*. Two very interesting articles on the "Ten Tamil Idylls" which appeared in the *Christian College Magazine*, from the pen of Mr. Sundaram Pillay M. A., have been of much use to me, as they contain translations of extracts from the Nedu-nal-vâdai and Mathuraik-kâñchi—C. C. Magazine Vol. VIII No. 9, page 661 and Vol. IX No. 2, page 114.

(3). Chilapp-athikâram—XIV—7 to 14.

(4). Mathuraik-kâñchi—357 and *ff*.

full of loose blossoms and garlands suspended on their arms, and vendors of fragrant powders, of aracanuts and betel leaves, stroll in the streets or sit in the shade of the lofty buildings. Elderly women with tempting dainties and sweet smelling flowers, go from door to door, offering the articles for sale to the inmates of each house. The wealthy classes drive in chariots drawn by horses or ride on ambling steeds which are trained to special paces. The poor pedlars and petty dealers now run hither and thither, excited and terror stricken, as a fierce elephant, which had burst its chains and killed its guards, rushes through the street, while men run before and behind it, blowing conch-shells to warn passengers off the road. Now and then the brawls of drunken soldiers also disturb the peace of the street. In the great market which is held in an extensive square, are exposed for sale (5) "carts, chariots and ornamented chariot tops; coats of mail and metallic belts which cannot be cut; leathern sandals and fly whisks made of the white tail of the yak; strong spears and curved clubs; elephant goads and shields to protect the face of elephants; various articles made of copper and of brass; saws and lathes and other tools; pretty garlands of flowers and fragrant pastes to be burned as incense or rubbed on the body, and other articles too many to be set forth." In the jewellers street are sold diamonds of the four kinds then known to merchants, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, topaz, lapizlazuli, onyx stones, lustrous pearls and bright red coral beads. The gold merchants who dwelt in a separate street, sell the four varieties of that precious metal known as Satharupam Kilichchirai, Adakam and Sambunatham. Cloths of various colours and patterns, made of cotton, wool or silk are exposed to view, folded and neatly arranged in rows, to the number of several hundreds, in each of the clothier's shops. Sacks of pepper and the sixteen kinds of grains, such as paddy, millet, gram, peas, sesamum seeds, are heaped in the grain merchants streets; and the brokers move to and fro with steel yards and measures in their hands, weighing or measuring the pepper and grains purchased by the people. In the Courts of Law preside learned Judges, who carefully avoid all anger and levity, and weigh the evidence and expound the law, without fear or favour (6). In the Ministers Courts are seated the sage councillors of the king, honored with the high title of

(5). Chilapp-athikâram—XIV—168 to 211.

(6). Mathuraik-kânchj—line 489 and *ff*.

Kâvithi, who with a keen foresight prevent all that is evil and promote what is good for their prince and for the people over whom he rules.

On a spacious lawn enclosed by a wall stands the palace of the Pandya(7). The gateway is so high as to allow elephants to enter with banners erect on their backs. "The tower over the gateway" says the poet "is like a hill and the passage underneath like a tunnel bored through the hill." The folding gates are strongly rivetted with iron and provided with massive bolts and bars. They are painted with vermillion, and on the door posts are carved images of the guardian deities. In the court yard which is covered with white sand, gambol "the long-haired yak and the short-legged swans." In another part of the enclosure are the royal stables where superb steeds are ready for the king's use. The stately apartments reserved for the use of the queen and her attendants, which no male but the king can approach, are decorated with flags of all the colours of the rainbow. The walls are of the hue of polished brass, and are at intervals plastered with white mortar which shines like silver. The beautiful creepers, painted on the walls, and the blue colour of the pillars blend to make a harmonious picture of the whole.

In the audience hall is seated the handsome Pandya. He wears only a single piece of clean starched cloth on his waist(8). Over it is clasped a jewelled belt. On his bare arms, above the elbow, are armlets of pure gold beautifully wrought. On his broad shoulders, fragrant with sandal paste, is a priceless necklace of brilliant pearls, besides a wreath of flowers. Around him stand a group of sturdy warriors, his trusted Captains, heroes who had captured many a fortress or slaughtered fierce elephants in battle, veteran chiefs, whose coats of mail have been battered and bruised in many a fight. Actors and ministrels and lute players display their skill in the presence of the monarch and receive chariots and elephants as presents.

In the cool hours of the evening, the noblemen drive out in splendid chariots, drawn by horses, each guarded by a number of his footmen who run by the side of his chariot(9). They are clad in red coloured garments. Their swords hang by their sides,

(7). Nedu-nal-vâdai-lines 76 to 114.
(8). Mâthuraik-kânchi-716 to 752.
(9). Mathuraik-kânchi-lines 431 and *ff*.

in scabbards ornamented with gold, and on their breasts are wreaths of flowers. Their ladies wearing sounding ankle rings and golden bracelets, appear on the high terraces, of their mansions, and their perfumes spread fragrance through the streets. The public walks are filled with a motley throng of chank-cutters, beadmakers, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, weavers, painters and dealers in perfumes and flowers, who move about the streets and dispose of the things they have brought for sale(10). The hotels and restaurants are all now crowded by visitors who feast upon luscious fruits such as the jack, mango or plantain and on sugar candies, tender greens, edible yams, sweetened rice or savoury preparations of meat. Above the hum of voices is presently heard a flourish of trumpets and other instruments of music, which summons the people to their evening worship. Women wearing glittering jewels, accompanied by their husbands and children, carry incense and flowers to the Buddhist monasteries. In the retreats of the Brahmin ascetics, which are like excavated blocks of rocks, is heard the chant of vedic hymns. Nigranthas crowd the cool cloisters of the monks of their sect, the walls of which are exceedingly high, and painted red, and are surrounded by pretty little flower gardens. Others visit the Brahminic temples and offer the evening sacrifices to the gods, "the chief of whom is He who is the creator of the five elements and who is armed with the battle-axe" (Siva)..(11)

As the shades of evening darken, lamps are lit in each house. Youths gaily attired, and harlots decked with jewels and flowers, walk the streets. Drunken soldiers go reeling, not minding even the sharp pointed caltrops strewn in the streets to keep off elephants. Young mothers escorted by their relations, proceed with lights, singing sweet melodies to the accompaniment of the lute and the tabor, and present boiled rice and other oblations to the goddess who is supposed to ensure the safe delivery of children, and with the priestess they partake of the offerings. In the suburbs, among the lower classes, at the bidding of soothsayers, festivals are held in honor of Muruga, and they dance hand in hand, wild and uncouth measures, with noisy songs and loud cries, while shrill cymbals and rattling drums keep up a discordant music.

Little by little the dancing and singing parties disperse. The petty traders close their shops; the dealers in sweetmeats go to

(10). Ibid lines-511 and *ff*.
(11). Mathuraik-kâuchi-lines 453 and *ff*.

sleep in front of their stalls; and silence reigns in the city. The night guards now patrol the streets. Armed with bows and arrows, unerring archers as they are, they go their rounds with fearless hearts and sleepless eyes, "not failing in their duty even in dark and rainy nights when the high streets overflow with water."(12)

Such is the description of Madura given by Tamil poets of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. It was doubtless the most famous and important town in Tamilakam at this period. What distinguished it however from other towns in the Tamil country were the high towers over the four gates of the fort. Hence it was familiarly known as Nân—mâdak—kûdal or the "Cluster of four towers." The name was sometimes shortened into Mâdak—kûdal, or Kûdal. (13). The site of this ancient Madura or Kudal was most probably Pala Madura (or old Madura,) now in ruins, which is situated at a distance of about 6 miles to the South-east of the modern town of Madura. The ruins are now on the northern bank of the Vaigai, whereas ancient Madura stood on its southern bank; but it is quite possible that the river had changed its course since the destruction of the old city. That Madura was in danger of being destroyed by the Vaigai may be inferred from a poet's description of Pandya in the following words. "Lord of the fortified

(12). Mathuraik-kâñchi, lines 646—650.

(13). Nakkirar's Tiru-murukârrup-padai, line 71. Kalith-thokai, stanza 35, line 17. Stanza 92 lines 11 and 65. The tradition that the name Nan-madak-kudal owed its origin to the four temples Tiru-âlavây, Tiru-nallaru, Tiru-mudankai and Tiru-naduvur appears to be an invention of the Puranic age.

I believe that the kingdom of Mo-lo-kiu-cha referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled through Southern India between 629 and 645 A. D., is the kingdom of Madura or Malaya-kûdal. Dr. Burnell relying on an inscription at Tañjore, supposed Malakuta to represent the delta of the Kaviri. (South Indian Palæography 2nd edition page 40. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII page 39 ff). Dr. Hultzsch has shown that this identification rested on an erroneous reading of the Tanjore inscriptions: but as regards the name he observes as follows: "The first half of the name Mo-lo-kiu-cha is no doubt the well known Dravidian word 'Mala' a hill: and the second may be connected with 'Kûrram' which means a Division, or more probably with 'Koddam' which means a district." *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVIII p: 240.—It appears to me however, more likely that 'kiu-cha' stands for Kudal, the old name of Madura —During Hiuen Tsiang's time, the kingdom was 5000 *lis* or 832 miles in circuit, and the circumference of the capital town was 40 *lis* or about 7 miles—Si-yu-ki Book X. page 21.

city, whose walls knew of no seige by any other enemy, but the waters of the Vaigai when it is swollen with floods." (14.)

Outside the fort of Madura resided those men who led a life of religious devotion and poor classes of people such as the Panar and other lower castes (15). West of Madura was the hill Parankunru sacred to Subramanya (16) according to the poet Nakkirar. This hill is south west of modern Madura but directly west of the ruins now known as old Madura; east of the Capital was another hill, where there was a temple dedicated to Vishnu. On the latter hill were three springs, to bathe in which was believed to be an act of great merit by the votaries of Vishnu (17). On the way from Madura to Uraiyur (now a suburb of Trichinopoly) were the Sirumalai hills which were covered with groves of mango and jack trees, areacanut and cocoanut palms, and where onion, saffron, raggy, millet, mountain rice, edible roots, plaintain and sugarcane grew in abundance (18).

Of the boundaries of Pandynadu or of the exact extent and position of the other twelve nadus comprised in Tamilakam, there is no record in ancient Tamil poems. The accounts given by commentators are also conflicting (19).—In the absence of any connected account of the ancient geography of the country by Tamil authors, I have had to make my own researches with the help of the information available in the Periplus and in the works of Pliny and Ptolemy.

(14). Kaliththokai, stanza 67, lines 3 to 5.

(15) Mathuraik-kanchi, 340-342.

(16). Thiru-murugattup-padai, 71-77.

(17). Chilappathikaram-XI 91-103.

(18). Ibid-XI-80 85.

(19). Gunasâgara in his commentary to the Yâpparunkalam of Amrithasagara, eighth sutram of the third part Ollpiyal, gives the limits of Chen-tamil-nadu or the province where pure Tamil was spoken "as north of the Vaigai river, south of the Marutha river, east of Karuvur and west of Maruvur." This would include approximately, the northern half of the modern district of Madura and the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. It would exclude Madura, the capital of the Pandya. The commentator Chenâvaraiyar and after him, Nachchinârkkiniyar accepted this definition of Chen-Tamil-nadu, and they mention the names of the surrounding Nadus in the following order from the South-east to the North-east of Chen Tamil Nâdu :—Ponkar, Oli, Then-pandi, Kuddam, Kudam, Panri, Karka, Cheetham, Pooli, Malayamanadu, Aruva and Aruva vada thalai. Gunasâgara gave the same list with this difference that instead of Ponkar, and Oli, he had Ven and Punal Nâdus. Sankara-namach-chivayar rejected with very good reason, this definition of Chen Tamil Nadu, in his commentary to Pavananti's Nannul-Chollathikaram, Peyariyal, sutrams 14 and 16. He was of opinion that Chen Tamil Nadu ought to have included Pandi Nadu and excluded the Chola country or Punal Nâdu.

There appear to have been four *nadus* or provinces bordering on the Arabian sea, in the following order, from North to South. Pooli or the "sandy tract," Kudam or the "western province" Kuddam or the "land of lakes" and Ven or the "bambooland (20). The names were appropriate to the natural peculiarity of each province. Pooli extended most probably from the banks of the modern Agalappula to the mouth of the Ponani river. The soil of this part of the country is remarkably sandy. Kudam denoted apparently the region between the mouth of the Ponani river and the southernmost mouth of the Periyar near Ernakulam. This would have been the most western land to the first immigrants who came into Malabar by the Palghat pass. Kuddam comprised the territory around the modern towns of Kottayam and Quilon which is to this day known by the same name to the natives of the country. The river Pali or Palai which flows through this province formed at its mouth several islands and lakes, and hence this tract was called Kuddam or the "land of lakes" South of Kuddam lay Ven which stretched up to very near Cape Comorin. The lowhills and valleys in this region were covered with luxuriant forests of bamboo, and therefore it was aptly named ven-nad or the "bambooland"

The chief town on this coast was Vanji or Karur (21) the capital of the Chera kingdom. It was situated on the banks of the Periyor a few miles inland from its mouth. The site of the town appears to have been near the modern Tiru-Vanjikalam ; and its other name Karuvur or Koruvai survives in Karuvaippattina, which is a village situted on one of the branches of the Periyar about three miles north-east of Tiru-Vanji-kalam. About five miles north of the latter place is a village still known as Madilakam, a name which signifies "within the wall." The northern wall of Vanji appears therefore to have at one time extended up to Madilakam. The town

(20). The names Pooli-Nadu and Kuda Nadu survived till the Mysorean conquest of Malabar, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, though slightly altered into Payanad, Polanad and Kutnad. Paynad comprised 9 amshams around the modern town of Quilandy, and Polanad 22 amshams surrounding Calicut. Kutnad consisted of 24 amshams in the modern Taluk of Ponani. Malabar Manual, Vol. I, pp : 647 to 666.

(21). Chilapp-athikaram XXV-9-22.

was strongly fortified(22). On the battlements were mounted various engines which could throw missiles on those who attack the the fort. Over the gates in the walls, were towers plastered with white mortar and adorned with flags. Surrounding the walls was a broad moat in which man-eating alligators of large size abounded. All the refuse water of the town flowed into the moat, but its banks were bright with the blossoms of the lotus and the red and white water lillies. No mention is made of any large building and the houses were not built in rows. The king's palace, a temple of Vishnu called Adakamadam or the "golden shrine,"(23) a Buddhist Chaitya,(24) and a Nigrantha monastery(25) which was outside the Eastern gate of the fort, appear to have been the most conspicuous edifices in the town. The king's relations resided in one street, his ministers and high officers of State in another, and the Brahmins in a third street. The merchants who dealt in gold and precious stones, in cora, and pearls, and in cloths of various kinds, sculptors, painters, carpenters, potters, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths and braziers; tailors and washermen, workers in leather and in conch-shells, musicians and astrologers, bards, minstrels and panegyrists; those who train horses or tame elephants; harlots, and dealers in salt and fish lived in separate streets. If Madura was noted for its many mansions and towers, Vanchi, with its flower-gardens and tanks full of crystal water, limpid streams and little islands, shady bowers and parks with artificial hills and waterfalls, was charming to every visitor. Outside the fort resided the soldiers of the Chera king. Ascetics and philosophers also dwelt in the silent and shady groves, far away from the din and bustle of the capital.

Near the mouth of the Periyar was Muchiri an important seaport. A poet describes it as follows :—"The thriving town of Muchiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold, come

(22). Manimekalai XXVIII 2 to 68.

(23). Chilapp-athikaram XXVI 62 and XXX 51. The commentator states that Adakamadam was Thiru-ananthapuram (the modern Trivandrum) or Hari. puram : but there is nothing in the text of the poem to warrant this conclusion.

(24). Manimekalai XXVIII 127.

