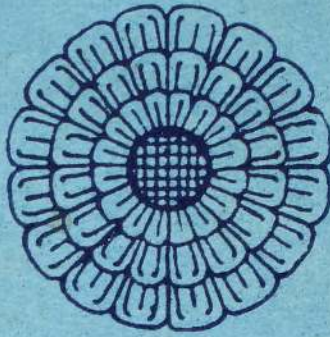


THE NEW LANKA

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

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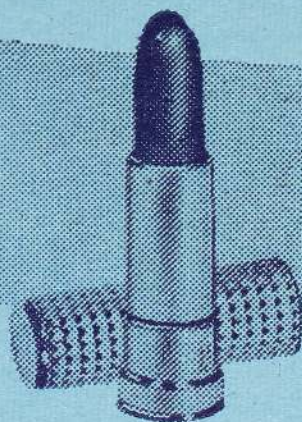
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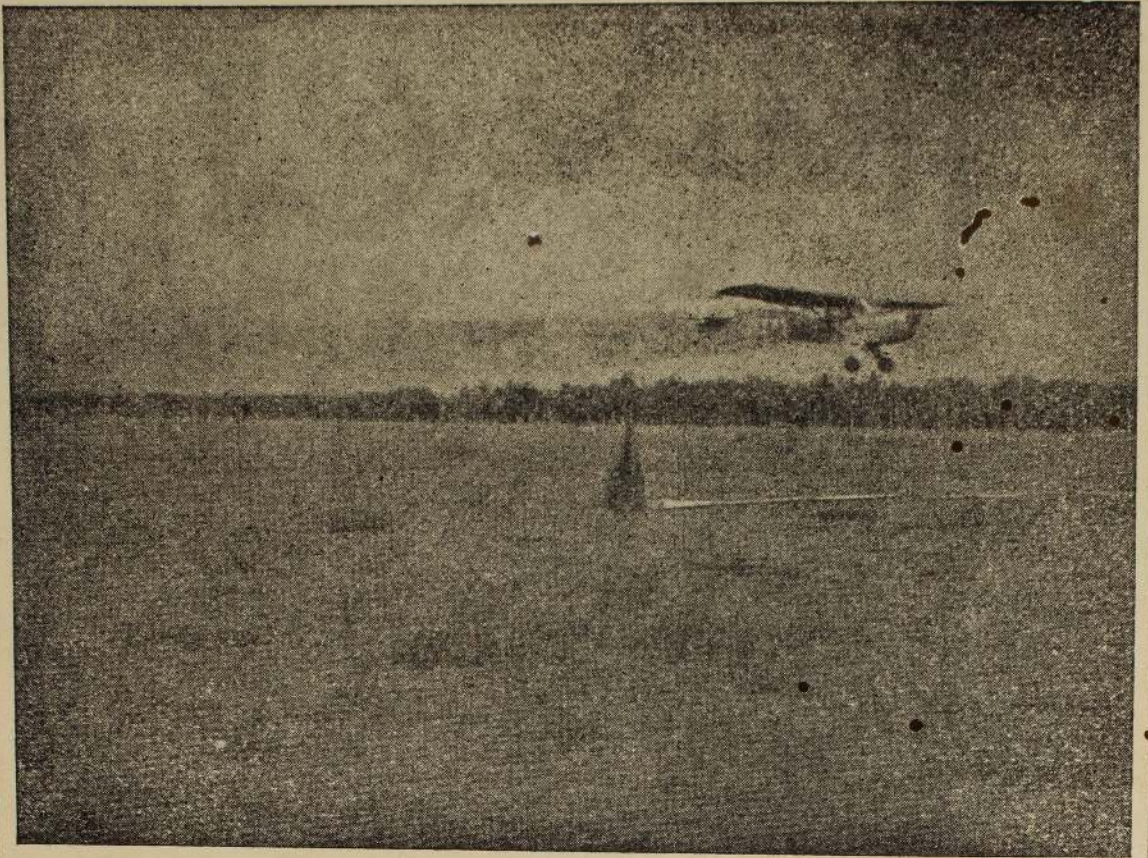
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G. L. Cooray
Editor.

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AS OTHERS SEE US

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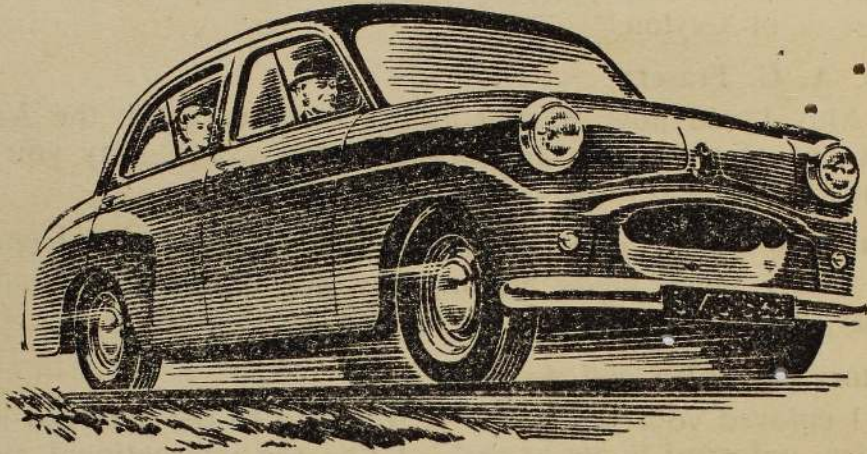
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COMMONWEALTH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS—A QUARTERLY COMMENTARY

Basil Davidson

THESE last few weeks have once more shown, and repeatedly, that the politics of the Western world are no longer dominated by the relationship between the so-called "West" and the so-called "East" (terms which have become, strangely enough for Ceylon and India, political labels); but by the changing relationship of the Western Powers towards each other. We are passing through a critical phase. Is the United States to exercise an untrammelled political control over the fundamental policies of the British, the French, the Italians, and others? Or must the United States, for all its dominating economic position, recognise the right of its partners, its satellites and its allies to a voice in their own destiny? These are the questions which exercise statesmen in Europe this summer. Upon the manner in which these questions are answered may well depend the issue of peace or war.

As far as the British are concerned, there is now a very general willingness to recognise that patient acquiescence in American policies may plunge the world into war, but in any case must plunge Britain into economic crisis. The latest evidence in this direction is provided by Britain's opposition, at Geneva in September, to permitting Japan freedom of entry into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The motive behind this opposition is clear enough. To extend "most favoured nation" treaty rights to Japan—as Japan's entry into GATT would do—could only result in greatly intensifying Japanese competition in British oversea textile markets. It would mean, in short, exposing British profits (and British wages) to the chilly onslaught of the Japanese wage and production level. The United States, understandably enough, wants Japan in GATT because a sizeable proportion of Japanese exports are now financed, or partially financed, by American capital. Japanese profits become, to that extent, American profits. Having isolated their domestic market from foreign competition—by means of high tariffs—American producers

are now interested in securing bigger foreign markets; and it is the British, primarily and mainly, who are expected to suffer.

THE STRUGGLE IN UNO

It is easy enough, in the light of all this, to see why a British Conservative Government is proving a better defender of British interests than a Labour Government was. Mr. Attlee's Government was repeatedly stampeded, or else driven by the late Ernest Bevin, into conceiving of foreign policy in function of a "cold war" against Communism. In reality, of course, the British-American rivalry has never ceased to be the dominating international factor, in the Western world, since about 1946. Not understanding this—or else not wishing to understand it, and therefore meet its implications—Mr. Attlee's Government gave way step by step to everything that the United States demanded. From large things to small things—such as the waiving of visas for Americans entering Britain while the United States continues to insist on visas for Britons entering America—the United States always had its way. Long-range offensive bomber bases were established in Eastern England without so much as formal agreement: to these American bases the Americans have, it seems, now brought atomic bombs and missiles—and it has been with the greatest difficulty that Churchill has managed to get from Washington some sort of agreement that the missiles would not be used, or the bombers flown in earnest, without British consent.

The British Conservatives, needless to say, are just as anti-Communist as Mr. Attlee and his colleagues: in some important respects, they are much more so. But where the British Labour Party, broadly speaking, represents the voters who do not possess capital, the British Conservative Party represents those who do possess capital. In matters of commerce, then, the Conservatives act from the viewpoint of those whose pockets are directly and personally involved. They are better placed to feel the pinch of American commercial practice, and better placed to answer with a counter-offensive of their own. Behind the present struggle in UNO, accordingly, there lies a struggle between the capital-owning interests of the most powerful countries in the Western world. That helps to explain, for example, why some of the leading British Conservative papers are much more ready with their criticism of American policies than papers a little farther

towards the centre and the left. While the *Liberal News Chronicle* and the *Labour Daily Herald* continue to reproduce the sadly outdated slogans of the "cold war," *The Times* takes more and more openly an anti-American position.