(25). Chilapp-athikaram Pathikam line 1.

splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Kherala, and return laden with pepper." (26) "Fish is bartered for paddy which is brought in baskets to the houses," says another poet: "sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from ships, in exchange for articles sold, is brought to shore in barges, at Muchiri, where the music of the roaring sea never ceases, and where Kudduvan (the Chera king) presents to visitors, the rare products of the seas and mountains." (27)

Thondi was another flourishing seaport on the western coast. It stood on the banks of the Mâkkali (28) or the "big salt river" which is now known as Agalappulai. "It was bounded" says a poet "by groves of cocoanut trees bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice-fields, a range of hills, bright sandy salt marshes and a salt river, whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of flaming colours." (29) This description suits exactly the village now called Pallikara wich is situated at a distance of five miles north of the modern town of Quilandy. The name Thondi is not now remembered by the inhabitants; but the richest landlord in the village, a hereditary nobleman, is styled Thondippunathil Nair or Thondyil Kuruppachan. About twelve miles up the Aglappulai, near Kuttiadi, is a village still called Thondippoil, a name, which, I believe, signifies, the way to Thondi. The Agalappulai must have been navigable up to Thondi or Pallikkara in former days; but since the Kotta river diverted into another channel, the Agalappulai has shrunk in size and is no longer navigable. (30)

Pliny writing of the trade of India mentions the discovery by Hippalos of the direct route to the Indian shores and says, "Afterwards it was found the safest course to proceed direct from the promontory of Syagrus in Arabia (Cape Fartak) to Patale (31) with the west wind (Favonius) which they call there

(26). Erukkadu Thayankannanar—Akam 148.

(27). Paranar,—Puram 343.

(28). Poykaiyar,—Puram 48.

(29). Kurunkoliyar-kilar Puram 17.

(30). "It would seem as if the Kotta river had at one time found its way to the sea by this outlet (Agalappula) instead of by the channel now in use"—Malabar Manual Vol. I, p. 12.

(31). Patala, at the head of the delta of the Indus, McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 146.

the Hippalos, a distance reckoned at 1435 miles. In the next generation it was judged to be both a safer and nearer course to proceed from the same promontory direct to Sigerus, a port of India. And this mode of navigation was preserved for a long time until merchants discovered a shorter route and the profits of India were thus brought nearer to hand. The voyage is now made every year with cohorts of archers on board the ships, on account of the pirates which infest those seas."

He estimated that India took 55,000,000 sesterces (£ 486,979 sterling) annually, and the goods purchased brought a hundred times that amount when sold in Europe. He described the journey by the trade route through Egypt and then proceeded as follows:—

"They begin the navigation in the middle of summer before the rising of the Dog-star or immediately after its appearance, and arrive in about thirty days at Ocelis (32) in Arabia, or Cane (33) in the frankincense-bearing region. There is also a third port called Muza (34) which is not frequented by those sailing to India, but by the merchants, who trade in frankincense and other Arabian perfumes. In the interior is a city, the capital of the kingdom called Sapphar (35) and another called Sane. But for those whose course is directed to India it is most advantageous to start from Ocelis. From thence they sail with the wind called Hippalos in forty days to the first commercial station of India named Muziris, which is not much to be recommended on account of the neighbouring pirates who occupy a place called Nitrias: nor does it furnish any abundance of merchandise. Moreover the station of shipping is far from the land and cargoes have to be loaded and unloaded in barges. The ruler of the country at the time of which I speak was Coelobothras. There is another more advantageous port which is named Barace in the territory of a nation called the

(32). The modern Ghalla or Cella McCrindle's Periplus p. 84.

(33). It has been identified with the port now called Hisn Ghorab McCrindle's Periplus p. 87.

(34). This port, once the most celebrated and most frequented in Yemen is now the village Musa about 25 miles north from Mokha, McCrindle's Periplus p. 78.

(35). The metropolis of the Arabs of Yemen. It is now Dhafar or Dsoffer or Zaphar McCrindle's Periplus p. 80.

Neacyndi. The king of that country was named Pandion, who resided far from the port in a city of the interior which is called Madura. But the region from which pepper is brought to Barace in barges hewn out of single trees is called Cottonara. None of these names of nations or ports or cities are found in any former writer, from which it is evident what changes take place in the state of things in these countries. They commence the return voyage from India at the beginning of the Egyptian month of Tybis, which answers to our December, or at all events within the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is, within our Ides of January. Thus it comes to pass they return home within the year. They make the return voyage from India with the south-east wind (Vulturnus) and when they have entered the Red Sea, with the south-west or south wind." (36)

The author of the Periplus commences his account of the commerce and navigation of the Erythraean Sea with a description of the roadsteads on the Red Sea and of their exports and imports. Then he gives a similar account of the seaports on the African Coast and on the Arabian and Persian Coasts. Passing the mouth of the Indus, he mentions the gulfs of Barake (Kach) and Barugaza (Cambay) then Barugaza (Broach) near the mouth of the Nammadios (Nerbada). South of Barugaza the country is called Dakhinabades (Dakshanapatha). Among the local marts in this region is Kalliena (the modern Kalyana near Bombay). After Kalliena, he mentions seven seaports, then the islands called Sesekreienai and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaineitai, near what is called the Khersoneses, places in which are pirates, and after this the island of Leuke (or "the white.") Then he proceeds as follows :—

"Below the White Island commences the kingdom of Keprobotas styled Limyrike the first mart of which is Naoora then Tundis a large village close to the shore; and next to these Mopziris a flourishing place frequented both by the native vessels from Ariake and by the Greeks from Egypt. It lies upon a river, but at a distance of 20 stadia (37) : and five hundred from Tundis

(36). Malabar Manual. Vol. I, p. 250-251.

(37). The Olympic stadium which was in general use throughout Greece contained 600 Greek feet, which were equal to 625 Roman feet or 606¾ English feet. An English mile is equal to about 8⅛ stadia. McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 4.

the intermediate space is equal whether you measure by land from river to river or take the passage by sea. (Naoora, Tundis and Mooziris) are succeeded by Nelkunda which is in another province under the Government of Pandion. This mart is again five hundred stadia from Mooziris by measurement between the two rivers or by the road on shore or by the course of the vessel along the coast.

"Nelkunda lies on a river at the distance of a hundred and twenty stadia from the sea: but at the mouth of the river there is a village called Bakare, and here the vessels which come down from Nelkunda lie in an open road to receive their cargoes, for the river is full of shoals or mud banks and the channel between them is not deep. Both Nelkunda and Bakare are subject to a king who resides in the interior.

"There is a great resort of shipping to this post for pepper and betel: the merchants bring out a large quantity of spice and their other imports are topazes a small assortment of plain cloth, stibium, coral, flint, glass, brass and lead, a small quantity of wine as profitable as at Bárugaza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic and wheat, not for sale but for the use of the crew.

"The principal article obtained here is pepper, which is the staple of the country as growing in the interior; it is brought down to this port in preference to all others, and is of that species called Cottonarikon; great quantities of the best pearl are likewise purchased here, ivory, silk in the web, spikenard from the Ganges, betel from the countries further to the east, transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds, rubies and tortoise shell from the golden Chersonese or from the islands off the coast of Limurike.

"The best season for the voyage is to leave Egypt in the month of July or Epiphi: and the voyage was originally performed in small vessels from Kane and Endaimon in Arabia which followed the coast during the whole passage. But Hippalos was the first navigator who discovered the direct course across the ocean by observing the position of the ports and the general appearance of the sea. For at the season when the annual winds peculiar to our climate settle in the north and blow for a continuance upon our coast from the Mediterranean in the Indian

Ocean the wind is continually from the south-west. And this wind has in these seas obtained the name of Hippalos from the pilot who first took advantage of it to make his passage to the east.

"From the period of that discovery to the present time vessels bound to India take their departure either from Kane on the Arabian or Caph Aromata on the African side; and from these points they stretch out into the open sea at once, leaving all the windings of the gulfs and bays at a distance and make for their several destinations in the coast of India; those that are intended for Limurike waiting sometime before they sail, but those that are destined for Barugaza or Skythia seldom more than three days.

"Upon leaving Ela-bakara or the Ruddy mountain the country which succeeds is under the government of Pandion: it is called Paralia and lies almost directly north and south; it reaches to Kolkhoi in the vicinity of the pearl fishery and Pandion is sovereign of the whole.

"But the first port after leaving the Ruddy mountain is Balita and next to that is Komar which has a fort and a harbour. This place is frequented for the purpose of ablution by those who have dedicated themselves to a religious life and taken a vow of celibacy. Women as well as men are admitted into this institution; and the legend respecting it reports that a goddess in some former period practiced the same ablutions once a month at the spot."(38)

Ptolemy gives the following list of sea ports and rivers in Limurike:—

Tyndis a city, Bramagara, Kalaikkarias, Mouziris an emporium mouth of the river Pseudostomos, Podoperoura, Semne, Koreoura, Bakarei, mouth of the river Baris. Then he mentions the country of the Aioi and the following seaports in it.

Melkynda, Elangkon (or Elangkor) a mart, Kottiara the metropolis, Bammala, Komaria a cape and town. (39)

Of the inland cities he gives the following list: Inland cities of Limurike to the west of the Pseudostomos are these: Naroulla,

(38). The Periplus of the Erythrœan sea and Voyage of Nearchus, translated by William Vincent, D.D., p. 105. *ff.*

(39). McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 48. *ff.*

Kouba, Paloura. Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris these cities: Pasage, Mastanoun, Kourellour, Pounnata where is Beryl, Aloe, Karoura, the royal seat of the Kerobothras, Arembour Bideris, Pantipolis, Adarima Koreour, Inland town of the Aioi-Morounda. (40)

The three writers agree in fixing the northern limit of the Tamil country on the western coast somewhere above Tundis. The Periplus gives a clearer indication of the boundary as it states that Limurike (correctly Dimirike) or Tamilakam commenced immediately south of the Island Leuke or "the White." This island which is north-west of the modern town of Badagara about 8 miles from the coast is still known to the natives as Thoovak-kal or Vellaikal "the white rock." The Europeans have called it "the sacrifice rock," because when the Portuguese first settled at Calicut, the Kottakkal cruizers surprised a Portuguese vessel and sacrificed all their prisoners on that rock. (41) I am unable to identify Naura. It appears to have been a small village on the banks of the Akalappuda. Tundis is of course Thondi which was near the site of the modern Pallikkara about 5 miles north of Quilandy. Even to this day trading vessels from Arabia regularly visit old Kollam or Pantalayini Kollam (42) a village about 3 miles south of Thondi.

Between Tundis and Muziris, Ptolemy mentions two towns on the sea coast, Bramagara and Kalaikarias, and three inland, Naroulla Kouba nd Paloura. Bramagara may be identified with Brahmaku-

(40). Ibid, p. 180 *ff*.

(41). Malabar Manual. Vol. I, p. 356.

(42). This is the Pandarani of Portuguese writers, the Flandrina of Friar Odoric, the Fandreeah of Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-mujahidin and the Fandarina of Ibn Batuta. Malabar Manual Vol. I, p. 72) ("Tanur itself" says Yule "may be Tyndis; it was an ancient city, the seat of a principality, and in the beginning of the 16th century had still much shipping and trade. Perhaps, however, a more probable site is a few miles further north Kadalundi *i.e.*, Kadaltundi, the raised ground by the sea standing on an inlet three or four miles south of Beypoor. It is now a port, but persons, on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one and in communication with the backwater." He adds in a note supplied by Dr. Burnell "The composition of Kadal and Tundi makes Kadalundi by Tamil rules" McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 50. With due deference to so great an authority as Dr. Burnell, I should however state that I am not aware of any rule of Tamil Grammar by which the words Kadal and Tundi can combine and form Kadalundi. The only objection to my identification of Tundis with Thondi near Pallikkara will be that it is nearly 300 stadia from Muziris or Kadungollur and not 500 stadia as stated in the Periplus; but the calculation of distances by sea voyages at this early period when navigators had no mechanical contrivances whatever to register the speed of vessels, cannot be expected to be correct.

lam, Kalaikarais was most probably Chalacoory, and Paloura is doubtless Palayur which is still a large and populous amshom near Chowghat. Mouziris (43) may unhesitatingly be taken to represent Muchiri which according to Tamil poets was situated near the mouth of Periyar and was frequented by Yavana merchants. Pseudostomos signifies in Greek "false-mouth" and is a correct translation of the Tamil or Malayalam expression "Alimukam" by which the mouth of the Periyar below Kadungolur is known even now It was so called because during the monsoons the river frequently made a new opening for itself in the low sand banks which obstructed its entrance to the sea. The proper name of the river was Periyar or Perunai. South of this river at a distance of 500 stadia or about 58 miles Ptolemy mentions another river called Baris. Neither the river Baris nor any of the towns mentioned as situated between Muziris and Cape Kumari or Comorin has been satisfactorily identified by the scholars who have hitherto examined Ptolemy's account of ancient India. I experienced the same difficulty till one day, when travelling by boat from Alleppy to Kottayam, the boatmen informed me that I should land at Vaikkarai. This brought to my mind Ptolemy's Bakarei and on further enquiry, I was glad to learn that the landing place at Kottayam is known as Vaikkarai and the hill, on which the Dewan Peishkar's Court-house is built, is called Vaikkarai-kunnu or the Vaikkarai hill. I came to know also that the river which flowed through Kottayam is called Palai or Pali, and this corresponded to the Baris which Ptolemy places next to Bakarai. I was satisfied therefore that the ancient sea-port of Bakarai was identical with the village of Vaikkarai near Kottayam. (44) I was surprised to find that the towns on the sea coast between Muziris and Bakarei named by Ptolemy *viz*, Podoperoura, Semne and Koreoura may be identified with Udiamperur, Sembai and Kothora which are situated on

(43). Muchiri is the Muyiri of Muyiri-kodu, which says Yule "appears in one of the most ancient of Malabar inscriptions as the residence of the king of Kodungolur or Kranganur, and is admitted to be practically identical with that now extinct city." It is to Kranganur he adds that all the Malabar traditions point as their oldest sea-port of renown: to the Christians it was the landing place of St. Thomas the Apostle—McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 51.

(44). Yule conjectured that Bakarei must have been between Kanetti and Kollam (Quilon) in Travancore. McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 134.

the eastern coast of the back water. *This led me to the startling discovery that in Ptolemy's time the sea coast was along the eastern shore of the backwater, and that neither the backwater, which extends at present to over 40 miles from Changanachery to Pallipuram, nor the long strip of land which forms its western bank, and on which now stand the flourishing sea-ports of Cochin and Alleppy, was then in existence.*

Nelkunda, the town from which pepper was exported in barges to Bekarei, I am unable to identify. It is mentioned by various authors, under varying forms of the name. In Pliny it is Neacyndi: It is Nelkunda in the Periplus, Melkunda in Ptolemy: in the *Peutingerian Table* it is Nincylda, and in the Geographer of Ravenna, Nilcinna. The site of this town must have been somewhere near the modern Meenachil, where the best pepper is grown to this day.

South of Bakarei, Ptolemy places the country of the Aioi. This was the territory of the Ay (45) a family of chiefs of the Pothiya hills, who were great patrons of poets. The towns Elankon, Kottiara and Bammala may be identified with the modern Vilavankodu, Kottaru and Ponnañai. It will appear therefore, that even south of Bakarei or the modern Kottayam, the sea coast has advanced six or seven miles since the time of Ptolemy. Of the inland cities named by Ptolemy I would suggest the following identifications.

Pounnata.	...	The modern Poonjarru near Meenachil, where the descendant of a fugitive king is said to reside at present.
Aloe. ...	...	Alwaye, a famous place of resort for its medicinal water.
Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros		Karuvai or Vanchi, near the modern Karuvaipatna and Tiruvanchikolam about 25 miles north of Cochin. (46)

(45). Puram—stanzas, 127 to 136.

(46). "Karoura" says Caldwell "is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chera, Kera or Kerala kings, and is generally identified with Karur, an important town in the Coimbatore District, originally included in the Chera kingdom. It is situated on the left bank of the river Amaravati, a tributary of the Kaviri, near a large fort now in ruins—" (Introd pp. 96, 97) This identification rests merely upon the similarity of the names Kareura and Karur. Dr. Caldwell would not have made this mistake, if he was acquainted with the ancient Tamil poems which I have taken as my authorities.

Videris ... Pithara.
Adarima ... Atharimalai.

The region Kottanara (47) from which pepper was exported was doubtless Kuddanadu, the limits of which I have already described.

Cape Kumari (the modern Comorin) was a sacred bathing place. Brahmin pilgrims came from Varanasi (or Benares) to bathe in Kumari and absolve their sins. (48) Similarly the Brahmins of Southern India went round the Pothiya hill, which was famous as the residence of the vedic sage Agastya, then bathed in the sea at Kumari, and travelled northward to the Ganges to bathe in the sacred waters of that river. (49) Pilgrims from the banks of the Ganges to Kumari, and from Tamilakam to Benares appear to have kept up communication between the northern and southern Aryas. This account of Kumeri given in the ancient Tamil poems agrees with what the Periplus states regarding it which I have quoted above. At the period of which I now write, the people remembered that *in former days the land had extended further south and that a mountain called Kumarikkodu and a large tract of country watered by the river Pahruli had existed south of Cape Kumari.* During a violent irruption of the sea, the mountain Kumarikkodu and the whole of the country through which flowed the Pahruli had disappeared. (50) Similar irruptions of the sea, and the subsidence of

(47). Dr. Buchanan identified Cottonara with Kadattanadu the name of a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell identified it with Kolattanâdu, the district about Tellicherry, which he says is the pepper district. McCrindle's Periplus p. 132. But when we compare Cottonara with the names of the ancient divisions of the Tamil-land, the identity of Cottonara with Kuddanâdu will readily suggest itself.

(48). Manimekalai, XIII. N. 3 to 7.

(49). Chilapp-athikaram XV. N. 14 & 15, and XXVII: N. 68, 69 and 110.

(50). Kalith-thokai-stanza 104 N. 1 to 4. Chilapp-athikarm, XX. N. 17 to 22. "The river Pahruli, and the mountain Kumari, surrounded by many hills, were submerged by the raging sea." The commentator Nallarkiniyar states that between the Pahruli and Kumari rivers there was a tract of land extending to 700 Kavathams: and that it was divided into 7 Thenga Nadus, 7 Mathurai Nadus, 7 Munpalai Nadus, 7 Pinpalai Nadus, 7 Kunra Nadus, 7 Kunakarai Nadus, and 7 Kurumporai Nadus, or 49 Nadus in all. But he does not quote his authority for this statement.

land on the south-western coast of Ceylon in the second century B. C. are recorded in the Buddhist annals of that island. (51)

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(51). During the reign of Tissa, the sovereign of Calyani, the province was submerged by the overflow of the ocean. This was about B. C. 200. Mahavansa. L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliar's edition Chap XXII, p. 84. The event is thus recorded in the Rajavali. "In these days the sea was seven leagues from Kalyany; but on account of what had been done to the priest (who had been tortured by the king of Kalyany) the gods who were charged with the conservation of Ceylon became enraged, and caused the sea to deluge the land ..... In this time of Tissa Raja, 100,000 large towns, 970 fisher's villages, and 400 villages inhabited by pearl fishers making together eleven twelths of the territory of Kalyany was swallowed up by the sea. Rajavali : Vol. II. pp. 189, 190. Sir J E. Tannent disbelieved the traditions of the former extent of Ceylon and submression of vast regions by the sea, and remarked as follows :— "But evidence is wanting to corroborate the assertion of such an occurrence at least within the historic period, no record of it exists in the earliest writings of the Hindus, the Arabians or Persians" Tenant's Ceylon Vol I. pp : 6 & 7. The mention of a similar catastrophe at the southern extremity of India, about the same period, in Tamil works, may be taken as strong evidence of the occurrence.

MALABAR AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS.

THE earliest mention we have of the Keralas in Indian Literature is in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.(1) They are there classed with the despicable people of the south, such as the *Huns, Pulindas, Sabaras, Phalavas, Sakas, Malavas, Varvaras, Konkanas, Andharas, Colas, Pandyas, Mlechas, Chandalas, Swapachas, Khalas, Mavallakas, Lalitas, Kiratas, and Kukkuras.* The degeneration of the times is attributed to the existence of such nations of the lowest origin.(2) To them were also ascribed the atrocities of warfare. (3) These facts surely evidence a period long anterior to the Aryan colonisation of South India. The Brahman emigration to the south must have taken place in very early times for we have the authority of the early Greek travellers and geographers for the existence of a temple at Cape Comorin, dedicated to *Kumari* or *Durga,* the bride of *Siva,* which certainly shows the prevalence of the worship of Puranic dieties in the south at the latest in the early years of the Christian Era.

At the dawn of history in Southern India we see the three kings of Kêrala, Chola and Pandya sharing the country between them. They are said to have been the sons of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the Lunar line of Kshetryas. The existence of these early kingdoms, and more specially of Kêrala, may be traced back to several centuries before the Christian Era by means of the Asoka inscriptions, and the accounts left us of the Coast line of India by the early Greek geographers.But unfortunately nothing more than their mere existence can be gathered from them.

(1) Ramayana I, 41; IV. 41. Mahabharata I,6685; III. 1991 &c. Harivamsa 229,4756.

(2) On the Weapons, army oraganizations and Political maxims of the Ancient Hindoos by Dr. Oppert, page 33.

(3) Nitiprakasika by Dr. Oppert. Madras journal of Literature and science for 1881.

The earliest source of information, then, we have about these kingdoms is to be found in the descriptive account of India left us by Megasthenese (B. C. 306 to 289) wherein he gives us a general sketch of the historical and political geography of the country. Commencing from the mouth of the Indus Megasthenee passes over 187 miles of desert, and enumerates fine tribes inhabiting the hills parallel to the sea-shore. "Next follow the *Narœ*, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of the mountains work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the *Oraturæ*, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the *Vertatoe*, subject to a king who keeps no elephants, but trusts entirely to his horse and foot. Then the *Odambroe*: the *Salabastroe*: the *Hortœ* which have a fine city, defended by marshes, which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. Another city of theirs is much admired—*Antomela*, which being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5,000 cavalry. The poorer King of the *Charmoe* has but 60 elephants, and his force is otherwise insignificant. Next come the *Pandoe* the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants."(4)

Mr. Wigram in the Introduction to his work on Malabar Law and Custom thinks that it is clear from the context that Megasthenes was describing the inhabitants of the Malabar Coast. He would identify the *Narœ* with the Nairs of North Malabar, and Capitalia with the Camel's Hump which is 6,000 feet in height and a conspicuous landmark for mariners. The Wynad goldmines would then lie on the other side. The *Oratrœ* may be identified with the ancient Kola kingdom which still survives in the name of *Kolatunad* and *Kolattiri*, the title of the Cherecal Rajas. The *Odambrœ* stands for the kingdom of Kurumburnad which to this day is

(4) Ancient India as described by Megasthenese by J. W. Mc. Crindle p. 146.

known as Kurumburnad. The *Vertatæ* may be an allusion to the now extinct Vettatu Raja. The *Salabastræ* may be the subjects of the Vullabha Raja of Vulluvanad. In the *Hortotæ*, *Charmæ* and *Pandæ* we have Chera, Chola and Pandya, the three most ancient kingdoms of Southern India. "The site of Automela (? Ettu Mala 8 hills or Attu-Mala=River hill) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Cranganore which was always an emporium of trade, and in the vicinity of which may be found to this day a village called Annanaday (*i. e.*, Anju-Nadi or five rivers.) The site of the Crocodile City is perhaps Tripoonituray, the ancient residence of the Rajas of Cochin—the *Tropina* of the ancient historians. The legend of Hercules and his daughter survives to this day in *Cunnya Cumari* or Cape Camorin."(5)

Without pledging ourselves to adopt Mr. Wigram's suggestions *in extenso* we may safely recognise our old friends Chèra and Pândya in the *Charmæ* and *Pandæ* of Megasthenes.

The King of Chêra or Kêrala is specially mentioned as Keralaputra in one of the Asoka Edicts B. C. 257. The Edict in question runs thus:—"In all the subjugated territories of King *Priyadarsi*, the beloved of the Gods, and also in the bordering countries (*Pratyanta*) as *Chola, Palaya, (Paraya), Satyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapani* it is proclaimed * * * *." From this it is evident that Kerala existed as a separate principality at the time of King Priyadarsi or Asoka. It also shows Kerala was not then subject to his dominions. The mention of the Asoka inscriptions leads us to further enquiries, the result of which seems to prove the existence of an earlier intercourse between the Eastern and Western nations—the Orient and the Occident—than that evidenced by the invasion of India by Alexander or the stationing of a Greek Ambassador at the Court of an Indian Prince by Seleucus Nikator. We are told that these inscriptions are cut on rocks. The question naturally suggests itself to us in what characters were they cut? And was the art of writing an indigenous production or was it derived from external sources? We have the authority of Dr. Burnell to say that "the art of writing was, little, if at all known in India before the 3rd Century before the Christian Era, and

(5) Wigram's Malabar Law and Custom, Introduction.

there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system. It naturally follows that the art was introduced by foreigners. I have already mentioned the numerous indications that point to a semetic original of the Indian alphabets, and which are generally received as sufficient. The immediate original is, however, as yet uncertain. Three probable sources may be suggested. The first is that the Indian alphabet came direct from Phœnicia. The second is that the original of these alphabets is to be sought in the modified Phœnician alphabet used by the early Himyarites of Arabia, and this has been lately put forward as an ascertained and certain fact. As a third possibility I would suggest that the Indian alphabets may be derived from an Aramaic character used in Persia or rather in Babylonia."(6) In another place the learned Doctor observes that "all known facts tend to prove that the earliest date of the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into India which became the South Asoka character, cannot have been earlier than 500 B. C. and probably not later than 250 B. C." the date of the Asoka Inscriptions. He then proceeds to point out the difference between the South Asoka alphabet and the *Vattaeluthu* alphabet—the most ancient Tamil and almost the present Malayalam character. His conclusion is that, these two alphabets, are derived from one source, and that semetic, that the Asoka alphabet was moulded for the expression of Sanskrit in the North, and the *Vattaeluthu*, for the Dravidian in the South, and that the latter reached Southern India by way of the three ports *Musiris*, *Tyndis* and *Nilkanda* or Kodungalloor, Kadalundi and Kallada.(7)

If the Dravidian alphabets owed their origin to the Phœnicians,(8) it shows an early intercourse between the people of Southern India and those of Sidon and Tyre. India has always been a commercial country, and Malabar lying on the seaboard between

(6) Elements of South Indian Paliography, by A. C. Burnell 1st Edition page 8.

(7) C. C. Magazine Vol. 1 page 340. See also an article by Dr. Burnell entitled "The oldest Indian alphabet" Indian Antiquary Vol. 1.

(8) A Phœnician origin of the Indian alphabets has been suggested by Lespins and Weber; Profr. Pott, is however unwilling to admit it (Etymol Forschungen W. W. II. 2 page 411) though Profr. Benfy considers it probable. (Orient and Occident III. 170) Profr. Westergard also appears to accept this theory—Indian Antiquary Vol. 1.

Cape Comorin in the South and Gokarnam in the north afforded every facility for foreign commerce. It abounded in pepper and spices of all sorts. All the rich products of the interior could be conveniently brought to its ports, by means of the numerous rivers and lagoons with which the country is intersected, to be shipped to foreign marts. The whole land lay invitingly before the maritime nations of the period.

The Egyptians were perhaps the first nation in the world's history who turned their attention to commerce and navigation. But their attempts at enterprise in this direction were not of long duration. Blessed with a fertile soil and mild climate, producing all the necessaries and comforts of life in profusion which rendered them independent of other countries, it soon became one of their cardinal principles of life not to have any intercourse whatever with foreign nations whom they regard in the light of "outer barbarians." They were followed by the Phœnicians—"that navigating race who were to all appearance the exclusive intermediaries of intercourse by sea between Asia and Europe."—Their geographical position was one peculiarly adapted for carrying on commercial enterprises on a large scale. From the shores of the Mediterranean they extended their trade towards the East and West, towards the East by sea, and towards the West by land. Even previous to 1000 B. C. they had planted colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and in far off Britain. Their vicinity to Tyre and Sidon induced the jews to covet a share in the prosperous commerce of the Phœnicians. This they effected in the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon by forming an alliance with Hiram King of Tyre. At about B. C. 1000, Solomon King of Israel, fitted out a fleet manned by a crew of Phœnicians, which under the direction of Phœnician pilots sailed to Tarshish and Ophir. Benfy identifies Souppara a place situated to the North of Kallian near Bombay with the Ophir of I Kings IX. 28, which the Greek version of the Bible translated in Alexandria in the third century B. C. renders into Sophira a word identical with the Coptic name of India. But Dr. Burnell is surprised that it has never been suggested that Ophir was somewhere in Travancore or Malabar, he being of opinion that Lassen's *Abhéra* at the mouth of the Indus is

most improbable.(9) It is believed that it was from Southern India, and more specially from the well known ports of *Musiris* and *Tundis* and *Nilkanda* on the Malabar coast, that Hiram's shipmen 'that had knowledge of the sea' and the servants of Solomon collected their cargoes of ivory, apes and peacocks. The Hebrew names used to denote these cargoes give us a clue to the places from which they came. They are called *Labim, kafim and tukim*. The first is supposed to be *Ibha* (Sanskrit Elephant,) the second is similar to *Kapi* an ape, and of the third Dr. Caldwell says the Hebrew word for pea-fowl which is *Thuki* is certainly Dravidian." "The oldest Tamil word found in any written record in the world" says the learned Bishop "appears to be the word for peacock in the Hebrew text of the book of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of articles of merchandise brought from Ophir (about B. C. 1000) in Solomon's ships which formed a portion of the great mercantile fleet of the Phœnicians. The old Tamil *Tokai* became in Hebrew *Tuki*."(10) Dr. Burnell also observes that the Phœnicians who voyaged for Solomon came to Southern India at least, and exported from thence peacocks which were called in Hebrew by a Tamil name(11) Solomon's peacocks are supposed to have come from the Western Ghauts.(12) The Wynad gold fields of to-day and the country lying on the other side of Capitalia, whose inhabitants worked extensive mines of gold and silver in Megasthenee's time show that Solomon's gold also came from the Malabar coast. In the name of the River *Ponnany* we have indubitable philological evidence of the existence of gold on the West Coast.(13) Even to this day some of the most magnificent

(9) Indian Antiquary Vol. 1.

(10) Comparitive Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

(11) Elements of South Indian Paliography 1st Edition page 5.

"That the Phœnicians came to Southern India is certain" says Dr. Oppert "the peacocks which are mentioned to have been brought from India are called in the Bible *Tukkyim*, a plural form of *Tukki*? in which word Scholars have long ago recognised the Tamil "*Togai*" as can be seen in old Hebrew Dictionaries especially in that of Gesenius." Of *Tukki* with the common Telugu word "*Toka*" tail used also for the tail of the peacock. Ancient commerce of India. A section by Dr. Oppert page 25.

The English word peacock is from the Guck *toos*, which is according to Skeat, from old Tamil *tokei, togei*.

(12) Missionary Enterprise in the East, by the Revd. Richard Collins, page 39.

(13) That there were gold mines in India is a fact beyond doubt, and some rivers contain gold dust. Even the 2nd chapter of Genesis according to the generally accepted explanation attributes gold to India. Gold was found in the

elephants are caught on the Malabar mountains. In the *Almug tree* or *Algum tree* one of the articles brought by Hiram's shipmen from Ophir, scholars have recognised the sandalwood tree. Professor Max Muller says that "one of the numerous names of this tree in Sanskrit is *Valguka*. This *Valguka*, which points back to a more original form *Valgu* might easily have been corrupted by Phœnician and jewish sailors into *Algum*, a form as we know, still further corrupted, at least in one passage of the old Testament into *Almug*, Sandalwood is found indigenous in India only and these chiefly on the coast of Malabar."(14) It may therefore be safely concluded that the Phœnicians carried on extensive commerce with Malabar and that it was from that source that Solomon's shipmen obtained their cargoes of gold, ivory, apes, peacocks and sandalwood.(15) The Phœnicians have left behind them a permenant trace of their influence in Southern India in the *Vattaeluthu* alphabet which according to Dr. Burnell is the most ancient Tamil and almost the present Malayalam character.