None of this should be taken to under-estimate the importance of what has been happening at Lake Success. There the diplomatists have been overshadowed by two great points in policy: to end or not to end the war in Korea, and, secondly, under what conditions to end or not to end it. This way of expressing the situation is a good deal more than playing with words. It is not certain that the United States is prepared to bring the Korean War formally and finally to a close: the Dulles-Rhee agreement, indeed, is one of many signs which suggest that the Eisenhower Administration would prefer to maintain a state of war in Korea, even if little or no fighting went on for the time being. It is even probable that the American Government would prefer to keep the Korean war "ticking over" rather than concede any major points in compromise to the Chinese. It is even possible that the Americans are unwilling to concede any points in compromise not only to the Chinese but also to their principal allies, the British. The American attempt to exclude India from the political conference, and the American attempt to prevent Mrs. Pandit from being elected as President, were signs not so much of anti-Indian hostility as of anti-British hostility. Perhaps in few places does British-American rivalry run more sharply than in present-day India.

There will be great difficulty in following the precise course of this British-American struggle, because it takes place, for obvious reasons, behind the scenes. As was to be expected, the British Government has gone out of its way to seem to wish to patch up points of difference: what should concern the political observer, however, is the patent fact that these points of difference are becoming so sharp and so many as to defy concealment.

Another contributing factor is the present state of the Wall Street stock-market. After recovering sharply with the lucky advent of the Korean War, the bulk of US stocks have lately taken a perceptible downward turn, and, at time of writing, this downturn continues. It is openly discussed "whether the American economy can maintain its stability without a high level of armaments expenditure:" whether,

that is, the welfare of American capitalism is conceivable, as things now are, without the "beneficent" effects of war. While it would be unreal to talk in terms of an approaching American slump, there is no doubt that a continued relaxation of world tension will accentuate the "slackness" in the American stock-market. And, so precariously is the economy of the Western world now balanced, a "five per cent" slump in the United States could mean a "fifteen or twenty per cent" slump in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. While they argue doggedly against war, the British leaders of today are only too sharply conscious of the dangers of peace. And this duality in their minds is another of the factors which make for uncertainty.

IN WESTERN EUROPE

Signs that we may be gradually passing out of the acute phase of East-West "cold war" into something which may perhaps be called intra-West "cold war" are frequent throughout Europe. A general election in Italy this summer brought a marked defeat for the "American party," the Christian-Democrats led by Signor De Gasperi, and a marked strengthening of the Left and Centre-Left. This shift away from a pro-American position comes after several years of liberal spending of dollars in Italy; and it marks both the end of the period of Marshall Aid and the general failure of that Aid to develop an unassailable pro-American position in Italy.

Much the same could be said of the great industrial strikes which shook France this summer. To the surprise of everyone—and even, it would seem, to the surprise of the trade union leaders themselves—the whole economy of France was paralysed for many days in the middle of August, the holiday month when strikes are hardest to sustain simply because the workers have spent their savings on their annual holiday, or else are about to spend them in that way. These strikes gave expression to a profound exasperation of the French public with the mismanagement of a stupid and reactionary government, with the continuance of an unsuccessful, and extremely costly war in Indo-China; but they also gave expression to a deep anti-Americanism among wide sections of the French people. They provide one side of a picture whose other side is provided by the appeals to Washington made by French statesmen like Reynaud and Mendes-France—that the war in Indo-China should be

stopped, that armaments expenditure should be lowered, that American-imposed barriers to East-West trade be lowered or else removed. Here, too, one could detect signs that the "Marshall period" was ended; and ingloriously ended.

Thirdly, there is the state of Germany. What Mr. Dulles wants in Germany, as he says repeatedly, is "the inclusion of Germany in the framework of Western defence." He wants the reunification of the two parts of Germany, that is, *provided* that the whole of Germany may then become an armed camp directed against Eastern Europe and Russia. The Russians, of course, understand this and refuse to permit the reunification of Germany on those terms. Hitherto, the British have tended to side with Mr. Dulles. Now the rift becomes apparent in this direction also.

Speaking at Strasbourg late in September, a well-known and veteran Conservative Member of Parliament, Sir Robert Boothby, said what none of his colleagues have said before. The rearming of Western Germany, Sir Robert said, "would confirm and prolong the present division of Germany and would further divide the already truncated continent." It would lead, he went on, "almost inevitably to an intensive struggle for markets between the Continent and Great Britain. It would establish Russia on the Elbe and the Germans on the Channel. These are certainly not the objectives we went to war in 1939 to achieve."

Summing up, it would seem that the coming winter will show what kind of international situation may emerge from these many contrasts and conflicts. Whatever emerges, clearly enough, will not be more than uneasy peace. Yet an uneasy peace would still be a gain. It would give breathing space for the forces of sanity and moderation to prevail. It would oblige Mr. Dulles and his American colleagues to declare themselves openly—whether they are for war at all costs, or whether they can bring themselves to confront the problems of a world at peace. Seldom can statesmen have needed greater vigilance than now: seldom will the peoples of the world have watched in peacetime so fateful a battle of wits.

INTERPLANETARY TRAVEL—THE CHALLENGE OF THE SPACESHIP—II.

Arthur C. Clarke

Chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, since 1949.

(The first part of this article appeared in Vol. IV. No. 4, July, 1953).

EFFECTS ON THE SCIENCES

LET us now consider the effects which interplanetary travel must have upon human institutions and ideas. The most obvious and direct result of the crossing of space will be a revolution in almost all branches of science. I shall not attempt to list more than a few of the discoveries we may make when we can set up research stations and observatories upon the other planets. One can never predict the outcome of any scientific investigation, and the greatest discoveries of all—the ones which will most influence human life—may come from sciences as yet unborn.

Astronomy and physics will, of course, be the fields of knowledge most immediately affected. In both these sciences there are whole areas where research has come to a dead end, or has never even started, because our terrestrial environment makes it impossible.

The atmosphere, which on a clear night looks so transparent, is in reality a coloured filter blocking all rays beyond the ultra-violet. Even in the visible spectrum the light that finally struggles through the shifting strata above our heads is so distorted that the images it carries dance and tremble in the field or the telescope.

An observatory on the moon, working with quite small instruments, would be many times as effective as one on earth. Far greater magnifications could be employed, and far longer exposures used. In addition, the low gravity would make relatively simple the building of larger telescopes than have ever been constructed on this planet.

In physics and chemistry, access to vacua of unlimited extent will open up quite new fields of investigation. The electronic scientist may well look forward to the day when he can build radio tubes a kilometer long, if he wishes, merely by setting up his electrodes in the open! We may learn

INTERPLANETARY TRAVEL—THE CHALLENGE 10 OF THE SPACESHIP

more about gravity when we can escape partially or wholly from its influence.

The prospect of building stations in space, circling the earth like tiny moons in orbits beyond the atmosphere, is one that has a peculiar fascination. Such stations were first proposed by the Germans as refuelling depots for spaceships, but even if that need arises they would have other most important applications. Meteorological observatories in space could see at a glance the weather over half the planet, could watch in detail the movement of storms and rain areas. The wonderful photographs of the earth from V.2 rockets give a hint of what may be done in this direction. Indeed, really accurate forecasting may have to wait until we get the meteorologists out into space.

The space station has one other application of the greatest importance, for it provides perhaps the only means of worldwide television broadcasting. As is well-known, the reliable range of a television transmitter extends barely beyond the horizon. A dozen stations at least would be needed to cover completely a country as small as Great Britain, and continental or world services would be completely out of the question. Yet three relay stations circling the earth could provide a steady, reliable service from pole to pole with no more power output than a single present-day station.

EFFECTS ON HUMAN THOUGHT

However, the first direct results of astronautics may be less important than its indirect consequences. This has proved true in the past of many great scientific achievements. Copernican astronomy, Darwin's theory of evolution, Freudian psychology—these had few immediate practical results, but their effect on human thought was tremendous.