There is abundant reason to suppose that the early Hindoos were not altogether disinclined to a seafaring life and that the aversion they now evince is only a later development fostered by the influence of Brahmanism. Judging from the traces of colonies in Arabia and elsewhere and especially in the island of Socottra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, we are constrained to conclude that the Hindoos had at an early period of there existence sailed out of India and formed settlements at distant places. The Mala-

Himalayas in the North and in the Western Ghauts in the South. Ancient commerce of India by Dr. Oppert.

Compare the words *Ponnoorcode*, *Ponmana*, *Ponmudi* &c. The prefix "Pon" in all these proper names mean gold.

(14) Lectures on the science of Language 6 "Edition Vol. 1 page 232."

(15) (i) The land is covered with graceful palms, and is one of the headquarters of ginger and pepper tribes, It was to procure these spices and other valuables that the servants of King Solomon visited Malabar in the golden age of the jewish nation—Native life in Travancore, by the Revd. S. Mateer F. L. S. P.

(ii) Philology proves that the precious cargoes of Solomon's merchant ships came from the ancient coast of Malabar—The Indian Empire, by Dr. W. W. Hunter page 438.

(iii) In Malabar we find all the products Solomon imported, for gold is yet found in Nilamboor—Dr. Burnell in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 1, page 230.

(iv) The gates of the ancient city of Carthage were made of sandalwood imported from Malabar—See Bosworth Smith's Carthage and the Carthagenians.

yalees themselves seem to have formed colonies in Arabia and Strabo (about A. D. 20) mentions an hereditary caste division in Arabia Felix, as well as a community of property and women in the several families which correspond exactly with the peculiar customs of the Nairs of Malabar.(16) That this early connexion with Arabia was kept up by the Malayalees is evidenced by the fact recorded in the Keralolpathi that the last Cheraman Perumal, one of the early sovereigns of Malabar abdicated his throne went to Jedda and died there.

On the dismemberment of the great Empire which Alexander had raised almost out of nothing, Egypt fell to the share of one of his officers Ptolemy the son of Lagus. He established the seat of his government at Alexandria, a town which the sagacity of the great monarch had founded, and which was therefore called after him. Under Ptolemy it soon became a wealthy and populous city—the rallying point of all trade towards the East. The Eastern trade developed itself under the successive Ptolemies who reigned in Egypt between the years B. C. 323 and 144. The greatest impetus was given by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who built the city of Bernice on the west coast of the Red sea, which soon became the starting point of all trade with the "glowing Orient" Traders would start from Alexandria built in B. C. 322 and go up the Nile a voyage of 12 or 14 days to Koptos, on its banks, near Thebes, in about 26 N. Latitude. From Koptos a good road led through the desert to Myos Hormos (27-12- N.L), a port on the Red sea built by Ptolemy Philadelphus in B. C. 274. From Koptos there was another road leading to Bernike (23- 55-N.) a newer port, built by the same Ptolemy about half way down the Red sea and named after his mother.(17) Dr. Robertson says that "the ships destined to India took their departure from Bernice, and sailing according to the ancient mode of navigation, along the Arabian shore to the promontory of Sayagrus (now cape Rasalgate) held their course along the coast of Persia either directly to Pattala (now Tatta) at the head of the lower delta of the Indus or some other emporium

(16) India and the West in old days by Profr. Weber See C. C. Magazine vol. V. p. 278.

(17) C. C. Magazine vol. 1. page 340.

on the west coast of India. To this part of India which Alexander had visited and subdued the commerce under the protection of the Egyptian monarchs naturally confined itself for 250 years, *i. e.*, as long as Egypt continued to be an independent kingdom. Afterwards a more convenient course was followed and from cape Rasalgate vessels sailed in a direct line to Zeizerous."(18) Authorities seem to differ in the identification of this latter port. M. De. Montesque says that it was in the kingdom of *Segirtis* on the sea coast adjacent to the mouth of the Indus conquered by the Greek monarchs of Bactria. But according to Major Rennel it was a port in the northern part of the Malabar coast.(19) Wherever Zeizerous may be situated, we have indisputable philological evidence to prove the connexion of the Greeks with the Malabar coast through the Persians so early as B. C. 400. "The oldest Tamil word in Greek" says Dr. Caldwell "is the name for cinnamon learned by Ctesias (about B. C. 400) from the Persians. This is *Karpion*, the root portion of which Karpi, is no doubt identical with the Tamil-Malayalam *Karappu* or *Karuvá* the common name for cinnamon?" Again the Greek word "rice," "Oryza" dates from the time, whenever that was, when rice was first introduced into Europe, and it cannot be doubted that here we have the Tamil word "arisi" (of which the Malyalam word "ari" is but a contracted form) rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which, then, as now, rice was exported.(20) Dr. Oppert also observes, "The Grecian name for 'rice' "Oryza," for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word "arisi," which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenuos quotes *Oryza heptha* cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greeks received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the

(18) Dr. Robertson's Historical works p. 1094-5.

(19) Ancient map of India with a Memoir by Major Rennel. Introduction page XXXVII.

(20) Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly, page 23.

Indian trade."(21) Again the Greek word *Zingiber* (ginger) is considered by Dr. Burnell to have a distinctly Malayalam origin. He thinks that the word is derived from the Malayalam name of the plant and the Greeks probably took it direct from the same. In Malabar ginger is called *Inchi* and *Inchivér* is from *inchi* root. *Inchi* was probably in an earlier form of the language *Sinchi* or *Chinchi* as we find it in Canarese *Unti*. Ginger is chiefly exported even now from Malabar, and in earlier times the Greeks procured it almost exclusively from that Province so that there is every probability that the name is Dravidian and not Sanskrit.(22)

While the Egyptians were thus enjoying a monopoly of trade with the East a power had arisen in Europe which soon bade fair to become masters of the then known world. The Roman Republic rose rapidly from small beginnings, overthrew the rival republic of Carthage, subdued all Italy, Sicily and Macedonia and began to extend its conquests outside the Continent of Europe. Egypt was soon overrun and under Augustus was reduced to a Roman Province. The Eastern trade was so well conserved by the Egyptians, that the Romans had simply to follow up the course so well laid by their predecessors. It received a marked impulse with the beginning of Roman rule in Egypt B. C. 30. The arrival of Greek merchants in South India was almost contemporaneous with the conquest of Egypt by Rome. It was perhaps through the Egyptian Greeks that the Romans carried on their trade with the East. Egyptian ships manned by Egyptian crews brought Indian treasures to Roman shores. They were, indeed, much prized at the Roman Capital. Merivale says that "the vessels which bore the merchandise of Egypt were required to hoist their topsails on sighting the promontory of Surrentum, both to distinguish them from others and to expedite their arrivals. These vessels moreover, according to the institution of Augustus, were of more than ordinary size and they were attended by an escort of war galleys. The importance attached to this convoy was marked by the phrases auspicious and sacred applied to it. Hence it glided rapidly by night or day under the guidance of the Surrentine Minerva on the

(21) Lectures on the Ancient Commerce of India.

(22) The Indian Antiquary Vol. 1 page 352.

right and on the left by the lighthouse of Capreæ. A deputation of Senators from Rome was directed to await its arrival at the port where it was about to cast its anchor * * *. As soon as the well known topsails were seen above the horizon, a general holiday was proclaimed, and the population of the country far and near streamed with joyous acclamations to the pier and gazed upon the rich flotilla expanding gaily before them."(23)

About A.D. 47 the voyage to India was made easy by the discovery of a new route across the Ocean. A merchant named Hippalos, says Pliny, "discovered a compendious route whereby India was brought so near that a trade thither became very lucrative" The Periplus also says that "Hippalos was the pilot who, first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the course across the Ocean, whence, as at the season when our Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the Ocean, likewise blows on the Indian sea, the wind which is the South-West is, it seems, called in those seas Hippalos."(24) This important discovery so thoroughly revolutionised the maritime trade of the period that it may not be uninteresting to give a detailed account of how it was made as told by Dr. Robertson. "In the course of their voyages to that country (India) the Greek and Egyptian pilots could not fail to observe the regular shiftings of the periodical winds or monsoons and how steadily they continued to blow during one part of the year from the east and the other from the west. Encouraged by attending to this circumstance Hippalos, the commander of a ship engaged in the eastern trade ventured about four score years after Egypt was annexed to the Roman Empire, to relinquish the slow and circuitous course which I have described and stretching boldly from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf across the Ocean was carried by the Western monsoons to *Musiris*, a harbour in that part of India now known by the name of the Malabar Coast. This route to India was held to be a discovery of such importance that in order to perpetuate the memory of the inventor the name of Hippalos was given to the wind which enabled

(23) History of the Romans under the Empire Vol. 4 page 392, quoted in the C. C. Magazine Vol. 1 page 341.

(24) The commerce and navigation of the Erythræan sea being a translation of the Periplus Maris Erythræi by J. W. Mc. Crindle page 136.

him to perform the voyage."(25) Dr. Oppert considers that Hippalos simply rediscovered the south-west monsoon, which, he says, was known to the Phœnicians and the knowledge of which had fallen into oblivion since their time.(26) Vincent is also of opinion that there was a direct passage by the monsoons both in going and coming from India in use among the Arabians before the Greeks adopted it and that Hippalos frequenting these seas as a pilot or merchant had met with Indian or Arabian traders who made their voyage in a more compendious manner than the Greeks and that he collected information from them which he had both the prudence and courage to adopt just as Columbus while owing much to his nautical skill and fortitude, was still under obligations to the Portuguese who had been resolving the greatest problem in the art of navigation for almost a century previous to this expedition.(27)

Dr. Robertson endeavours to identify the modern sites of *Musiris* and *Barace*. The description given by Pliny would seem to apply to many ports on the Malabar Coast. But from two circumstances mentioned by Pliny viz. (1) that they are not far distant from *Cottonara* the country which produces pepper in great abundance, and (2) that in sailing towards them on the course lay *Nitras* the station of the pirates,(28) Dr. Robertson is inclined to adopt the opinion of Major Rennel that they were situated somewhere between Tellichery and Goa and that the modern Merjee or Mersaw is the *Musiris* of the ancients and Barcelore the Barace. In this the great historian would seem to have been mistaken for, modern scholars, especially Dr. Burnell, Caldwell, and Gundert have identified *Musiris* with *Kodungalloor* (Cranganore) and the doubt now seems to be settled by a consensus of opinion of orientalists of all shades of views.

"To those bound for India" says Pliny "it is most convenient to depart from Okelis (now Gajla or Cella a small bay within the

(25) Historical works p. 1097

(26) Ancient Commerce of India p. 28.

(27) Indian Antiquary vol. 8.

(28) Fra Poolino da San Bartolomeo suggests that the sea-robbers mentioned by Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy as existing on the Malabar Coast must have been the Malabar pirates or molandis, as he calls them, who lived about mount Ely. See Voyages to the East Indies p. 145. The coast continued to be infested with pirates till so late a period as 1765 when they were finally exterminated by the British.

Straits of Babelmandeb). They sail thence with the wind Hippalos in forty days to the first emporium of India, *Muziris* (Kodungalloor) which is not a desirable place to arrive at on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood who hold a place called Nitrias, which is not well supplied with merchandise. Besides, the station for ships is at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and to be shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this—*Calobothras*. Another port belonging to the nation is the more convenient *Neacyndon* which is called—Becara *(Sic, codd* Barace Harduin and Sillig). There reigned Pandion in an inland town far distant from the emporium called *Modura*,—the region, however from which they convey pepper to Becare in boats formed from single logs is *Cottonara*. (29) The Periplus of Arrian written probably in the 1st Century A. D. gives a description of the Malabar Coast. The passage runs thus:—"Then follow Naoura and Tundis the first marts of Limurike, and after these Musiris and Nilkanda the seats of Government. To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras Tundis is subject, a village of great note near the sea. Musiris which pertains to the same realm is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from Arikè and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river, or by the length of the sea-voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nilkanda from Musiris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river, or by the sea-voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom." (29) A.

That part of India to which the name *Limurike* is applied by Arrian and Ptolemy is called *Damurike* in the Peutingerian Tables. Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that this is the Tamil country. He says that the Greek letters for "L" and "D" being so much alike, a transposition of them was very easy, and the fact that Madoura (Madurai) is placed in Limurike leads along with other considerations in the same direction. In Damurike, the Tamil Country of the 1st Century we have the four ports *Naura* (the present Honore), *Tundis* (Kadalundi near Beypore), *Musiris* (Kodungalloor or Cranganore) and *Nilkanda* (Kallada near Quilon.)

(29) Mc. Crindle's Periplus Maris Erythraei p. 103 note.

(29) A. Ibid.

The description given by Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy of *Limurike* or the Tamil Malayalam Country enables us to gauge approximately the extent of the sway of Cœlobothras or Keprobothras. From Pliny it is difficult to gather its northern limit, but after making mention of the important port of Musiris he goes southwards and names Neacyndon which, according to him belonged to Pandion. In this the Periplus agrees with him. Ptolemy calls the place *Melkynda* and places it in the country of the *Aioi* identified by Caldwell with south Travancore. Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus are at one in making Tyndis the most northern port in Limurike. The Periplus gives its distance at 700 stadia or nearly 12 degrees of latitude if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. Notwithstanding this authoritative statement which makes Limurike begin somewhere near Calicut (11° 15′ N. Lat.) its frontier has generally been placed nearly 3 degrees further north, Tyndis having been located at Bascelore. This error has been rectified by Yule whose adherence to the data of the Periplus has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Mousiris with Crangarore instead of with Mangalore as previously accepted.(30)

According to Ptolemy, who flourished in the middle of the 2nd Century A. D. the capital of Limurike was *Karcoura* where Kerobothras or Keralaputra lived. But Pliny who died in 79 A. D. and who seems to have written his work 2 years before his death says that "Cœlobothras was reigning there (Musiris) when I committed this to writing" (Pliny VI. XXVI 104). Evidently there were two capitals, the northern and the southern, the capital for the interior and the capital for the coast or Cœlobothras or Keprobothras must have removed his capital from Musiris on the coast to Karcoura in the interior; for it will be found that Ptolemy names the latter as one of the interior cities of Limurike. Dr. Caldwell identifies Karoura with Karoor an important town in the Coimbatoor District situated on the left bank of the Amravati a tributary of the Kaveri. He further says that Karoor is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chera kingdom and that Ptolemy's word Korcoura represents the Tamil name of the place. The authority of the learned

(30) Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy pages 49-50.

Bishop is very high indeed. But some doubt has been expressed as to the correctness of this identification. Early Tamil records point to *Vanji* as the Capital of the Chera kingdom and according to the Tamil Metrical Dictionary Tivâkaram the modern name of Vanji is Karoor. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillay in the Indian Antiquary observes(31) that the European scholars who have identified the Chera capital Karoor with the Karoor of the Coimbatoor District were more or less misled by the catching similarity of the names. He remarks that ancient Tamil works describe Vanji as being situated west of the Western Ghauts. In the *Peria Puranam* Vanji is mentioned as the capital of the Chera king and it is, indeed, noteworthy that it is stated that it was known as *Makôtai* or *Kodunkalore*. In the syrian copper plate of Bhaskara Ravi Vurma, about the 8th century A. D. Kodungalloor is called *Makotaipattanam* and this is generally accepted to be the capital of the Cheraman Perumals. In the Keralolpathi Karoor or Trikkaroor (the prefix "Tiru" simply means sacred) is mentioned as the capital of one of the Cherman Perumals and the tradition is still remembered by the inhabitants of a place called *Trikkaroor* in North Travancore.(32) It is situated inland and the location of Koreoura in Ptolemy's Tables lends strength to the suggestion that the modern Trikkaroor was the royal seat of Kerobothras. He places it near the West Coast on a river flowing into the sea not far away from Musiris. It comes between the mouths of the rivers the *Psendostomos* and the *Baris* the former of which enters the sea at one third of a degree below Musiris. It must have been one of the streams that discharges into the backwater. The Baris must be a stream that enters the backwater in the neighbourhood of Quilon. (33) The Revd. W. Taylor assures us that "the Sera Metropolis was no other than *Tiruvanchi* the capital of the Sera Desam according to Manuscripts and all known traditions, early records, and inscriptions point to *Tiruvanchikulam* adjacent to Cranganore as the capital of the Cheraman

(31) Vol. 8 page 259.