We may expect the same of astronautics. With the expansion of the world's mental horizons may come one of the greatest outbursts of creative activity ever known. The parallel with the Renaissance, with its great flowering of the arts and sciences, is very suggestive. "In human records," wrote the anthropologist J. D. Unwin, "there is no trace of any display of productive energy which has not been preceded by a display of expansive energy. Although the two kinds of energy must be carefully distinguished, in the past they have been ... united in the sense that one has developed

out of the other." Unwin continues with this quotation from Sir James Frazer. "Intellectual progress, which reveals itself in the growth of art and science . . . receives an immense impetus from conquest and empire." Interplanetary travel is now the only form of "conquest and empire" compatible with civilisation. Without it, the human mind, compelled to circle forever in its planetary goldfish bowl, must eventually stagnate.

We all know the narrow, limited type of mind which is interested in nothing beyond its town or village and bases its judgements on parochial standards. We are slowly—perhaps too slowly—evolving from the mentality towards a world outlook. Few things will do more to accelerate that evolution than the conquest of space. It is not easy to see how the more extreme forms of nationalism can long survive when men begin to see the earth in its true perspective as a single small globe among the stars.

There is, of course, the possibility that as soon as space is crossed all the great powers will join in a race to claim as much territory as their ships can reach. Some American writers have even suggested, more or less seriously, that for its own protection the United States must occupy the moon to prevent it being used as a launching site for atomic rockets. Fantastic though such remarks may seem today, they represent a danger which it would be unwise to ignore. The menace of interplanetary imperialism can be overcome only by world-wide technical and political agreements well in advance of the actual event, and these will require continual pressure and guidance from the organizations which have studied the subject.

The solar system is rather a large space, though whether it will be large enough for so quarrelsome an animal as *Homo Sapiens* remains to be seen. But it is surely reasonable to hope that the crossing of space will have a considerable effect in reducing the psychological pressures and tensions of our present world. Much depends, of course, on the habitability of the other planets. It is not likely that very large populations will, at least for many centuries, be able to subsist outside the earth. There may be no worlds in the solar system upon which men can live without mechanical aids, and some of the greatest achievements of future engineering will be concerned with shaping hostile environments to human needs.

INTERPLANETARY TRAVEL—THE CHALLENGE 12 OF THE SPACESHIP

We must not, however, commit the too common mistake of equating mere physical expansion, or even increasing scientific knowledge, with "progress"—however that may be defined. Only little minds are impressed by sheer size and number. There would be no virtue in possessing the universe if it brought neither wisdom nor happiness. Yet possess it we must at least in spirit, if we are ever to answer the questions that men have asked in vain since history began.

Perhaps analogy will make my meaning clearer. Picture a small island inhabited by a race which has not yet learned the art of making ships. Looking out across the ocean this people can see many other islands some of them much the same as its own but most of them clearly very different. From some of these islands, it is rumoured, the smoke of fires has been seen ascending—though whether those fires are the work of men, no one can say.

Now these islanders are very thoughtful people and writers of many books with such resounding titles as: *The Nature of the Universe*, *The Meaning of Life*, *Mind and Reality*, and so on. Whilst admiring their enterprise, I do not think we should take their conclusions very seriously—at least until they have gone a little further afield than their own coral reef. As Robert Bridges wrote:

Wisdom will repudiate thee, if thou think to enquire
WHY things are as they are or whence they came: thy task

Is first to learn WHAT IS.

That task the human race can scarcely begin to undertake while it is still earthbound.

Every thoughtful man has asked himself: is our race the only intelligence in the universe, or are there other, perhaps far higher, forms of life elsewhere? There can be few questions more important than this, for upon its outcome may depend all philosophy—yes, and all religion too.

The first discovery of planets revolving round other suns, which was made in the United States in 1942, has changed all ideas of the plurality of worlds. Planets are far commoner than we had believed: there may be thousands of millions in this galaxy alone. Few men today would care to argue that the earth must be the only abode of life in the whole of space.

It is true—it is even likely—that we may encounter no other intelligence in the solar system. That contact may

have to wait for the day, perhaps ages hence, when we can reach the stars. But sooner or later it must come.

There have been many portrayals in literature of these fateful meetings. Most science-fiction writers, with characteristic lack of imagination, have used them as an excuse for stories of conflict and violence indistinguishable from those which stain the pages of our own history. Such an attitude shows a complete misunderstanding of the factors involved.

Remember the penny and the postage stamp which Sir James Jeans in the *Mysterious Universe* balanced on Cleopatra's needle. The obelisk represented the age of the world, the penny the whole duration of man's existence, and the stamp the length of time in which he has been slightly civilised. The period during which life will be possible on earth corresponds to a further column of stamps hundreds of metres—perhaps a kilometre—in height.

Thinking of this picture, we see how infinitely improbable it is that the question of interplanetary warfare can ever arise. Any races we encounter will almost certainly be superhuman or subhuman—more likely the former, since ours must surely be one of the youngest cultures in the universe. Only if we score a bull's eye on that one stamp in the kilometre-high column will we meet a race at a level of technical development sufficiently near our own for warfare to be possible. If ships from the earth ever set out to conquer other worlds they may find themselves, at the end of their journeys, in the position of painted war-canoes drawing slowly into New York harbour.

But if the universe does hold species so greatly in advance of our own, then why have they never visited the earth? There is one very simple answer to this question. Let us suppose that such races exist: let us even suppose that, never having heard of Einstein, they can pass from one end of the galaxy to the other as quickly as they wish.

That will help them less than one might think. In 10 minutes, a man may walk along a beach—but in his whole lifetime he could not examine every grain of sand upon it. For all that we know, there may be fleets of survey ships diligently charting and recharting the universe. Even making the most optimistic assumptions, they could scarcely have visited our world in the few thousand years of recorded history.

Perhaps, even at this moment, there lies in some rather extensive filing system a complete report on this planet, with maps which to us would look distorted but still recognizable.

That report would show that though the earth was teeming with life, it had no dominant species. However, certain social insects showed considerable promise, and the file might end with the note: "Intelligence may be emerging on this planet. Suggest that intervals between surveys be reduced to a million years."

Very well, you ask—suppose we encounter beings who judge, condemn and execute us as dispassionately, and with as little effort, as we spray a pool of mosquito larvae with DDT? I must admit that the possibility exists, and the logical answer—that their reasons will no doubt be excellent—is somewhat lacking in appeal. However, this prospect seems remote. I do not believe that any culture can advance, for more than a few centuries at a time, on a technological front alone. Morals and ethics must not lag behind science, otherwise the social system will breed poisons which will cause its own destruction. I believe therefore that with superhuman knowledge must go equally great compassion and tolerance. In this I may be utterly wrong: The future may yet belong to forces which we should call cruel and evil. Whatever we may hope, we cannot be certain that human aspirations and ideals have universal validity. This we can discover in one way only, and the philosophical mind will be willing to pay the price of knowledge.

I have mentioned before how limited our picture of the universe must be so long as we are confined to this earth alone. But the story does not end there. Our impressions of reality are determined, perhaps more than we imagine, by the senses through which we make contact with the external world. How utterly different our cosmologies would have been had nature economised with us, as she has done with other creatures and given us eyes incapable of seeing the stars! Yet how pitifully limited are the eyes we do possess, tuned as they are to a single octave in an endless spectrum. The world in which we live is drenched with invisible radiations, from the microwaves which we have just discovered coming from sun and stars, to the cosmic rays whose origin is still one of the prime mysteries of modern physics. These things we have discovered within the last generation, and we cannot guess what still lies beneath the threshold of the senses—though recent discoveries in paranormal psychology hint that the search may be only beginning.

The races of other worlds will have senses and philosophies very different from our own. To recall Plato's

famous analogy, we are prisoners in a cave, gathering our impression of the outside world from shadows thrown upon the walls. We may never escape to reach that outer reality, but one day we may hope to meet their prisoners in adjoining caves, where the shadows may be very different and where we may learn far more than we could ever do by our own unaided efforts.

These are deep waters, and it is time to turn back to the shore, to leave the distant dream for the present reality of fuels and motors, of combustion-chamber pressures and servo-mechanisms. Yet I make no apology for discussing these remote vistas at some length, if only to show the triviality of that point of view which regards interplanetary travel as a schoolboy adventure of no more real value than the scaling of some hitherto inaccessible mountain. The adventure is there, it is true, and that is good in itself—but it is only a small part of a much greater whole.