(32) Trikarur;—3 miles from Kodomangalam, 28 miles east by north of Cochin, a deserted village at the foot of the Ghauts (Codamangalam.) the remains of an old Temple and of the walls of some old buildings (Journal of the Asiatic Society II. 36.) Archeological Survey of Southern India Vol. 2 page 261. A plot of ground here is pointed out by the people as the place from which Parasu Rama is supposed to have taken his final farewell of the Namboories.

(33) Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy page 52. 53.

Perumals or early rulers of Malabar.(34) These considerations lead us to look for the ancient site of Karoor somewhere near the modern towns of Cranganore or Tiruvanchikulam and Trikkaroor.

Within the limits of Limurike are placed by Pliny and Arrian Tundis and Musiris while Ptolemy names many more, such as:—Brahmagara, Kalaikarias, Mouziris, Podoperoura, Semnê, Koreoura, Bakarei, he also gives the names of the two rivers already mentioned, viz. the Psendostomos and the Baris In additionto the above named places Ptolemy proceeds to name some of the inland cities of Limurike or the country governed by Keprobotras. They are:—To the west of the Psendostomos—Naroulla, Kauba, Poloura. Between the Psendostomos and the Baris:—Pasagê, Mastanour, Kourellour, Pounnata, Aloê, Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothras, Arembour, Bidderis, Pantipolis, Adarima, Koreour South of Nilkanda lies the country of the *Aïoi*. The first city named in it is Nilkanda itself. The other cities named in this region are:—Elangkôu (or Elangkôr) a mart, Kottiara, the Metropolis, Bamala, Komaria, a cape and town. The only inland city mentioned in the country of the Aïoi is Morounda which has not yet been identified. The Periplus also notices the country lying to the South of Nilkanda as belonging to King Pandion.

The identtification of these, wherever possible, with their modern sites, is an important link in the chain of our early accounts of Malabar. *Tyndis* is identified by Dr. Burnell with *Kadalundi* (properly (k a d a l) (t) u n d i = the raised ground by the sea) standing on an inlet three and a half miles to the south of Beypore. The composition of the words *Kadal* and *Tundi* says Dr. Burnell makes Kadalundi by Tamil rules. According to the Periplus its distance is 500 stadia or about 50 miles to the north of Musiris. This distance from Musiris or Cranganore brings us to *Tanûr*. "Tanur itself" says Yule "may be Tyndis. It was an ancient city, the seat of a principality and in the beginning of the 16th Century had still much shipping and trade." He however, thinks that Dr. Burnell's site is the more probable one. To Dr. Gundert the wellknown Malayalam Scholar we owe the identification of Musiris. It is no other than the *Muyirikodu* of the ancient Malabar inscriptions of Bhas-

(34) Oriental Manuscripts Preface page 13.

kara Ravi Vurma and Sthanu Ravi Gupta. It is referred to as the residence of the Cheraman Perumals and is practically identical with Cranganore and Tiruvanjikulam about 18 miles north of Cochin. Some point to Krishnancotta opposite to Cranganore as the probable site. Arrian's description of the place seems to be very apt, and answers exactly to the situation of Cranganore and Tiruvanjikulam. He says that it is 20 stadia, *i. e.* 2 miles distant from the mouth of the river on which it is situated. According to Pliny it is not a desirable place for shipping purposes though it was the first emporium of trade on the coast. The station for ships was at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and to be shipped by means of small boats. At Cranganore the ships have to stand off at sea and though its shipping trade has been shifted to the better harbour and port of Cochin, the Travancore Sirkar still unloads its cargo of salt consigned to its depôt at Pallippuram here. The salt has to be brought to the depôt in *Dhonies* (boats) the ships themselves being unable to enter the harbour for want of water. It may be interesting to note that in the 14th chapter of the Brahatsamhita Varahamihira notices this city as being situated in the Southern Division. He calls it *Maruchipattana** and Kern in a note adds:—"*Maruchi*, or *Murachi*, *Marachi* seems to be the *Muziris* (transposed from Muziris) of the Greeks."

Bramagara is placed in Ptolemy's Table half a degree to the east of Tyndis, *i. e.*, really to the south of it, since Ptolemy makes the Malabar Coast run east instead of south. Mc. Crindle thinks that the name may be a transliteration of the Sanskrit Brhamagara or "the abode of the Brahmans" referring to some city occupied by the Aryan Brahmans. It is not unlikely that it represents one of the Namboory gramas (villages) in that part of the Country.

With respect to *Kalaikarias* Mc. Crindle says, that the last half of the word (*Kazias*) is doubtless the Tamil word for coast, Ptolemy using the same word to denote the same thing in *Peringkaraei* which as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell has retained the same name to the present day. Mc. Crindle would identify Kalaikarias with the "Cholacoory" of Arrowsmith's map of India, a place lying to

* The word *Marichi* in Sanskrit means Pepper.

the north east of Cranganore and at about the same distance from Musiris. *Podoperoura* must evidently be *Pudupattana*, lying to the north of Calicut. It was one of the most ancient ports of Malabar but has unfortunately now disappeared from the maps. It stood near Badagaray. It is noticed by Cosmos surnamed Indekoplenstus A. D. 545, as Pudopattana, as Pendifitania by Nicolo Couti, Buduftan by the author of the Tohgat—al—Miyahidin and Bodfattan by Ken Batuta. It was indeed well known at the time of the Portuguese discoveries. Mc. Crindle regards *Semnê* as a town inhabited by Bhudists, having perhaps a Bhudist Temple of noted sanctity. He conjectures that Semnê is just the same as *Sramana* the Sanskrit name for Bhudist ascetics. In Tamil they were called *Samana* and as Clemens Alexandrius rendered this as *Semoni*, he infers that it denotes a Bhudist town. It is well known that Bhudism had made much progress in Malabar in early times and the Kerololpathi as well as the Keralamahatmyam records a strong contest between Bhudism and Brahmanism for religious supremacy in Malabar. For all that no modern site can be referred to and any inference made will at the best be purely immaginary.

Of Karoura enough has been said and we therefore turn to *Bakrei*. This city is mentioned by Pliny as Becare, as Bakari by the author of the Periplus and as Bakarei by Ptolemy. The Periplus places it at the mouth of the river on which at a distance of 120 stadia or 12 miles inland from the sea was situated the great mart of Nilkanda or Melkynda as Ptolemy has it. It was the shipping port of Nilkanda. According to Muller it is now represented by Markari (Lat: 12. N.) while Yule conjectures that it must have been between Kannetti and Kollam or Quilon in Travancore. Nilkanda is mentioned by various authors under varying forms of the same name. It is Melkynda in Ptolemy, Neacyndon in Pliny, Nilkunda in the Periplus, Nineylda in the Peutinger Tables and in the Geographer of Ravenna, Nilcynna. One Manuscript of Pliny writes the second part of the word not *Cyndon* but *Canidon*. Dr. Caldwell says that Melkynda, *i. e.*, probably Western Kingdom seems to be Kannetti the southern boundary of Kerala Proper. According to the Periplus the distance from Musiris to Nillkanda is but 300 stadia,

i. e., 50 miles. "At this distance from Cranganore it is some what difficult to point to a quite satisfactory Nilkanda. The site selected as the most probable is nearly 800 stadia south of Musiris. That site is Kallada on a river of the same name 12 miles north east of Quilon." That the choice is a happy one and that it is moreover accurate will be evident from the following circumstances:— (1) Nilkanda is placed by the author of the Periplus on a river, at the mouth of which stands Bakre 120 stadia, *i. e.*, 12 miles distant from the great Interpöt; and Kallada stands exactly 12 miles inland to the north east of Quilon close to Bakre or Markari (2) Kallada or its vicinity is believed to be the Kannetti of the Keralolpathi, the southern boundary of Malabar Proper and Kannetti is a town and river situated to the north east of Quilon not far away from Kallada. Now according to Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy the territory of Cœlobothras or Kerobothras or Keprobothras extended southwards only to Nilkanda when the sway of the Pandion began. (3) Kallada is the only navigable river on the south-west coast except the Periyar or the Alwaye river near Cranganore. The Periplus says that the river has sunken reefs and shallows which makes its navigation difficult so much so that the ships despatched from Nilkanda to Bakare had to sail down empty and there take their cargo. This description exactly fits in with the navigable condition of the Kallada river and the Quilon or Ashtamudi backwater into which it pours out its waters. (4) The Periplus says that after Bakare occurs the mountains called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south near another district of the country called Paralia. There can be little doubt that this refers to the bar of red laterite known as the Wurkalay Barrier which extending from Quilon southwards cuts short the backwater navigation and which has been not long ago pierced through by two long tunnels to carry the waterway direct to Trevandrum, the capital of the Travancore State. (5) After referring to the importance of Nilkanda Pliny proceeds to say that the region, however, from which they convey pepper to Bakare in boats formed of single logs is Cottonara. It is indeed well known that Kallada is a great interpot of Travancore pepper which is sent from there to ports on the coast for shipment in boats formed of single logs exactly as they used to be

in the days of Pliny. A reference to the map of Travancore will show that Kottarakkaray which produces pepper in abundance and of the finest quality is situated close to Kallada and looking to the respective positions of Bakrae and Cottonara there can be little doubt that the latter is represented by the modern Kottarakkaray.

The second place mentioned in the country of the Aioi is *Elangkon* or *Elankor* a mart which is identified by Mc. Crindle with Quilon otherwise written as Kollam. But a more correct place will be somewhere in the vicinity of Kottarakkaray. The family of the now extinct Raja of Kottarakkaray collaterally related to the Royal House of Travancore was known as Elayada Swaroopam and its territory comprised within its limits Shevcottah, Chaugaud, Kercudi and Valliyoor on the Tinnevelly side, and Kottarakkaray, Pathanapuram on the then northern limits of Travancore. In 909 M. E., 1734 A. D. this Rajaship was annexed to Travancore. The term Elangkoor according to Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary means the dignity of the 2nd Prince and the Kottarakkaray Raja was not simply a tributary of the Travancore King, but was also a relative of the Travancore House. It might have been that originally his was the dignity of the 2nd Prince of the Travancore House.

Next to Elangkor Ptolemy names *Kottiara* the Metropolis. Coming soon after Elangkor one is tempted to identify it with the town of Kottarakkaray. It must have been no doubt a place of considerable importance. It may be either Kottarakkaray or Kottar in South Travancore. Pliny names it as Kottara and the same name is found in the Peutinger Tables. It may more probably be the modern Kottar a town which now as in the times of the Greeks is celebrated for its commerce. Fra Paolino believes that this is the Cottora or Cottiara of the ancient Greeks and Romans. He refers to it as a place of considerable trade, of upwards of 2,000 years old. In his day it was much frequented by merchants from Ceylon, the Provinces of Madura, Marava, Tanjore and the coast of Coromandel. A river which flows through the middle of it divides it into two parts. It contains, says Paoli, abundance of merchandise, and is inhabited by a great number of weavers, money changers, silver smiths, jugglers, comedians, quacks, dancing girls, conjurors

and black artits perhaps all the *entourge* of the Metropolis of an oriental prince—The Kottiara of Ptolemy could not evidently have been the Cottonara of Pliny or the Kottonarike of the Periplus. It is indeed singular that Ptolemy does not make mention of Cottonara though Pliny refers to it as the region where the best pepper was produced and whence that commodity is brought to the port of Bakrae for shipment. Buchanan identifies Cottonara with Kadathnad in the Collectorate of Malabar, while Burnell identifies it with Kolatunad the District about Tellichery also in the Collectorate of Malabar, both well known for their produce of pepper. But neither of these localities satisfactorily answers to the description given by Pliny. If Nilkanda is Kallada or Kannetti near Quilon in Travancore as has been satisfactorily shown by Burnell himself, if Bacare stands at a distance of 120 stadia or 12 miles at the mouth of the river on which Nilkanda is situated, if the pepper of Cottonara was brought to Bacre for shipment in boats formed out of single logs then certainly the district of Cottonara could not be so far away as Kadathnad or Kolathnad in North Malabar. Indeed, there was no necessity for the pepper of those districts to be carried so far south as Quilon in Travancore to be conveyed to foreign marts. The ports of Calicut, Cannanore, Pudupattanam, and Cranganore, not to mention many an other port lay near and more conveniently at hand, add to this the fact mentioned both by Pliny and Arrian that Nilkanda belonged not to Colobothras or Keprobotras but to Pandion. It cannot have been that Pandion had any territory in North Malabar seeing that Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy all agree in fixing Nilkanda or Kallada as the northern limit of the Pandion kingdom. The district of Cottonara can in no way be situated at a distance from Nilkanda or its shipping port Bacre. We may safely point to the district of Kottarakkaray in the vicinity of Kallada as the Cottonara of the Greeks. "On the east of Collam (Quilon) and towards the interior part of the country" says Fra Paolino "lie Perumanadu and Cirumuttu, two beautiful and uncommonly fertile districts, which belong to the ancient kingdom of Kottarakkaray and which produces great quantities of pepper, ginger, cardamom, gum-lack, cotton, and various kinds of valuable wood. The river

on which these articles are transported takes its rise in the Ghauts, and proceeding past Collare, Tuyam and on the north side of Collare, discharges itself into the sea, towards the south not far from the town of Aybica."(35) The first part of the name of this latter town certainly leaves behind a trace of the name by which Ptolemy called this part of the country *Aiomm Regio* and it is significant that Nilkanda is placed by Ptolemy in the country of the Aioi.

Bamala is the next place mentioned after Kottiara. It may be the Balita of the Periplus which Arrian says is in the country of Paralia. Mannert identifies it with Manapilly a little north of Anjengo in British Travancore.

The last place noticed by Greek Geographers in southern India is Komar situated at the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula. The disguise is so thin and the description given so apt that it is not difficult to recognise in Komar the modern Cape Comorin. As we shall have to say something further on respecting this place we leave it here; but it may be remarked that the Priplus makes the mistake of extending the Peninsula southwards beyond the cape. Ptolemy too makes the somewhat serious mistake of making the Malabar Coast run east instead of south.

Mc. Crindle compares Ptolemy's enumeration of places on the west coast with that of the Periplus from Barygaza (Broach) to Cape Comorin. It may not be uninteresting to append here that part of it which relates more specially to Malabar in its widest sense.

Ptolemy.—Tyndis.	*Periplus.*—Tyndis.
Trinesia Islands.	
Bramagara.	
Kalaikarias	
Mouziris.	Mouziris.
Podoperoura.	
Semne.	
Is. Leuké.	

(35) Voyages to the East Indies p. 117.

Koreoura.	
Melkynda.	Nelkynda.
Bakarei.	Bakare.
Elangkor.	Mons Pyrrhos.
Kottiara.	
Banmala.	Balita.
Komaria.	Komar.

Of the inland cities named by Ptolemy both in Limurike and in the country of the Aïoi most have as yet defied all attempts at identification. The identification of others is more or less fanciful resting as it does on mere guess without any further clue. *Kouba* is supposed to be Goa the capital of the Portuguese possession in India. But it may be remarked that one of the divisions of the ancient kingdom of Kerala according to the Keralolpathi was known as *Kuva* or *Koovala*. Palour looks very much a Tamil name meaning "Milk town."

It is at present an unimportant village lying off the main road about a mile or so south east of Chowghaut on the sea-coast and is said to possess one of the seven churches originally founded by the Apostle St. Thomas on the Malabar coast, the others being Quilon, Cranganore, North Paroor, South Pallippuram, Neeranum and Nellakul. Its situation in the vicinity of Chowghaut which itself is not far away from one of the many openings through which there is water communication between the sea and the Cochin and Trovancore backwaters makes it extremely probable that the early voyagers visited the place. Chowghaut now forms the port of the large and flourishing Syrian town of Kunnankulam where there is a settlement of the descendents of the old Christians. Paloor may have been one of much the same importance as a trading colony as Quilon and Cranganore in ancient days. Fra Paoli mentions the church at Paloor as one under the supremacy of Rome in his day.