Not so short-sighted, but equally false, is the view expressed by the Oxford thinker C. S. Lewis, who has written of would-be astronauts in this unflattering fashion: "The destruction or enslavement of other species in the universe, if such there are, is to these minds a welcome corollary." Mr. Lewis's ideas appear to have been culled in the cloister of Magdalen College from a perusal of the pages of "Staggering Stories"—not, I think, evidence on which any jury would convict. Yet in case there are any to whom this prospect still appeals, I would point out that empires, like atomic bombs, are self-liquidating assets. Dominance by force leads to revolution, which in the long run, even if indirectly, must be successful. Humane government leads eventually to self-determination and equality as the classic case of the British Empire has shown. Commonwealth alone can be stable and enduring, but empires must always contain the seeds of their own dissolution.

The desire to give a comprehensive picture of the outcome of astronautics has compelled me to range—not unwillingly—over an enormous field. However, I do not wish anyone to think that the possibilities we have been discussing need come in this century, or the next, or the next. . . . Yet any of them may arise, at any time, as soon as the first ships begin to leave the earth. Man's first contact with other intelligent races may lie as far away in time as the building of the Pyramids—or it may be as near as the discovery of X-rays.

INTERSTELLAR TRAVEL

Of this, at least, we may be fairly certain: barring accidents—the most obvious of which I need not specify—the exploration of the planets will be in full swing as this century draws to its close. To examine them in any detail, and to exploit their possibility fully, will take hundreds of years. But man being what he is, when his first ship circles down into the frozen wastes of Pluto, his mind will already be bridging the gulf still lying between him and the stars.

Interplanetary distances are a million times as great as those to which we are accustomed in everyday life, but interstellar distances are a million-fold greater still. Before them even light is a hopeless laggard, taking years to pass from one star to its neighbour. How man will face this stupendous challenge I do not know: but face it one day he will. Professor Bernal was, I believe, the first to suggest that one solution might lie in the use of artificial planets, little self-contained worlds embarking upon journeys which would last for generations. Olaf Stapledon has expanded this theme in *Star Maker*, one of the greatest of his fantasies, but the thought of these tiny bubbles of life, creeping from star to star on their age-long journeys, carrying whole populations doomed never to set foot upon any planet, never to know the passage of the seasons or even the interchange of night and day, is one from which we might well recoil in horror. However, those who would make such journeys would have outlooks very different from our own and we cannot judge their minds by our standards.

These speculations, intriguing though they are, will hardly concern mankind in this century. We may, I think, expect that it will be at least years before confinement to the solar system produces very marked signs of claustrophobia.

CONCLUSIONS

Our survey is now finished. We have gone as far as possible. At this moment of time, in trying to assess the impact of astronautics upon human affairs, I am not unmindful of the fact that 50 years from now instead of preparing for the conquest of the outer planets, our grandchildren may be dispossessed savages clinging to the fertile oases in a radio-active wilderness. Yet we must keep the problems of today in their true proportions. They are of vital—indeed of supreme importance, since they can destroy our civilisation

and slay the future before its birth. But if we survive them, they will pass into history and the time will come when they will be as little remembered as the causes of the Punic Wars. The crossing of space—even the sense of its imminent achievement in the years before it comes—may do much to turn men's minds outwards and away from their present tribal squabbles. In this sense the rocket, far from being one of the destroyers of civilisation, may provide the safety-valve that is needed to preserve it.

This point may be important. By providing an outlet for man's exuberant and adolescent energies, astronautics may make a truly vital contribution to the problems of the present world. Space-flight does not even have to be achieved for this to happen. As soon as there is a general belief in its possibility, that belief will begin to colour men's psychological outlook. In many ways, the very dynamic qualities of astronautics are in tune with the restless expansive spirit of our age.

I have tried to show that the future development of mankind, on the spiritual no less than the material plane, is bound up with the conquest of space. To what may be called—using the words in the widest possible sense—the liberal scientific mind, I believe these arguments to be unanswerable. The only real criticism that may be raised against them is the quantitative one that the world is not yet ready for such changes. It is hard not to sympathise with this view, which may be correct, but I have given my reasons for thinking otherwise.

The future of which I have spoken is now being shaped by men working with slide-rules in quiet offices and by men taking instrument readings amid the savage roar of harnessed jets. Some are engineers, some are dreamers—but many are both. The time will come when they can say with T. E. Lawrence: "All men dream; but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dream with open eyes, to make it possible."

Thus it has always been in the past, for our civilisation is no more than the sum of all the dreams that earlier ages have brought to fulfilment. And so it must always be, for if men cease to dream, if they turn their backs upon the wonder of the universe, the story of our race will be coming to an end.

PROTECTING THE FREE WORLD'S RIGHT FLANK

Lieut-General Sir Wilfrid Lindsell

Sir Wilfrid Lindsell is one of Britain's leading authorities on military administration and supply (including transport).

IS a military base in the Middle East a necessity? If it is, must such a base be in the Canal Zone, or can it equally well be somewhere else? In view of the controversy which still continues on this question it may be advisable to try to answer these questions.

Unfortunately, the world today is divided into two parts—the Free nations and the nations under the control of Communist Russia. The “cold war” persists, and so long as this condition exists the very real threat of “hot war” remains. Against this threat the Free Nations have been compelled to combine and form defensive pacts. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Command is the outstanding example at the moment of their security measures against the threat of the spread of militant Communism.

The Middle East is not at present under Communist control, but it is undoubtedly threatened.

NEED FOR A LINK-UP

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Command now stretches out to include Turkey on its right flank, but this flank is sticking out into the air, and could easily be turned in consequence. This is not sufficient for the defence of the Middle East. Beyond Turkey, to the South and South-West of the passes that go over from Persia into Russia, there is a big gap, with thousands of miles of open desert. There is today an urgent necessity for a further defence effort beyond the right flank of the Turkish position.

This is not a new problem; it was a very live issue during the last war. Before Russia came in on the side of the Allies, Britain had her 9th Army in Palestine and Syria and her 10th Army in Iraq and Persia, both based on the Middle East, located specifically to deal with the threat of a German or Russian advance towards Egypt or towards the Persian Gulf. A similar defensive organisation is necessary today in the light of the overall world strategic situation. If forces are

provided for the purpose, and are to be capable of movement to any threatened area and of conducting military operations for the defence of the Middle East, there must be a base in the Middle East to sustain their operations; without it they would soon be brought to a state of impotence. There must, for the security both of the Middle East and of the Free Nations as a whole, be a link-up of their defensive organisation beyond the present Southern flank in Turkey. Behind this defence there must be a base from which support can be given.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CANAL ZONE

At the moment this defence is provided by the British Forces located in the Canal Zone and by the Middle East Base in the same area. The peoples of the Middle East, naturally and rightly jealous of their independence, are clearly incapable of providing the necessary defensive organisation from their own resources. As President Eisenhower has pointed out to President Rhee of South Korea, there cannot be independence without interdependence. A military base which the Western Powers are alone capable of providing, stocking and maintaining is an essential for the security of the Middle East and the Free Nations of the world.

There is much loose talk about bases, but not many people have any clear picture of what is really meant by a base. A base is a vast area in which are located not only store depots and repair installations, but great manufacturing resources, ports, railways, power plants, labour and transportation facilities, all organised and co-ordinated for the service of the armed forces that may be dependent on it.

While it is partly true that, given time and the necessary expenditure of money, a base can be created almost anywhere—and in this connection it should be remembered that the Middle East Base has taken several years to create, and, with its installations and accumulated stores, has cost some £500 million—the ability of such a base to function adequately for the maintenance of large forces is dependent, not so much on the stores and installations within the base, but upon the transportation facilities for the handling of the stores, and for the movement, as necessary, of the armed forces concerned.

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

The dual necessity for a combination of movement and maintenance, so aptly implied in the term “logistic,” is the

crux of the whole matter. Of these two factors, it is movement which is by far the most difficult to provide.

At the peak of its activities during World War II, the Middle East Base handled half a million tons of stores a month. Such an effort would have been impossible without the ports of Egypt—Alexandria, Port Said, Suez and the Canal itself—and these ports and the facilities linked with them were vastly improved and expanded during the war by the Army, to make possible the effort required of them.

No other area, even after the enormous expenditure of time and money which the attempt would involve, could provide facilities in any way comparable with those now available in the Canal Zone, which could serve the purpose of sustaining the military operations of the forces which may at any time be required to operate in the defence of the Middle East.

The great advantage of Egypt as a base is that there are two ways of reaching it, either through the Mediterranean or through the Red Sea, as the Allies found to their great advantage during the last war, when the Mediterranean was closed to them for a time, and they were able to bring in the necessary stores for the re-equipment and maintenance of the 8th Army via the Red Sea.