It is remarkable as Caldwell observes that many names of places in southern India mentioned by Ptolemy ends in "our," *i. e.*, a town in Tamil. It would appear that there are 23 such places in all. There are more places than one in Malabar and situated in

the interior answering to the name of *Arembour*, but they are, more or less, obscure villages at present. There is one about four miles to the west of Trichoor in the Cochin state.

Cape Comorin, situated at the southernmost extremity of India and which forms also the southernmost point of Malabar, was known to the Greeks from very early times. It then belonged to the Pandion kingdom and as such is noticed by various Greek authors. It is called Kumaria Akron, Cape Kumaria, by Ptolemy, and Kumarei or simple Komar by the author of the Periplus. The latter says, "After Bakare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where there are Pearl Fisheries which belong to the King Pandion), and a city of the name Kolkhoi. In this district the first place met with is called Balita which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar, where, is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed."(36) As to the Paralia of the above quotation it may be remarked, that the country so called comprises the line of coast, including South Tinnevelly and South Travancore. It commenced at what they called the "Red cliffs" south of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin but also Kolkhoi. Paralia is the Greek word for coast. Dr. Caldwell thinks that it could not have been the Greek mode of writing a native name, for Ptolemy mentions several Paralias. The coast indicated by this name included Ptolemy's country of the Aïoi, South Travancore and that of the Kârei, South Tinnevelly. (37) Burnell identifies Paralia with Farali which he says is an old name for Travancore. Yule agrees with Burnell and observes that "this Paralia is no doubt Purali an old name for Travancore from which the Raja has a title Puralisan, Lord of Purali." According to Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary *Puralisan* is a title of the Raja of Travancore.

(36.) Mc. Crindle's Periplus page 139.

(37.) History of Tinnevelly page 19.

Professor Wilson, however, thinks that it is possible that the Paralia of Ptolemy's Tables may be a wrong reading for Keralia or Kerala.

In the quotation from Pliny we read that Cœlobothras reigned over Mouziris in his time. The Periplus calls him Keprobothras. There is another reference extant, *viz.* an extract from Ptolemy "*Karoura basileon kerobothrou*"——Karoura the royal seat of Kerobothras.

The Prince called Kerobothras by Ptolemy is styled Keprobothras by the author of the Periplus. The insertion of "p" says Dr. Caldwell "is clearly an error, but more likely the error of a copyist than that of the author who himself had visited the territories of the prince in question. He is called Coelobothras in Pliny's text, but one of the manuscripts gives it more correctly as Celobotras. The name in Sanskrit and in full is Keralaputhra, but the Kera and Kela are Dravidian abbreviations of Kerala. They are Malayalam, however, not Tamil abbreviations, and the District over which the Tamil Keralaputhra ruled is that in which the Malayalam language is now spoken." (38).

Thus it is clear that according to Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy a king reigned over the Malabar coast in their time, call him what we may—Ceranibothi, Cœlobothras, Keprobothras, Kerobothras or Keralaputhra—As we have already observed at the outset, Southern India was from very early times divided between the Chêra, Chôla and Pândya kingdoms. We are now concerned with the first of these. According to Dr. Burnell from the 3rd to the 7th century appears to have been the most flourishing period in the modern history of this kingdom. It then extended over the present Mysore, Coimbatoor, Tondinad, South Malabar and Cochin. It was however one of the three great Dravidian kingdoms and existed already in the 3rd century B. C. Professor Dowson describes it at a later period as extending to the Mysore frontier in the north, the district of Salem in the east, and the Travancore Coast up to Calicut in the north-west. The capital of this kingdom is said

(38.) Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Introduction p. 95.

to have been Karoor. The Revd. Mr. Foulks contends that Chêra and Kêrala denote the same country. He says that there is a general concurrence of the authorities that Chêra and Kêrala are synonymous names notwithstanding the difficulty caused by the supposed identity of Kongu and Chêra. Dr. Rottler's Tamil Dictionary has under the word "Kêrâlam" "The King Cheran who reigned at the Malabar coast."(39) "I have no doubt" says Dr. Caldwell "that the names Chêra and Kêrala were originally one and the same and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous in native Tamil and Malayâlam lists." Dr. Gundert has in his Malayalam Dictionary under the word Keram, "Chera=Malabar, Canarese pronunciation of Cheram" and under the word Keralam "Cheram.—The country between Gokarnam and Cumari." It may also be remembered that the South Indian King is called Keralaputhra in the Asoka Edict. Thus there would seem to exist no doubt as to the identity of the king or the land over which he held his sway. The latitude of the Chera Metropolis according to Ptolemy was 33.°15′ and the ports of Tyndis and Musiris were within his dominions.

Pliny describes Muziris as *primum emporium Indiae.* Well may it deserve that proud distinction. Situated on the coast, a few miles to the north of Cochin, at a place where the great rivers that form the only means of communication with the interior emptied their waters into the sea, it attained an unrivalled prosperity from very early times. It was through this port that the Hindoos received from the Phœnicians their art of writing; it must have been from this port that the shipmen of Solomon King of Isarel obtained their valuable cargoes of gold, ivory, sandalwood &c.; it was to this port that the Greek merchant and mariner Hippalos—that Colombus of ancient times—in his voyage for the discovery of a new route to India, was carried by the western monsoon; it was here according to common tradition that the great Apostle St. Thomas landed first and founded a church and preached Christianity in the opening years of the 1st century of the Christian Era; it was here that later on that the Jews arrived after the destruction

(39.) Manual of the Salem District.

of the second temple and the final desolation of Jerusalem A. D. 69, and founded a settlement; it was at this port that the Romans had formed a colony and set up a temple of Augustus; it was here that Thomas Cana landed from Syria when he brought with him a fresh colony of Syrian Christians and it was here that the great Chêraman Perumâl lived and ruled over Kêralam prosperously for many years. Tundis and Nelkanda or Kadalundi or Kallada were second only to Muziris. All trade with the west converged to these points. The produce of the interior was carried to these ports in country craft and the western merchants, who then carried on extensive commerce with the east, and whose splendidly equipped merchant-men always lay anchored there bore it to western marts. What strange tales would history unfold if the gift of speech were allowed to the stones and pebbles that lie imbedded deep in the bosom of the river that flows by the once famous fort of Kodungalloor!

The early intercourse between the east and the west may also be traced by means of the Roman coins that we occasionally find in Southern India, and the localities where they are to be met with generally mark the zone of Roman and Grecian influence in that direction. According to Mr. Little in the Christian College Magazine for December 1883, there are at least 13 references to discoveries of Roman coins in Southern India, besides the one in Karoor of which he had given a description in the October number of the same magazine. The earliest reference is contained in a letter written by Mr. Alexander Davidson, Governor of Madras in 1786, and published in the Asiatic Researches. It says "As a peasant near Neloor about 100 miles north—west of Madras was ploughing by the side of a stony craggy hill, his plough was obstructed by some brick work: he dug and discovered the remains of a small Hindu temple under which a little pot was found with Roman coins and medals of the 2nd century. He sold them as old gold; and many were no doubt melted, but the Nawab Ameer-Ul-Umrah recovered upward of 30 of them. This happened while I was Governor; and I had the choice of 2 out of the whole. I chose an Adrian and a Faustina. Some of the Trajans were in

good preservation. Many of the coins could not have been in circulation. They were of the purest gold and many of them as fresh and beautiful as if they had come from the mint but yesterday; some were much defaced and perforated and had probably been worn as ornaments on the arm and the others pending from the neck." Dr. Francis Buchanan records a find near Pollachy in the Coimbatoor District in 1800. On the 24th November of that year he makes the following entry in his itenary. "Pollachy—— In this vicinity was lately dug up a pot containing a great many Roman silver coins, of which Mr. Hurdis was so kind as to give me 6. They were of two kinds, but all of the same value; each weighing 36 grains, one of the kind is that of Augustus. * * * The other belongs to Tiberius."(40) In 1801 potfuls of silver denarii were found in different parts of the Coimbatore Province. Another instance is mentioned by Col. Mackenzie as occurring in the same district in 1806. In 1817 a silver coin of Augustus was found in excavating an old kistaven in Coimbatoor, and Sir Walter Elliot, in Notes and Queries for April 19th 1873 says, that he possesses an Aureus of Trajan found at Cuddapah and a solidus Zeno at Madura. In Vol VI, New series of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Sir Walter Elliot says that "a large hoard (of Solaka or Punch coins)(41) was discovered in September 1807 at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of *pandu kulis* near the village of Chavadippalayam in Coimbatore, and about four years earlier a potful of the same pieces was dug up at Pennar also in the Coimbatoor Province, among which was found a silver *denarius* of Augustus, which proves that they were current at the commencement of the Christian Era". Roman gold coins of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Antonia and Claudius are said to have been found in the

(40.) Buchanan's Canara and Malabar vol. 2 Page 31. On the subject of Roman coins in Southern India reference may be made to Coins catalogue No. 2 Madras Government Museum 2nd Edition, by Edgar Thurston. This paper was completed long before I came to see Dr. Thurstain's book.

(41) These Punch marked coins were evidently of early Bhudistic origin for they were all coined by the early Bhudists several centuries before the Christian Era. They were perhaps the only coins India knew before the invasion of Alexander. See "The coins of India as witnesses to her history by James E. Tracy. Vol. 5, C. C. Magazine 680-1.

Coimbatoor District (Karoor) in 1806. Again we have it on the authority of Mr. Sewell that when Mr. John Sullivan was digging the foundations of a house on the hill to the south of the lake, now called Bishop's Down (Ootacamund) about the year 1827 he discovered a gold Roman coin which is now in the possession of Sir. Walter Elliot.(42) Cooly loads of Roman coins would seem to have been found by some workmen near Cottayam in North Malabar, who where searching for gold dust in 1851. Seventy three of these were secured by the Maharaja of Travancore. They belonged to the reigns of Augustus, Antonia Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. Dr. Caldwell appears to have given a description of these coins in a paper printed at Trevandrum in 1851 at the instance of the Maharaja of Travancore. He says that there were upwards of 30 types of them, commencing with the earlier coins of Augustus and including some of Nero's.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. XX, p. 382) mentions a find at Kilalur, 24 miles from Tellichery in North Malabar. In 1842 at Vellalur near the town of Coimbatoor a large number of *denarii* were unearthed. They were buried in an earthen pot. It contained 134 coins of Augustus, 378 of Tiberius, 1 of Caligula, 4 of Claudius and 2 unrecognisable, in all 522.(43) Three miles to the south of Pulney, near the village of Kaliampatoor a pot containing 63 beautiful gold coins of the early Roman Emperors and others were found in 1856 buried 6 inches below the surface. About the same time some washermen of Karoor while searching for fuller's earth, came upon a large pot containing some hundreds if not thousands of denarii. There were 5 or 6 Madras measures of them. Mr. Little's informant who saw the hoard believed that most of them were like an Augustus that Mr. Little showed him. A solitary coin was picked up some time ago near the Seven Pagodas in the Chingleput District. It was thought to be of the reign of Theodosius, but was a good deal the worse for wear. We have already observed that Sir. Walter Elliot mentions the find of a solidus of Zeno at Madura, but the most important discovery in

(42) List of antiquities of Southern India Vol, 1., p. 226.

(43) Whitehouse's "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land" p. 13 note.

that neighbourhood is that of a number of copper Roman coins either in the bed of the river or in the village near, some of them of the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. In 1806 another interesting relic of ancient communication between the west and the east was found at Avanashy in the Coimbatoor District in the shape of a handsome bronze jug and two other articles of western workmanship, a plate of which will be found in the Indian Antiquary.(44) Mr. Walhouse, late of the Madras civil service records another find in 1840. It was a potful of Roman Aurei of which only a few would seem to have been preserved (45). Mr. Whitehouse observed that in 1837 some 300 large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint and bearing the image and superscription of Nero were found in or near the bed of a river in the district of Trevor sixteen miles from Cannanore.(46) Dr. Day also refers to a find at Ponnany but gives no particulars.(47)

The Roman Coins that have as yet been found in Southern India range from the time of Augustus to that of Zeno, *i. e*, from B.C. 27, the date on which Augustus was invested with the title of Imperator, to A. D. 491, the date of Zeno's death. Those found in Malabar range from Augustus to Nero (B. C. 27 to A. D. 68); those in Coimbatore from Augustus to Claudius (B. C. 27 to A. D. 54); those in Nellore belong to the reign of Trajan and Hadrian (A. D. 98 to 138); the one found in the Chingelput District is supposed to belong to the reign of Theodosius. There were two Emperors of this name. The first reigned from 379. A. D. to 395, and the second from 408 to 450 A. D. The Madura Coins belong to Arcadius and Honorius and Zeno, *i. e.*, from 395 to 423 and 474 to 491 A. D.

The period of these coins covers the whole of the palmy days of the Empire and goes even beyond them. Even after the division of the Empire into the East and West the flagging interest in the

(44) Vol. 4 p. 302.
(45) Indian Antiquary Vol. 6 p. 215.
(46) Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land p. 13 note.
(47) Land of the Perumals p. 574.

eastern trade appears to have been kept up, for we come upon a solidus of Zeno (474–491) near Madura.

From the record of the find of Roman Coins in Southern India the following facts may be noted :—

(1) That they are, with a few exceptions, found within certain specific limits. They are most extensively found on the Western Coast, and more specially within the area of the ancient Chera kingdom which comprised Coimbatoor, Mysore, Tondinad, South Malabar and Cochin. In the Coimbatoor District the vicinity of Karoor would seem to be most prolific. Next to Coimbatoor Malabar appears to possess them in abundance. The gold coins found at Cottayam, were so numerous that five coolies could scarcely carry them. Those found at Trevoor near Cananore amounted to 300 large gold coins. The *denarii* which the washermen of Karoor found buried, measured 5 or 6 measures. Those unearthed at Vellalore near the Town of Coimbatore amounted to more than 500. It may be remembered that Ptolemy mentions Karoor as the Capital of the Chera or Kerala kingdom—"*karoura basileon kerobothrou*"

(2) That those found on the West Coast belong to the earlier Emperors while those found in Madura Chingelput and Nellore belong to the later Emperors. In Malabar we find the coins of the Emperors in regular succession from Augustus to Nero and in Coimbatore from Augustus to Claudius. Those of Madura are the latest viz. of Zeno.(48)

(3) That they are invariably found buried under the earth in large quantities and are often not the worse for use. It may be concluded that these coins were never, or seldom, in circulation. For if they ever circulated, they could not at this distance of time be found in such good preservation. With regard to the gold coins it may be observed that gold as a circulating medium has never found favour with the Indian nations. They use that precious

(48) Says Mr. James, E. Tracy "A Company of Romans bent on trade once lived in Madura, and had a mint in operation there. They had their head-quarters there for many years, if not for several centuries, and have left behind them in gold silver and especially in the copper coins which are being found there the indisputable record of their long ago presence." C. C. Magazin Vol. 5 page 676.

metal almost exclusively for the making of jewels and the theory that the Roman gold coins were invariably used as ornaments obtains support from the fact that many of the coins found were perforated so as to pass a string through them. They are often found in pots buried under the earth. This practice of burying treasure in pots under the earth is still dear to the native mind. It must have had its origin evidently from the insecurity of the times.

The natural and artificial products of India were always in great demand in foreign marts. Not so the products of other countries in Indian markets. The few and simple wants of the Hindoos were amply provided for by home produce. Even to this day, in spite of the introduction of western luxuries into the Hindoo home, the value of exports stands considarably higher than the value of imports. Under such circumstances foreign merchants being unable to pay in kind for the articles they bought from India, had to pay in Coins. Then gold and silver coins which always formed the medium of interchange among civilized nations were imported to India in considerable quantities. Pliny complained most bitterly, of the immense sums of money 50 million *Sestertii i.e.*, 2 million pounds exported to India year after year to pay for the Indian wares which had in most instances to be paid for in coin as few other equivelants were acceptable. Thus gold coins poured in copious quantities and as these never circulated found their way into subterranean receptacles to be unearthed after centuries had gone by. To this ancient custom may we attribute the finds of gold, silver, and at times of even copper coins, in places like Bishop's Down in Oottacamund where they may be least expected.