VITAL TO THE FREE WORLD

And so it might well be again. The Canal Zone is the central meeting-point of world communication by air, sea and land. It is along these communications that the reinforcements of men and material, from whatever country of origin they may come, would move for the defence of the Middle East. (It is from the same central point, too, that reserves could go to the defence of other parts of the Free World—in the Far East, for instance.)

The freedom of tactical movement of such forces can only be assured by an adequately-equipped base located in the Canal Zone.

The forces located there today are not there primarily for the defence of the Canal, which might conceivably be put out of action in time of war by sabotage or air action, but for the development of defensive operations on the Southern flank of the N.A.T.O. position. To sustain such operations, a base must of necessity exist in the Canal Zone. It is required to make it possible to defend the Middle East and to keep the Free World free.

THE JESUIT COLLEGE OF COLOMBO

(THE FOREMOST EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN CEYLON UNDER THE PORTUGUESE.)

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I

AN event of note in the educational history of Ceylon took place in 1602. In April that year a band of Jesuits arrived in Colombo to undertake missionary work in the island. It was the sixty-second year after the Society of Jesus had been granted its Papal charter, and the third after the final recension of the famous *Ratio Studiorum* had been adopted. Claude Aquaviva, one of the greatest of Jesuit educators and chief originator of the *Ratio Studiorum*, was then the General of the Society.

In 1597, Don Juan Maha Bandara, King of Kotte, had died, and his kingdom with all its appurtenances had passed to the King of Portugal by virtue of a deed of gift made by Don Juan in 1583. Accordingly, Philip II of Portugal was at this time (1602) suzerain of Kotte. The highest Portuguese authority in Ceylon was a captain-general, who functioned under the Portuguese viceroy of India. The captain-general of the time was Don Jeronimo de Azevedo.

Since their arrival in Ceylon in 1543, Franciscans had been till now the only missionaries in the country. When, however, more and more of the natives embraced Christianity, it became clear that Franciscans alone could not cope with the demands of the fast-growing mission. Accordingly, the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Frey Andreas de Santa Maria, to whose diocese the island of Ceylon then belonged, had, with the consent of the viceroy and the Archbishop of Goa, invited the Jesuits to open a Mission in Ceylon.¹

1. Jeronimo Gomez, letter of 14 January, 1603, in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, edited by J. P. Lewis and J. M. Seneviratne, Colombo, 1915 sqq., vol. II, p.14 (Note: In regard to Jesuit letters referred to in this article, all references (volume and page) are to this journal); Albertus Laertius, 15 January, 1604, II, 18; Fernao de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, English translation by S. G. Perera, S.J., Colombo, 1930, p.577. (Note: Further reference as 'Queyroz' with page).

The Jesuit Mission in India, begun by St. Francis Xavier in 1542, had by now expanded into two entire Provinces: the Northern Province of Goa, with Provincial headquarters at Goa, and the Southern, or Malabar, Province, with its Provincial residing at Cochin. It was the latter, being the one nearer to Ceylon, that had undertaken the establishment of a Mission in Ceylon.²

So it happened that in April, 1602, four Jesuits came to Ceylon from Cochin. They were the priests Diogo da Cunha (Superior), Octavio Lombardo and Christopher Joam, and the scholastic Pedro Eutichio. Shortly afterwards two others arrived: the priest Balthazar Garcia and the lay-brother Andreas Vas.³

We are told that the people of Colombo welcomed them with great joy. Diogo da Cunha writes about it in a letter of December, 1603: "We were well received by the townspeople and the General of the *conquista*, and the Captain of the city, and by all others, ecclesiastics as well as seculars, European and native, with many demonstrations of joy."⁴ There was, however, one exception: the Franciscans claimed that they should be allowed to continue to be in sole charge of the Ceylon mission.⁵

Why the people of Colombo, both Portuguese and native, were so appreciative of the Jesuits was doubtless because, on the one hand, the Society had spread very rapidly in Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and gained great prestige; and, on the other, the fame of St. Francis Xavier in India had won for the Society the esteem of both the Portuguese and the natives.

Though up to now there had been no regular Jesuit mission in Ceylon, Jesuits were not altogether unknown to the citizens of Colombo. Before this, on a few occasions, there had been visits from Jesuits, and some had even worked for a time in Colombo. The people of Colombo had appreciated their services, and desired them to remain permanently in Colombo; but, at that time, they could not.⁶

When, therefore, the Jesuits finally came to Ceylon, in 1602, to establish a Mission, they were received with open arms.

2. Queyroz, 576.

3. Jeronimo Gomez, 14 January, 1603, II, 14; Albertus Laertius, 15 January, 1604, II, 18.

4. Diogo da Cunha, 10 December, 1603, II, 15.

5. Ibid.; Queyroz, 576, 577.

6. Jeronimo Gomez, 14 January, 1603, II, 14.

The captain-general of Ceylon, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, was specially interested in the Jesuits. He had been educated by them, and, moreover, a brother of his—Ignatius de Azevedo—had been a member of the Society, and martyred for the faith in 1570.⁷ He expressed great satisfaction at seeing members of the Order, to which his brother had belonged, arrive in Colombo, and eventually became their staunchest friend and benefactor. On their arrival, he undertook to support them, “giving freely all that was necessary.”⁸ He bought them a house and property, and promised to build a larger house with a view to founding a Jesuit College in Colombo.⁹

With the arrival of the Jesuits it became necessary to divide the mission field, which till then had been exclusively under the care of the Franciscans. We are told that Bishop Andreas de Santa Maria, in consultation with the captain-general, “divided the island in the middle, from East to West, beginning from the river of Caimel,” and gave the northern part to the Jesuits and the southern part to the Franciscans.¹⁰ The part assigned to the Jesuits comprised what is now the North-Western, North-Central, Northern and Eastern Provinces. However, it was only the North-Western Province, then called the *disava* of the Seven Korales, that was at the time open to missionary work. The Jesuits were not able to extend their activities into the Kingdom of Jaffna till 1623. Though Colombo was outside the territory allotted to them, they were permitted by the Bishop to open a College there.¹¹

It is with that College we are concerned in the present article.

II

Colombo, at this time, was a fairly large city. The small Portuguese settlement of the first decades of the sixteenth century had developed into a *cidade*, with its fortress, with more than 500 houses of the Portuguese, in addition to those of the natives, and with gardens, villas, mansions, churches

7. Ibid.; Queyroz, 576; James Brodrick, S.J., *The Progress of the Jesuits*, London, 1946, p.220 sqq.

8. Jeronimo Gomez, 14 January, 1603, II, 14.

9. Diogo da Cunha, 10 December, 1603, II, 17.

10. Manoel Roiz, 15 January, 1604, II, 18. The river of Caimel (Kammala) is the Maha Oya.

11. *The Foundation and Origin of the College of Colombo*, in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, II, 26.

and houses of Religious.¹² The Franciscans had a College in the city and an orphanage in its suburbs.¹³

One of the first things to which the Jesuits directed their attention, on arrival in Colombo, was education. There is explicit mention, in Jesuit records, of a school being opened, where one of the Jesuits was "teaching the children," another taught Latin, and the Superior gave religious instruction.¹⁴

In tracing the history of this school and its contribution to education in Ceylon, we shall first inquire into the question of its organization and finance.

We have already seen that, when the Jesuits arrived in Colombo, the captain-general himself undertook to support them, and that he also had the intention of founding a College of the Jesuits in Colombo.

At this time numerous Jesuit Colleges were being founded in Europe. In the East, too, there was especially the well-established and famous College at Goa, the College of St. Paul.

By 'College' the Jesuit system meant "the body of educators who were sent to a place," and required that, for the purpose of establishing a College, "there should be a location provided with buildings and revenues, not merely sufficient for the present, but having reference to needful development."¹⁵ Being thus endowed, the College was to give education free of charge. This was expressly stated in the Constitution of the Order: "No obligations or conditions are to be admitted that would impair the integrity of our principle, which is: To give gratuitously what we have received gratis."¹⁶

Jeronimo de Azevedo, the captain-general, continued to support the Jesuits, as he had promised, showing "many proofs of kindness, confidence and friendship,"¹⁷ but the execution of his plan to found a College had to be postponed for some time on account of military expeditions against the King of Kandy and the Sinhalese rebels, which kept him busy at this time, and, what is worse, cost him great loss of men and money.¹⁸

12. Queyroz, 308.

13. Ibid., 708, 714.

14. Jeronimo Gomez, 14 January, 1603, II, 14.

15. Thomas Hughes, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, London, 1892, pp. 58, 62.

16. Constitutiones, S.J., pars IV, cap. VII, n. 3.

17. Diogo da Cunha, 10 December, 1603, II, 17.

18. Ibid.; Albertus Laertius, 13 January, 1604, II, 17 and 15 January, 1604, II, 18; Manoel Roiz, 15 January, 1604, II, 18; Petrus Eulitius, 15 October, 1605, II, 20; Queyroz, 577 sqq.