The find of Roman coins in Sothern India may not perhaps by itself lead to the conclusion that the Romans had any direct intercourse with South India. But when coupled with the evidence we have from Roman and Grecian sources of a long standing commercial relation between Rome and Southern India through Egypt, the conclusion inevitably follows that Rome exerted a good deal of influence in the Early History of that part of the Asiatic continent. The Pandion kings, as well as the ruler of Malabar, seem to have sent more than one embassy to Rome. The one to

Augustus is noticed by Strabo and subsequently to him in the Chronographia of Syncellus (A. D. 800) who says under the head of the 185th Olympiad, "Padion—King of the Indians sends an embassy to Augustus desiring to become his friend and ally."(49) This embassy, says Florius, was four years on the road(50) Dr. Oppert speaks of Indian envoys with precious presents being sent to Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius and Julianus.(51)

The Roman coins found in Madura are supposed by Mr. Sewell to point to something more than mere commercial relations. The company of Romans that lived in Madura possessed according to Mr. Tracy the right of minting coins which indicates some political power.—According to the Peutinger Tables there was at one time a temple of Augustus with a garrison of 2 Cohorts of 1200 men at Kodungalore (Cranganore).(52). This no doubt points to something more than commercial relations. The fact ought to set us about thinking as to how the Romans came to have planted a colony at so distant a place as Cranganore. They were indeed an ambitious people. Under the Republic they had extended their conquests far and wide. Cæsar had conquered Gaul and Britain for them. After the battle of Pharsalos where Pompey was defeated, Julius Cæsar was appointed perpetual Dictator under the title of Imperator or Emperor. On his assassination he was succeeded by his nephew Octavius Augustus Cæsar who added Egypt to the already wide spread Empire of Rome. The intercourse with the East began with the Conquest of Egypt. But a long time must have elapsed before Rome thought it fit to plant a Colony in the far east. The fact of the setting up of a Temple of Augustus shows that when the Colony was planted at Kodungalore the Romas had already begun to worship Augustus as a god The apotheosis of the early Roman Emperors is a matter of known notoriety.

(49) History of Tinnevelly P. 17.

(50) History of Rome IV. 2. see also Prianlx's Appol of Tayana p. 68. also Indian Antiquary vol. IV.

(51) Ancient Commerce of India p. 28.

(52) Lists of Antiquities of South India vol. 1, p. 251.

The Romans had in very early times deified Romulus the founder of the City. Julius Cæsar himself was after his assassination deified and worshipped under a decree of the senate. The first two Cæsars allowed themselves to be worshipped even during their life time though not at the Capitol. For, we read that "neither Julius nor Augustus suffered themselves to be actually worshipped in the City or even within the limits of Italy while they graciously permitted themselves to be adored as gods in foreign countries." An instance of this may be given. About B. C. 14, Druses the Younger, brother of Tiberius, had command of an army in Gaul, and in order to secure more fully the allegiance of the northern tribes, who after a fashion, acknowledged the sway of Augustus, hit upon the device of building a temple for the worship of the image of the Emperor. May we not conjecture, with some show of reason, that it was for a similar purpose that the Romans set up a temple of Augustus at Kodungalore? But in the dearth of historical date it would be idle to speculate, as yet we have no evidence of any Roman conquests in South India on the western Coast.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

MUBTALA.*

Chapter I.

Birth and Childhood of Mubtala.

So far as his position in society was concerned, Mubtala was the son of a well-to-do man. His birth was hailed with great joy by the family as he was born after nine daughters, and in the dotage of his father who had passed his days in the expectation of a son. The news was given out but slowly and gradually. Every one who heard it went at once to prayer. Some began to utter words of well-wishes, while others began to sing songs fit for the occasion. The news spread throughout the suburb like the light of the sun. When the morning dawned, all the ladies of the locality where seen making towards the house where the child was given birth to. The streets were full of *doolies*. The desire for a male child was so great that any such child however ugly he might have been, would have been considered a precious gem and cherished. But love of beauty was the ruling passion of this family and the pride of its members specially consisted in their handsome features. So, whoever came in, wished to see the child. But the inmates of the house hesitated to shew him lest the evil-eye, and the shadow of the fairies should fall on him. When however the midwife came out of the chamber, all the ladies gathered around her and enquired what the child was like, to which she replied that he was an image of beauty itself—having round glistening eyes, a high aquiline nose, thin lips, a small mouth, dark glossy curly hair, a long face, a round and pearl-shaped neck and symmetrical limbs. "I have now come to this advanced age" said she, "but I have not seen such a beautiful child as yet even in high circles, where beauty of face is so highly valued. May God give him a long life and prosperity." In the whole household and in the family, he was regarded as a rare thing; and a rare thing he really was, from whatever point of view he was regarded. From the very day of his birth he

* Translated and abridged from the original in Urdu of Moulvi Nazir Ahmad of Delhi.

was carried about in the arms of his grandmother, of his aunts, and sisters. Mubtala's father was a very pious man who scrupulously observed the ordinances of his religion. The old women even of the house were regular in their prayers five times a day. But in spite of all this, such means were adopted and such precautions taken in the bringing up of the child that one might be led to infer that in the opinion of these people the health and well-being of the child depended not merely on food and water, but on the eye of the relative and of the stranger, on the eclipse of the sun and the moon; on the dog, on the cat, on the lizard, on the devil, and on the genii. In fact everything that was real, and every thing that was imaginary was supposed to have a potent influence on his well-being. We shall be the last to attribute blasphemy and polytheism to anybody, but we cannot help saying that the way in which he was dealt with, was not wholly free from of such a charge. It is a matter of surprise how his bringing up was possible under the circumstances; and how he escaped safe from the hands of those silly friends. There was no illness, no pain, that was not attributed to by them to wrong causes—to the imaginary effect of the evil-eye, and to the devil. Since such blunders were committed in the diagnosis, it is no wonder that wrong means were resorted to in the prescriptions. But by nature Mubtala was strong and healthy; and his constitution always overcame diseases. However, Mubtala was brought up somehow, and advanced in years. When Mubtala had entered on his sixth year, his father wished to send him to school, but as usual, the ladies came forward with their excuses and said that he often became sick and that confinement in the school and the punishment of the teacher would make him sad and unhappy and so on. The mother openly gave out that until the eighth year had safely passed away, she was not prepared at all to send her boy to school. Thus on account of the persistent opposition of the ladies, full three years of his life were vainly spent without education.

Chapter II.

Maktab-Education and its effects.

A *Maktab* * had to be opened for him, at his very door. In the beginning Mubtala played many tricks and shewed much obstinacy in not going to the master or sitting in his presence. At

* Maktab is a Primary Vernacular School, conducted on indigenous methods.

last the temptations of small gifts of money, flatterys and the cajoling of his mother had their effect. When once he went to the Maktab, reading and writing were not matters of great difficulty for him, for he was by nature, very intelligent and had a very good memory. As for inattention and mischief-making—with regard to which much could be said against him—the teacher had no occasion to make any complaints so far as his reading and writing were concerned. In spite of utter indifference, and first-rate mischief-making, he was able to attain to such proficiency in Persian, that he almost surpassed his teacher, who was a good Persian scholar. The Maktab-education of Mubtala was useful to him so far as it stood him in good stead in obtaining the mastery over a foreign tongue, without which, the study of Urdu could only be imperfect, but this very eduction had also a pernicious effect on him, which no relative or friend could then discern. It is difficult to say at what stage of his life did he realize in his own mind that he was a beautiful and lovely person. We have already mentioned that in this family, there was much hankering after good features. With the ladies of the house, good features and a white complexion outweighed every other thing that may be called a blessing and a gift of God. The fact of his having been born and brought up in such a family clearly indicates that when he became sensible and intelligent, the first thing that he appreciated was the nature of the beautiful and of his being an embodiment and living example of beauty. He was in the *Zenana*, until he was seven or eight years old. Till then, he could only understand that a sweet thing is liked by all. He had personal experience of all things that were pronounced good or bad by others, and had come to the conclusion that the thing which gives ease and pleasure is good and the thing which gives trouble and pain is bad. But as regards beauty, he had no means of acquiring such experience. The unusual attainments and the rapid progress made by him, in Persian are chiefly to be attributed to the fact that a good deal of poetry in this language is about love. The nature of Mubtala was such that when once he read a couplet of this kind of poetry, he remembered it well. Thus, through the teaching of the Maktab, another trait of character was developed in him, viz, that of love-making.

Chapter III.

School-Education and its effects.

Mubtala's father insisted from the very first, that he should be sent to school; but the ladies could not brook the boy being taken away from their sight, even for a short time, and hence this *Maktab* had to be maintained at the door for nearly six years. Now the stock of knowledge of the teacher was nearly exhausted; and Mubtala had studied nearly all the important Persian authors. He was also tired of this made of instruction, other thoughts having taken possession of him. His eyes were looking out for pic-nic and dancing parties; and these were not to be had at the door. Thus, the father having one aim in view, and the son another, Mubtala had, with the consent of all, to seek admission into the school.

He had to sit in the *Maktab* for nearly six years, but what was the *Maktab* to him? It was a nominal school, for it was only with a view to afford him diversion, that four or five other little children were associated with him in instruction. In other words, it can be said without contradiction, that for nearly fourteen years, he was brought up in a cave* and no sort of worldly atmosphere was allowed to touch him. He found admission into the Arabic class of the school. The ages of the pupils ranged from six or seven up to twenty or twenty-four. Children associated with full-grown youths of all castes and creeds amounting to nearly four-hundred were congregated in one place. Although English, Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit classes were different, and kept in different chambers still out of school-hours, the boys were mixing, speaking, and playing with one another freely, and without any reserve or distinction. When Mubtala saw this state of things, he felt as much joy and freedom as a bird would out of its cage. Till now he had been under the impression that a teacher or Moulvi was always an old man; for his teacher was so old that even his eye-lashes had turned grey. Here he observed that most of the teachers were young men who had themselves been students some four or five years back, and who after passing their examination had taken up this profession.

* Brought up in a cave—refers to the confinement of royal children from their birth up to their youth in under-ground houses, with the view that they may not be affected by the changes of climate, or by the evil-eye, &c. Hence this expression means "brought up with most anxious care, without being allowed to mix in society."

It was a matter of great surprise to him that some of the teachers themselves were younger than some of the students of their classes. The class into which Mubtala was admitted was the lowest Arabic class; and hence there was a very large number of boys in it. There were 70 boys on the rolls; but about 50 or 55 were present daily. About a third of the pupils were much older than Mubtala himself. This being the lowest of all the classes, the Moulvi Sahib who was in charge of it, was the youngest of all the masters and the smallest in size, the lowest in rank, dignity and respect. Mubtala was a handsome and fashionable lad; and as soon as he set his foot on the threshold of the school, companions gathered around him. Previously there were many cliques amongst the students and now a new clique was formed called by the name of Mubtala. The whole organization and administration of the school was praiseworthy. Such subjects were taught as were of practical good in this world. Discipline and drill were strictly observed; but alas! nobody paid any attention towards the conduct and morals of the pupils. Each teacher was anxious that the subject which he taught, should be done well in the examination. As long as this condition was fulfilled—fulfilled though it might be, through cheating, copying and getting another's assistance, nobody seemed to care at all for the conduct and morals of the pupil. When Mubtala was undergoing training in the *Zenana*, the seed of evil was sown in him. In the Maktab, the seed sprouted into a sapling, and in the school, the sapling developed itself into a mighty tree, prospered and blossomed. He got into the habit of returning from school late, and in the small hours of the night. But no sooner did the day dawn than his evil companions would come to his house and begin to strike at the door-chain, to clap hands or to whistle and thus call him away. Matters finally came to such a crisis, that Mubtala would absent himself from home for three or four days together at a time. His mother was fully aware of all these circumstances; but her affection had now assumed another complexion. She was as much afraid of her son, as the cow is of the butcher. Fear had arisen of itself, in her mind, that now that her son was a young man he might take offence at her words and run away or do some harm to himself; then where would she be? The poor woman, thus out of fear, never uttered a word in opposition. From the beginning, the

mischief done by him was screened from his father. Now this mischief had turned into wicked actions; and the more the wickedness increased on one side, the greater were the precautions taken on the other. But the father had not turned his beard grey in sun-shine. From his general deportment the old man could well read the conduct of his son—but he was afraid of his wife and knew well enough that she had a great love for him. Besides, his habit was to procrastinate in all things he should do. On this account he did not pay any attention to the improvement of his son's conduct. Now how could he scold a young man? He might be paid back in his own coin, and thus the only means that the father could think of for his reformation was to bring him under the heavy shackles of wedlock.

Chapter IV.

Mubtala's Marriage and his Dealings with his Wife.

In the fourth year of his admission into the school, proposals were set on foot for his marriage. The son of a well-to-do father, a youth of handsome and attractive, nay even more than handsome and attractive features, a youth who had read and learned, and who had an income from scholarship of ten rupees per month, such as Mubtala then had, what fear could there possibly be in that the number of offers to him would be few. According to the custom, the offer of marriage should have gone, from Mubtala, to the family of the bride, but people had become so enamoured of him from his outward circumstances that, setting aside all ceremony, they sent offers to him from all quarters. When a marriage proposal came, the first request that was made by the people of Mubtala was not even for a silver but at once for a golden* sleeping cot, and this request was put forth and repeated with as much emphasis as if it was the chief condition of the *nickha*.

In the usual affairs of the world giving and receiving are observed with equal strictness. With regard receiving, Mubtala's people insisted on a golden cot, but in matters of giving, they would not mention even a pie towards the usual monthly expenditure of the bride; for this they said, was not the custom of their family.

* Silver or golden cot means a cot which is covered with a thin plaiting of either of these metals.

They would content themselves with the Mohar* of the Shara since Mubtala belonged to a family, the members of which were handsome and since he himself was a handsome man, he deserved a beautiful wife. The ladies would, by some secret means or on some plea or other, themselves go and see the girl, or if an opportunity of seeing was not afforded to them, they would cause some old woman of their household to see her in a similiar way. But these people wished most to see the girl themselves with their own eyes and to place† the lump of sugar-candy in her mouth, with their own hands.

Offers came from many a suitable and good quarter, and offers were also sent by these people to many such quarters. In one place giving and receiving were moot-points of discussion. In another place, the face of the bride was not approved; and in a third place, the condition of seeing the bride before marriage was not approved. Thus many a proposal was rejected, and many an offer declined and no settlement come to. The dropping of proposal for such relationship after once it is made is not a matter for joke. The family of the bride take this in the light of an insult; such cases, therefore end in great annoyance, and heart-burning. It may be mentioned that the ladies of a certain house from which the card was recalled were so very polite and sociable that they were held in high esteem by other ladies of the whole town. Whenever there was a marriage or celebration of any rite, they were always invited, and they too, in their turn, invited others in their small as well as in their important ceremonies and treated all of them alike. When these ladies were thus enraged, they became instrumental in having him held up to reproach and abuse throughout the whole town. The disagreement with this household therfore

*When marriage, which is a contract amongst the Mussulmans, is performed, a *Mohar* or some money or property is settled on the bride which the bridegroom is at liberty to pay at the moment of the *nickha* or afterwards. The Mohar fixed by the Shara or laws of the Prophet is rather slight—but people set larger Mohars according to the circumstances of the bride. The people of Mubtala named a small Mohar for the bride.

†Placing the lump of sugar-candy—refers to the initial ceremony of the marriage. The people of the bride-groom visit the house of the bride for the first time, and place a small lump of sugar-candy in the bride's mouth in as much as to say that the beginning is made of a pleasant and sweet life.

vanquished the hopes of Mubtala's people; and made his marriage in the town impossible.

The paternal aunt of Mubtala had married into a family at Saiyidnugger, a village some ten or twelve miles distant from Delhi. Those people who were most prominent amongst the Zemindars of that part of the cuntry were the owners of some six important villages. Their ancestors were, in their generation, known far and wide, for their generous dispositions, hospitality, and charitable deeds; but now owing to the distribution of lands and the consequent multiplicity of *puttadars* (or land-holders) their revenues had much decreased, so that there was none of that generosity and hospitality left in them for which they were once famous. On account of their poximity to the city, the ryots of this village had become impertinent and the *puttadars* litigious. Somehow or other, there were always two or three men from this village, present in the City-Courts carrying on litigations. Just as a man in chronic illness becomes his own doctor by frequent personal treatment, so these people had, by carrying on frequent lawsuits, become so well-versed in law that they were considered superior to any Barrister or Vakil. They would purposely hunt after occasions for lawsuits.

The quarrelsomeness and the litigious predilections of these people had spread so far and near, that others were afraid to enter into family relationships with them. The arrival of the offer of marriage was then a matter of great consequence. If even the least mention was made of the proposal amongst them, and if they had approved of it, they would carry it out in a highhanded manner and would resort to such legal stratagems, that no one could shew the least opposition. No other family now remained in which Mubtala could marry than this one, and God had so much brought down the pride of his people that the golden cot and the condition of personal inspection was left out of question. The mother of Mubtala went, and performed the initial ceremony and returned home subdued and humbled. Marriages between people of equal standing, slight differences apart, are suitable. But here, the fear of the Saiyidnuggeris had as much overshadowed and subdued the people of Mubtala, as if they

had been criminals sat upon by an oppressive *kutwal* (police officer). Whatever orders were given there, were executed here; whatever recommendations made, were all accepted; and whatever said, was at once attended to. After a few days they sent word to the effect that on the 10th of the month, the bridegroom should come in procession with such and such illuminations and attendants and music; the same was done. Twenty thousand rupees was recommended to be fixed for the *Mohar* the same was accepted. A thousand rupees were demanded in cash for the bride's suit and gift-jewels, the same was given, Rs. 25 per month was to be set apart for the personal expenses of the bride, the same was agreed to. But be it said to their credit, that although the Saiyidnuggeris did not give a golden cot, which was probably not in keeping with their custom they gave jewels for the neck, the ears, the head in complete sets and in duplicate; one sort being set with precious stones for use on occasions of marriages, feasts, and so on, and the other, of plain gold, to be put on at ordinary times. In short, they performed the marriage of their daughter in accordance with their dignity and reputation So much dowry could not possibly be had at Delhi. From outward appearances and from the list of jewels and articles given, the people estimated the dowry to be not less than five or six and a half thousand; and then there were other expenses such as large quantities of ghee and many maunds of corn. Thus the marriage of Mubtala was performed in his nineteenth year. In respect of dowry, a good bride was secured. Social position and birth were unquestionable; for the bride was his own niece—daughter of his paternal aunt. In respect of personal appearance, there was no particular defect to be found. Her complexion though not white, was rather fair and the nose and lips, and the parting in the hair did not display any particular defect. But her general contour and features were not expressive of delicacy and fine appearance; and her body did not shew itself off under a smart dress. If she sat amongst a thousand ladies, she was plainly seen to be a foreigner and the worst of it was, that when she sat beside Mubtala, her beauty, such as it was, was thrown into complete shade. When, therefore he first saw his wife, he saw her with the eyes of disapproval, scorn, and displeasure. His days were spent with her half willingly, half unwillingly, and there was not that love and affection established between them as is generally, if not mostly, to be found between a newly married pair.

Chapter V.

Beginning of the Troubles.

The life of Mubtala was spent in great ease and freedom till his marriage. Till his fourteenth year, he was brought up at home, in such comfort and pleasure as is rarely accessible to many. At school, his companions shewed more attention to him than even his parents would; but his days of happiness were now numbered. The only thing that was held in estimation in his eyes was a beautiful face. Beard began to grow in his seventeenth year only; now in his eighteenth it came out in full exuberance. He felt very keenly the rapid decline of his early prosperous condition; and when the state of his mind of those days is taken into consideration, such feeling was not out of place. Gradually the effects of this decline became perceptible. The people who were fond of his company began to shew indifference, and those who had followed him like a shadow, began to fall off. His mode of living had so much multiplied his unreal and superfluous wants; and these latter had so much increased his expenditure, that his school stipend *plus* four times that amount hardly sufficed for his wants. Desires arose, and he had to subdue them; inclinations came up, and he had to curb them. There is a proverb in English which says "troubles never come single" *i.e.*, when they do come, they come in numbers. To prove the truth of this proverb as it were, deaths occurred in his family in such numbers that in the space of five years, all the elders, whether male or females passed away one after another. His sisters were all married and were living separately with their husbands. Thus, he and his wife alone remained and she too on account of his indifference, used to remain much in her father's house, and would come to his a guest, once in five or six months. Now, it was a year since both her parents had passed away; and the brothers with a view to deprive her of her share of inheritance, had entirely ceased to call her to their house. Under this necessity, she had to remain in his house unattended and uncared for. Such a mountain of troubles had befallen Mubtala, that if he had the least sound sense, he would not have forgotten for his whole age, the lesson given him by this condign chastisement. But a seal was set on his heart, a screen fallen before his eyes, and where was the lesson and where the fear? Immediately after his father's death, his old companions under the plea of shewing condolence again mustered them-

selves around him, and renewed to him the old lesson. Now even before the 40th day ceremony came off, the pleasure-parties had commenced.

Chapter VI.

*Uncle's return from the Hajj.**

Mubtala's uncle Mir Muttaki† was employed for a long time, in the service of the Nawab of Rampur; and having married into a respectable family in that kingdom, he had settled himself there. Mubtala was reading in the *Maktab*, when Mir Muttaki last called on his brother at Delhi *en route* to Mecca. Muttaki's original programme included only pilgrimages to Mecca and Madina; but when he reached that place, his intentions were changed. After deliberation extending over so many years, he was able to start on this journey; and it was not certain whether he would be able in the remaining years of his life, to retrace his steps to these sacred places; and hence he resolved upon performing as many pilgrimages to the shrines as were possible. Three years were spent in going through this pilgrimage; and during the next three years, it so happened that he repeatedly became ill. Thus, when in the seventh year he had to return, he determined to call on his way back at Rampur, on his teacher at Bhopal, on his Pir (spiritual guide) at Ahmadabad, and on his brother at Delhi.

When he entered the city of Delhi, it was rather late at night and he directly made for the house of his brother. On going up to the door of the gate he found it bolted from within; and the noise of beating *tubla*‡ issuing forth, and then after a short time, a roar of laughter burst out. This made him understand that a burlesque was being played by the buffoons. Mir Muttaki, at first, thought himself mistaken in the identification of the house and he returned to the corner of the street; but on examination he found that many changes had taken place in the locality in the space of seven years, but not so many as to mislead him in identifying a house in which

* Hajj is the pilgrimage that the Muhammadans make to Mecca, once in the year in the month of Zill-hajj.

† Muttaki—literally, a pious man.

‡ A musical instrument resembling a small drum.

he was born and brought up. Then it struck him that his brother might have changed his house; and when he was standing in this perplexity, he found a man well-stricken in years slowly coming up from the lane leaning on his stick and with a bed under his arm and a young man following him with rapid strides. When the youg man overtook him, he said, "Sir, where are you going now, with your bed? Give me the bed, I shall have it handed over to you at home." The old man replied: "No son, why should you take the trouble, what weight is there in the bed? What is to be done? Since the death of the good Mir Muhazzab his son (may God bring him to the right path) has fallen into bad company and become a profligate. Whole days and nights, there is uproar in his house; we are his next-door neighbours! Only a partition wall is between us. It is not possible to go through two *rakats** of Namaz, with composure of mind, I am therefore compelled to go to the mosque." Hearing the news of his brother's death, Muttaki was about to swoon and fall down, but he was a man, religious by nature and so he restrained himself, saying "*We† are of God Himself and we shall return unto Him only.*" He began to think. "If I go now, and tap at the door and call out, who is likely to hear my voice in this uproar? Supposing even that the door is opened by crying out and screaming, a good deal of trouble will be caused, as it is late at night; and then there will be weeping and lamentation. It is, therefore, advisable to spend the night some where else." It then struck him that he might spend the night in the adjacent mosque as he would be able to make further enquiries from the old man. He entered the mosque and making the necessary ablutions, went through the Namaz. He had entertained a great amount of love for his brothers. So that he used to pray for his welfare even in the latter's absence; and now after the Namaz was over, when he raised up his hands for *dûa*,‡ the prayer of Moses for his brother Aron viz., "*Oh., Protector, forgive me and my brother, and admit us both into Thine blessings—Thou art the most merciful God*" came into mind and swelled the tide of his sorrow. He involuntarily wept. Muttaki passed the whole night wide awake. He sat bare-headed in the compound of the mosque, and sometimes read *dûas*

*One *rakat* is one prostration in the Namaz or prayer.

† This is a verse from the Koran. Mûhammadans are enjoined to repeat it on hearing the news of death or on seeing a dead body carried to its grave, or when a calamity occurs.

‡ *Dua* a prayer or benediction said after the regular Namaz is over.

and blessed his brother's soul; and sometimes weepingly prayed to God for the forgiveness of his brother's sins. With the earliest dawn of the morning, he performed his first morning prayer, and then began to count his rosary, till the full break of day. When he had finished the *nafil* Namaz of the morning, he saw the old man too, after rolling up his bed, preparing to go home. On account of his old age, the latter's sight was dim; Muttaki recognizing him approached him and salaamed and told him all the events of the previous night. The old man condoled him and according to the custom, spoke words of consolation and begged him to be patient in distress. In company with the old man, Muttaki prepared to go to the house of his brother, fully determined not to weep any more, but to suppress his sorrow as much as possible; but as he began to advance towards the house, he found his state of mind gradually changing. When he reached the gate he could no longer control himself and involuntarily burst forth into loud weeping. Hearing the noise, the neighbours and others gathered round him from all sides. The door could not be opened from out-side, but news reached the *zenana* (apartment for females) first and then the *Maradana* (apartment for males) through the window.

Mubtala and his companions had not long gone to sleep, after their music and dancing party. The arrival of Mir Muttaki* disturbed and dispersed the sleep of all. The people who were just an hour or so ago, making the dancing-girls and buffoons dance in their presence were now themselves hurrying about, and trying to find out some way or other by means of which to escape. But where was the way of exit? Mir Muttaki Sahib with 40 or 50 men of the neighbourhood was waiting at the door; and to go through the *zenana-khana* (ladies' chambers), Mubtala and his friends had, at the first stage, to encounter the lady of the house, who, though she was like a mouse in the presence of her lord and master, was a lioness in regard to these wretches. Besides this, if a way for egress was to be found, it was through the houses of other people; and why should gentle folks allow such people to pass through their houses. Mubtala was so much bewildered that he ran backwards and forwards like an idiot, but could hit upon no means of escape. At length, he called out to his old servant, *Wafadar* (the faithful). This servant, whose name so well suited

* Muttaki being the younger brother of Mubtala's father.

his character was an old man. He used to give advice to Mubtala regarding his bad conduct; but what could there be in the power of a servant? When he had repeatedly tendered his advice, Mubtala would browbeat him; and in despair he had severed his connection with his young master. There was a room in the out-house; and he used to live there all day and night. On this occasion, he was sitting quiet in his room, and observing what was going on. He was well aware of the arrival of Muttaki and of the confusion of the party in the house, and well understood the object of Mubtala's calling him, contrary to his habits. But intentionally he lied down and covered his body with his sheet. Mubtala called out once, twice, thrice, but no reply. If such a call was made, was it ever possible for Wafadar to be quiet, and not to attend to it, at once? But now Mubtala had come, and the colour of everything was changed. Mubtala himself therefore went to his door and called out "Wafadar, Wafadar, Uncle has come," Wafadar enquired if the younger master had returned; to which Mubtala replied "Yes." Wafadar remembering his late master sighed deeply and tears began to role down his cheeks and at last thanking God for the safe return of Muttaki ran towards the gate to unbolt the door Mubtala stood in his way and said "Wait a moment." Mubtala had formerly seen his uncle, but in the space of seven years, he had forgotten his face, and so asked Wafadar to look through the opening in the window and see if his uncle was really there. Wafadar identified him at first sight, and said "Undoubtedly, it is my young master, he quite resembles the late master, but his beard is not so grey". Hearing this, Mubtala embraced Wafadar and said "For the sake of God spare me this disgrace. Where can I take these wretches and where can I hide them." Seeing the bewildered condition of Mubtala, the old man took pity on him, and said "Hide these people for a while, in the latrine; after the master has entered the house, we shall take them out and dismiss them." In fact, there was no other way of hiding them than this, so these men and women were packed up into the latrine and the door bolted upon them. Muttaki was then let in. The uncle ran and embraced his nephew; and those who witnessed the scene could never possibly forget it. The old man and the "young

fellow," angel and satan if you like, or blessing and cursing, or virtue and vice, whatever you call them respectively, were there and embraced each other and wept bitterly. Mubtala cried out loudly; but only silent tears were rolled down the cheeks of Muttaki. But since the latter suppressed his sorrow, every muscle of his body shook and quivered like the willow. Fifty or sixty men stood around them in a circle, and every one was affected. After exactly a quarter of an hour, Muttaki put away his nephew from his breast and accompanied him into the chamber and sat down. For sometime, every one was quiet. Afterwards somebody in the crowd broke the silence and began to mention the late gentleman. First, they spoke of his good ways and then of his illness and death and finally, they read the *Fatiba** and departed,—and then Muttaki went into the house with his nephew.

Chapter VII.

Muttaki Endeavours to Rectify the Domestic Evils of Mubtala.

Muttaki's original intention was to call on his brother and to stay with him for a week or fortnight—*en route* to Rampur. But what he proposed in one way, God disposed of in another. When he came here, he found that six months had elapsed since his brother's death, and that the nephew of his had ruined himself. If his arrival had been three months later, everything would have been lost. Salaries, rents of the houses, the good name of the ancestors would all have shared their settled fate. From the day of his father's illness, and of his leaving the school, up till now, Mubtala had never for a moment, bestowed a thought on the school. At first, two or three classmates called on him and asked him to attend, and even some of the teachers sent for him. He never attended to anybody. Leave was first granted and this was changed to absence which finally led to the removal of his name from the Register. Thus without a cause a good scholarship was lost, and his hopes of the future were frustrated.

It was necessary, after the death of the father, for his heir to show the claims to the Nawabs, and to apply for the continuation of his pensions, but who was here to assert such claims except Mubtala himself? If after his father's death, he had presented

* *Fatiba* is a short prayer.

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himself before his *Circars* he would surely have received the robes of mourning and gifts of money from them, as well as his father's pension, but where had he any leisure from his useless engagements to consider all these matters and to dance attendance in the Court for his claims ? Thus all the sources of income were stopped except the rents of the houses, in the collection of which also irregularities crept in. Mubtala inherited the jewels of his mother which were worth about Rs. 2,000 ; and it was with this only that he was leading a fast life. The whole of this amount was run through in the course of six months and now everything was managed on borrowed money.

When Muttaki saw this, it was impossible for him to leave the affairs in this mess and go away ; and hence he was compelled to forego his intentions of going at once to Rampur. He took Mubtala along with him to the Circars. In some places, he made arrangements with the superintendents and the managers and in other places he took letters of introduction. Sometimes he laid stress on the good services of his late brother and at other times he carried the point by force of his own character. Thus, in the course of running to and fro for a few months, he accomplished thus much, that all the arrears salary of the late Mir Muhazzab were restored by these Nawabs in their entirety. Muttaki used his discretion and foresight to such an extent that all salaries that were given for mere substenance *i, e.*, without service being rendered, were entered in the name of his niece, Ghirat Begum, *i, e.*, Mubtala's wife, and all salaries conditioned on service were entered in his nephew's name. His object in having done this was to place Mubtala under the control of his wife. Out of the arrears obtained, he had the houses and the godowns repaired and arranged to let in the tenants. The lease of the godowns was also issued half in the name of the husband and half in that of the wife. Since the death of Mir Muhazzab, the household affairs were managed by money borrowed from the *buneya*, he had this account also settled and arranged so that nothing was to be bought in future except on cash payment.

KHAJA KHAN SAHIB.

(*To be Continued.*)

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