However, as soon as the insurrection had been subdued and peace restored, the general, we are told, granted to the Jesuits three villages the revenues of which they were to take for their support. Albertus Laertius, then Jesuit Provincial of Malabar, writing about it to the General of the Jesuits, Claude Aquaviva, states in a letter of January, 1605, that it was "under instructions from the viceroy" that the grant was made; and adds: "He is ready to give other villages yielding greater revenue. . . . Your Paternity should, therefore, direct that the *casa* of Colombo become a College. . . . We have accepted the three villages, for we had no reason to doubt that you would approve of it and give us the necessary permission. We shall otherwise have no means of carrying on our work in this island."¹⁹

Thus endowed, the Jesuit Residence of Colombo became a College. In February, 1604, the general made a further grant of land to the Jesuits. The land, which is described as being "encircled by a small lake," was given "to make an orchard of it for the recreation of the Fathers of the College, although part of it was already planted with palm trees; but," remarks the writer, "at present more is spent on it than it yields."²⁰

In 1613 the general was appointed viceroy of India. Before leaving Ceylon to take up new duties at Goa, he showed again his devotion to the Jesuits by giving them a generous donation. The Jesuit, Emmanuel Barradas, mentions it in a letter of December, 1613: "The general, Hieronymus d'Azevedo, who has deserved so well of us, . . . on his promotion to the viceroyalty of India, gave us a great part of his furniture, thus improving our temporal affairs."²¹ He adds that the general never failed to send "provisions and gifts regularly every year."²²

Besides the general, there were others who generously contributed to the support of the Jesuit College. Queyroz tells us that it was "with the aid of the alms of the inhabitants,"²³ in addition to the benefactions of the general and State grants, that the Jesuits were able to open a College in Colombo. There is, for example, the mention of "some small thatched houses that were given by some devout

19. Albertus Laertius, 12 January, 1605, II, 19.

20. *Foundation and Origin of the College of Colombo*, op.cit., II, 26.

21. Emmanuel Barradas, December, 1613, II, 85.

22. Ibid.

23. Queyroz, 576.

persons," which "yielded an annual income of fifty *pardaos*,²⁴ more or less."²⁵ Also, there is frequent mention, in Jesuit letters of this period, of a Portuguese widow of Colombo, named Mercia Roiz,²⁶ who was a "great benefactress" of the Jesuits, had given them "abundant alms," and helped them in all their needs.²⁷

The revenues accruing to the College from grants and donations made it possible to add more personnel to its staff. In 1606, there were eight Jesuits in Ceylon, of whom three were working in the College.²⁸ By 1610 the number had risen to twelve: five were attached to the College.²⁹ In 1622, there were 22 Jesuits, 11 of whom were in the College.³⁰ The Rector of the College was also the religious superior of all the Jesuits attached to outstation mission posts.

With the arrival of more personnel came also the addition of new buildings to the College. A new church, "an elegant and commodious edifice," was erected and solemnly opened on 2 February, 1604.³¹ In 1613, the residential building was enlarged and a new wing added to it.³² About the same time the foundation of a new church was laid, and building operations begun.³³ It was completed in 1618.³⁴ The building of a still bigger and more beautiful church was begun later. The Rector of the College, Antonio Rubino, writes about it in a letter of 1622: "It is built in Corinthian style and is well proportioned and handsome. The facade is magnificent, and if it is not the best, it will certainly be the second best in the whole of India."³⁵

In the following year, however, a sudden calamity befell the Jesuit Mission: the land grants made by Don Jeronimo de Azevedo to the College of Colombo were withdrawn under orders from the viceroy, Conde de Redondo,³⁶ "owing to misrepresentations of certain persons ill-disposed to the Society."³⁷

24. *Pardao*, or Pagoda, was roughly equivalent to a Rupee.

25. *Foundation and Origin of the College of Colombo*, op. cit., II, 26.

26. Ibid.; Emmanuel Barradas, December, 1613, II, 85; Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620 (two letters), III, 23, 24.

27. Valentine Pinheyro, 20 December, 1620, III, 27.

28. Jeronimo Gomez, 29 December, 1606, II, 20.

29. Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

30. Antonio Rubino, 10 November, 1622, III, 30.

31. Petrus Eulitius, 15 October, 1605, II, 20.

32. Emmanuel Barradas, December, 1613, II, 85.

33. Ibid.

34. Emmanuel A Costa, 15 December, 1618, III, 19.

35. Antonio Rubino, 10 November, 1622, III, 31.

36. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23, 24; Andre Palmeyro, 20 December 1620, III, 26.

37. Valentine Pinheyro, 20 December, 1620, III, 27.

Deprived of their endowment, the Jesuits were reduced to great straits. But the people of Colombo, who appreciated their services, came to the rescue. The Jesuit, Valentine Pinheyro, writes: "Knowing that we were unable to remain in Ceylon for want of funds, they offered to give maintenance sufficient for the Fathers needed in the island. Nor did this end in words, for, when our Fathers were obliged by poverty to go a-begging from door to door, they collected more than 500 *pardaos*."³⁸

The following year, however, the grants were provisionally restored to the College.³⁹ Conde de Redondo having died, the new viceroy, Fernao d'Albuquerque, with the approval of his council, sent orders to the captain-general in Ceylon to give back to the College all the villages that had been previously granted. He had, in the meantime, written to the King of Portugal to "show him the falsity of the informations, on the strength of which the villages . . . had been withdrawn."⁴⁰

The lands were accordingly restored to the Jesuits, pending the King's approval. The King eventually approved the restoration of lands, but only for three years, "with orders to send further information" from Ceylon.⁴¹ Antonio Rubino, Rector of the College of Colombo, wrote to Mutius Vitelleschi, the General of the Jesuits: "We take all possible care so that the information sent by these officials be truthful. Your Reverence should ask the Procurator, who is in the court of Madrid to see that they are confirmed for good; for, if not confirmed, this College cannot go on; but if confirmed, as many as forty persons can be supported."⁴² With the final restoration of the endowments followed a period of great progress in the College as well as in the mission field.

We see from the above details how the College of Colombo was financed. State grants were its principal means of support. These were supplemented by the donations of private individuals. These two sources of financial help made it possible for the Jesuits in Ceylon to keep to their principle of providing free education to scholars. Thus, more than 300 years before modern statesmen in Ceylon thought of a free education system, it had been realized by Christian missionaries, even with the limited resources then available to them.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.; António Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23, 24.

40. Valentine Pinheyro, 20 December, 1620, III, 27.

41. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23, 24.

42. Ibid.

III

In Jesuit records of this period, information about their educational work in Ceylon is very scanty. Nevertheless, with the help of the few references to education contained in Jesuit letters, we can, to some extent, form an idea of the kind of education the College of Colombo provided its students.

A letter written only eight months after the Jesuits arrived in Colombo says: "One Jesuit undertook the work of teaching the children in the school, another teaches Latin, and the superior gives religious instruction."⁴³ This statement seems to denote the existence already of two schools or departments of study: "teaching the children in the school" very likely means only an elementary school; and "teaches Latin" implies that a department of classical studies, according to the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits, had been started.

That there were two schools—an elementary school and a Grammar school—is more explicitly mentioned in a letter of 1609: "In Colombo one of the Fathers teaches Latin and another is in charge of the elementary school."⁴⁴ The letter adds that the Jesuits provide the children "with a sound education in letters and morals and other accomplishments—a benefit which they hitherto lacked."⁴⁵

A letter of 1610 provides us some information about the curriculum of the school. According to it, two of the five Jesuits in Colombo were "engaged in teaching the boys to read, write and sing, besides giving classes of Latin."⁴⁶ The letter adds: "They labour successfully in educating and training the young."⁴⁷

Ten years later, the addition of a new department of studies, namely, Theology, is recorded: "In this College we have three courses: one of cases of conscience (Moral Theology), which was recently introduced, at the request of the Bishop, for the secular clergy, of whom there are many; another of Latin; and the third of reading and writing."⁴⁸

According to these documents, therefore, the College of Colombo had three departments of study: a school of

43. Jeronimo Gomez, 14 January, 1603, II, 15.

44. Christopher Joam, I December, 1609, II, 22.

45. Ibid.

46. Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

47. Ibid.

48. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23, 24.

theological studies for ecclesiastical students; a Grammar school of classical studies; and an elementary school for the teaching of reading, writing and singing.

One document spoke of "other accomplishments" besides "letters and morals." Singing was probably one of these. There is no specific mention of any other. However, there is evidence of one school activity, which we might reckon as one of those "other accomplishments" referred to. It is play-acting.

Only seven months after the Jesuits arrived in Colombo, there was a dramatic performance to celebrate the inauguration of their new chapel. "A small performance was given, representing Faith and Religion giving battle to Idolatry."⁴⁹ The Bishop of Cochin, Dom Andreas de Santa Maria, and the captain-general, Jeronimo de Azevedo, were both present, and, it is said, "they were pleased with it."⁵⁰

Again, at the solemn opening of the new church, which took place on 2 February, 1604, a drama was staged, as one of the items of the celebration. It represented "the holy old man Simeon, receiving the Infant Jesus in his arms, and taking Him into the Jewish temple," and was "much appreciated by the audience," which consisted of a "large crowd of Portuguese and natives."⁵¹

In 1605 the Jesuit Provincial arrived in Ceylon "bringing with him from Rome some relics of the Eleven Virgins."⁵² These were carried in procession to the Jesuit church, and "the event was celebrated with a dramatic performance."⁵³

Performances of this nature seem to have been an annual event on the 2nd of February, when the titular feast of the Jesuit church was celebrated. Thus, in 1609, "a dramatic performance was given, to the great delight of all. . . . The argument of the drama was a comparison between the Synagogue with the Ark of the Covenant and the Church with the Mother of God."⁵⁴ On this occasion "the stage equipment was far from ordinary, and the acting was much appreciated."⁵⁵ The following year again "a drama was staged to the great appreciation of all."⁵⁶

49. Diogo da Cunha, 10 December, 1603, II, 16.

50. Ibid.

51. Petrus Eulitius, 15 October, 1605, II, 20.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Christopher Joam, 1 December, 1609, II, 22.

55. Ibid.

56. Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

Today, when educationists regard the play element to be of utmost value in education, it is interesting to note that play-acting formed part of school activities in seventeenth-century Ceylon. All the more significant is this activity of the Jesuit College, when we take note of the fact that, before the arrival of European missionaries, there was no drama in Ceylon. Drama had no place in the native education system, nor even in the native literature. Dramatic performances, under the direction of Catholic missionaries, mark the beginnings of the drama in Ceylon.

Portuguese was doubtless the language of instruction in the school, though there is no special mention of it in the records. It had to be Portuguese as the majority of the students were children of Portuguese residents.⁵⁷ And we may well suppose that the natives were not unwilling to have their children educated in the Western language, which political events had brought within their reach. It was the first Western language which the people of Ceylon had the opportunity to learn.

Did the students learn Sinhalese as well? We know from contemporary records that in the outstation schools, opened by Jesuits in the mission field allotted to them, children were taught in their mother-tongue also.⁵⁸ It is well known, moreover, that Jesuit missionaries have always attached great importance to the study of the native languages of the countries where they worked.⁵⁹ We know that some of them became distinguished for their scholarship in Oriental linguistic studies.⁶⁰ In Ceylon, too, there were several Jesuits who acquired a thorough command of Sinhalese and wrote books in the language. One of them, Emmanuel Costa, was in fact educated in this very College.⁶¹ It is, therefore, not likely that Sinhalese was neglected, though there is no mention of it being a subject of study at the College.

IV

The students who attended the College of Colombo were mostly the children of Portuguese residents⁶² and of

57. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23.

58. Pedro Francisco, 2 December, 1612, II, 83; Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

59. Cf., e.g., Dom Frey Sebastiao de S. Pedro, Bishop of Cochin, who testifies to it in his letter (11 November, 1622), appointing Jesuits to missionary work in Jaffnapatam, *ibid.*, III, 119.

60. De Nobili, Beschi, Gruber, Donville, Tieffentaer, Coeurdoux, Mosac, Bischo-pinck, Hanxleden, Hausegger, Ricci, etc.

61. Joam Carvallius, 1 January, 1627, III, 33.

62. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23.

Sinhalese nobles.⁶³ Only once is the number of students mentioned. According to it, there were about 150 children.⁶⁴ The only students of whom any particular mention is made are sons of certain Sinhalese princes and chieftains. A letter of 1606 reports: "Many persons were baptized, among them four young princes, sons of petty kings. One was the son of the King of the Seven Corlas. The three others were brothers, sons of the King of Uva. They are all attending the school of the Fathers."⁶⁵ Another letter, written in 1610, tells us: "On the feast of St. John, the son of a chieftain was baptized, the general⁶⁶ himself being sponsor. He is now attending our College in Colombo."⁶⁷ It was obviously because the College of Colombo was the leading educational institution of the Jesuits in Ceylon that these children of the Sinhalese nobility were sent to it for their education.

About the intelligence of the students Tavernier has some observations in his book *Travels in India*.⁶⁸ He passed through Ceylon in 1648. According to him, the Jesuits "found that the youth of Ceylon were so quick and intelligent that they learnt, in six months, more Latin, philosophy and other sciences, than Europeans acquire in a year, and they questioned the Fathers with such subtlety, and so deeply, that they were amazed."⁶⁸

Of the students who passed through the College, we have information about two, both of them distinguished Sinhalese scholars. One is Emmanuel Costa, a Colombo-born Portuguese. He was educated in the College, admitted to the Society of Jesus, and in 1620 ordained priest in Colombo. He specialized in Sinhalese, and was "so well versed in the language that he composed an excellent Sinhalese Grammar, and translated many books." His Grammar, composed in Latin and entitled *Ars Chingalensis Linguae*, is the first Sinhalese Grammar to be produced in a foreign language. No copies of this work are now known to exist. Fr. Costa died in 1626, at the early age of thirty-six.⁶⁹

63. Jeronimo Gomez, 29 December, 1606, II, 20; Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

64. Antonio Rubino, 8 November, 1620, III, 23.

65. Jeronimo Gomez, 29 December, 1606, II, 20.

66. Don Jeronimo de Azevedo.

67. Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

68. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, English translation, from the original French edition of 1676, by V. Ball; edited (second edition) by William Crooke, London, 1925, vol. 2, p. 147.

69. Joam Carvallius, 1 January, 1627, III, 33; Leon Besse, S.J., *Catalogus*, S.J., (Ceylon), Trichinopoly, 1913, p. 19.

The other is the celebrated Sinhalese poet, Alagiyavanna. He came to the College as an adult. He is said to have "acquired Latin very thoroughly" and studied the New Testament "with so much attention and ardour that in less than six months there was not a passage which he could not recite."⁷⁰ He embraced Christianity, and took service under the Portuguese. He is generally considered the last of the Sinhalese classical poets.⁷¹ He is also the first Sinhalese Christian poet.⁷²

V

As we have seen, Jesuits not only had charge of the College, but also formed the teaching staff. Though there is no direct mention of lay teachers being employed, a reference to the dismissal of a certain teacher seems to indicate that there have been lay teachers also. When the Jesuit Provincial paid a visit to the College in 1622, he is said to have "removed from the College a teacher who seemed too fond of some students, and put a Father in his place."⁷³

The citizens of Colombo, we are told, greatly appreciated the educational work of the Jesuits. According to Christopher Joam, one of the first band of Jesuits to come to Ceylon, the people were "extremely grateful" to the Jesuits "for providing their children with a sound education, . . . a benefit which they hitherto lacked."⁷⁴ Another Jesuit, writing in 1610, records: "They (*i.e.*, the Jesuits) labour successfully in educating and training the young, and the people of Colombo fully acknowledge this and often thank us, for they see the great progress made by their children in virtue and knowledge within the last six or seven years, *viz.*, since our arrival here."⁷⁵

The people showed their appreciation by readily contributing to the support of the College. Especially in time of need, as when the State grants were for a time withdrawn, the people of Colombo are said to have supported the College generously. Speaking of the withdrawal of grants, Fr. Valentine Pinheyro wrote: "It only served to make us

70. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 148.

71. Martin Wickremasinghe, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1949, p. 189 sqq.

72. S. G. Perera, S.J., and M. E. Fernando, *Kustantinu Hatana*, Colombo, 1932, v. Introduction.

73. Antonio Rubino, 10 November, 1622, III, 31.

74. Christopher Joam, 1 December, 1609, II, 22.

75. Franc Cagnola, 9 December, 1610, II, 80.

see more clearly the great esteem which the people of this city entertain towards the Society."⁷⁶

Apart from what the Jesuit records say about the success of their educational work, we have the valuable testimony of one who was no friend of the Jesuits, or of any 'Papist' for that matter. It is the testimony of Philip Baldaeus, the Dutch Calvinist minister, who was stationed at Jaffna, after its capture by the Hollanders. Speaking of the Jesuits he says: "They have worked most of all (Religious Orders), and in zeal and prudence and tact in teaching the young and attracting the old, they greatly surpassed the Franciscans and all other Religious bodies. And I willingly admit that I liked their proceeding and that I have walked in their footsteps in working at the reformation (*sic*) of all churches and schools of Manar and Jaffnapatam, as long as their teaching did not clash with our reformed teaching."⁷⁷

There were no doubt other educational institutions in Ceylon, established by the Franciscans, who were already in the country when the Jesuits arrived, and by the Dominicans and Augustinians, who came after them. But, from the fact that the Jesuits considered education of the young as a special aim of their Society and assiduously prepared themselves for educational work, and from the tone of contemporary references to their work in Colombo, it might be concluded that their College was "the foremost educational institution of the Portuguese in Ceylon,"⁷⁸—an institution which, with the colleges of the other Orders, provided Ceylon students, for the first time in the island's history, access to Western learning and to the benefits of Western methods of education. Its short life of just half a century, however, came to an end with the capture of Colombo by the Dutch in 1656 and the consequent expulsion of all Catholic missionaries from the island.

76. Valentine Pinheyro, 20 December, 1620, III, 27. —

77. Philip Baldaeus, *Beschryvinge Van het Machtige Eyland Ceylon*, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 151.

78. S. G. Perera, S.J., *Historical Sketches*, Jaffna, 1938, p. 80. —

THE USE OF VERNACULARS IN EDUCATION: THEIR CONVERSION INTO CIVILISED TONGUES IN FINLAND, HUNGARY AND ESTONIA

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UNTIL comparatively recently Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian were in the same position as numerous languages are today: they could express only those concepts native to local life and experience. All three countries had been out-distanced by those in which modern civilisation grew up; and during the last years of the eighteenth century and even for much of the nineteenth, the acquisition of a satisfactory degree of culture or technical knowledge was only possible, for a person speaking Finnish, Estonian, or Hungarian, through the medium of a foreign language or languages better fitted to reflect the world of his day.

In the eighteen thirties Finns of peasant stock could only make contact with the thought of the age through Swedish (and even, in many cases, German) while for Hungarian aristocrats such as Kazinczy or Stephen Szechenyi the attainment of full intellectual stature was dependent on a thorough knowledge of German and French, not to mention Latin. The early Estonian intellectuals of the nineteenth century had to reply on German as a vehicle of thought, to the point of losing the power of expressing themselves spontaneously in their native tongue.

In all these countries the use of the native language was restricted to the needs of everyday life, and he who wished to enter the realm of science or some other abstract conception had to change languages or be committed to a struggle with an inadequate vehicle of expression which hampered the development of any original thought.

REVIVAL OF HUNGARIAN, FINNISH AND ESTONIAN LANGUAGES

The restoration of Hungarian unity and the relative autonomy, the separation of Finland and Sweden in 1809, the dawn of Estonian nationalism and numerous other factors which cannot here be detailed, led intellectual circles

in the countries concerned to conceive the notion of re-invigorating and expanding their native tongues. The indications are that the idea originated with the translators of German, French or English texts, whose work had made them most keenly conscious of the inadequacy of their own languages; it also took root in teaching establishments at all levels, where the lack of text-books was serious, while foreign manuals could not be translated into the vernacular unless the latter's deficiencies were first made good.

Thus little by little an urge developed to renovate the local language by giving it the means of rendering as faithfully as possible those foreign texts whose translation was essential. It was everywhere realised that language should not be an obstacle to culture and that culture could only take the form of assimilation of the knowledge and ideas of countries in the vanguard of progress.

The main effort was directed to augmenting vocabulary and making phraseology more flexible, but attempts were also made to adjust syntax and even to recast the morphology of each nation's language with a view to supplying the missing categories it needed to reflect modern thought as expressed in German, French or English. Up to a point, vocabularies had already grown spontaneously—*i.e.*, by borrowing—and Finnish and Hungarian of the last years of the eighteenth century and Estonian in the middle of the nineteenth bristled with borrowed terms of which many had not been fully assimilated. Finns of the early nineteenth century spoke a horrid mixture of Finnish and Swedish, while a jargon was current in Hungarian intellectual circles consisting largely of words from German, French, Latin and other tongues.

The first concern of the reformers was to remedy this state of affairs by substituting, for the borrowed terms, words compounded from purely native elements.

Every variety of method was used concurrently; archaisms were restored to current use and dialect words introduced, both often with new meanings; new words were made from existing roots; and in particular the introduction of compound words was carried to the point of exaggeration. Concurrently with what was done to enrich the vocabulary, an effort was also made to render the structure of the sentence more flexible and to make the expression of thought more sensitive or more precise.

There was a general move to standardise the written language, involving the elimination of grammatical forms

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judged faulty, redundant, over-complex, ambiguous, etc. In Finnish the process even went to the length of adopting forms borrowed from dialects which had not hitherto contributed to the formation of the written language, based as it was too narrowly on the spoken tongues of the west and south-west. Simultaneously the sound *d* was brought into normal use; this had not hitherto been among the phonemes of the majority of the spoken forms but was clearly useful and clarified the paradigm of certain words. In Hungarian there was standardization of numerous forms, more particularly possessives, and various suffixes were made uniform; while a great simplification in the conjugation of verbs ultimately resulted from the abolition of the 'past narrative' and of the compound preterites of the indicative, though the process proved a lengthy one and was only finally completed at the close of the nineteenth century. More recently, in Estonian, at the instance of J. Aayvik, the paradigm of the declension has been standardized and certain morphemes have been differentiated where there was a risk of confusion (e.g., between the *-ste* of some adverbs and the *-ste* of the genitive plural of words in *-s*, etc).

The order of words in the sentence and the construction of compound sentences have become more flexible as a result of the desire of translators, many of whom are great writers, as far as possible to render the movement of an original which might be in German, French or English. They therefore sought to follow the order of the original, word for word, in their translations, even at the risk of producing sentences in which the order of the words transgressed the rules of the language of the translation.

RESULTS OF THE INNOVATIONS

As has been pointed out, these innovations were the work of the intellectual leaders, with varying degrees of co-operation from the public. They were the fruit of conscious and systematic effort by men who had declared open war on linguistic convention and stagnation—in Finland, Elias Lonnrot and August Ahlqvist; in Hungary, Dugonics, Bartzafalvi, Kazinczy, Kolcsey, Szemere, the great poet Vorosmarty, etc; in Estonia, more recently, Aayvik and his followers—and sought to create a new written

language having all the desirable qualities and capable of expressing accurately and effectively the thought not merely of their own countries but of the world.

The innovations naturally met with opposition. In Hungary, more especially, there was a violent dispute among grammarians, which was finally won by the reformers. In Finland, the battle for the language was to some extent associated with the struggle for social and national emancipation. In Estonia, the course of events was similar.

Between 1790 and 1948, Hungary was a battlefield on which 'neologists' and 'orthologists' were continually at grips. The country became a forcing-bed of new words. Some writers, carried away by their own enthusiasm, invented vocables by the thousand, most of which never achieved general acceptance; Paul Gugat alone, seeking to provide Hungarian with a natural science terminology, propounded no less than 40,000 terms of his own creation.

What have all these efforts produced? As far as Hungarian is concerned, the result has been more than 12,000 new words and a completely transformed vocabulary. As the much lamented poet, Desire Kostolanyi, put it, a modern Hungarian could no longer express himself in his own language if he were denied all the words thus manufactured. In any kind of connected conversation or written text, recognised neologisms account for from 30-40 per cent. of the whole; and much the same would be true of modern Finnish. In the latter case, the majority of the books published to-day would be hopelessly emasculated if one eliminated all the artificial words created since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Estonia the reform of the language has had less spectacular results, but only because it is relatively recent, beginning as it did about 1910. It has, however, already made its mark on the language and given it an entirely new complexion.

Thus the zeal of the reformers has not been in vain.

CONCLUSION

What lessons are to be drawn from the three experiments briefly described above?

The first is that a relatively long time was needed for the improvements in question to gain acceptance in current use. To-day, however, this could be shortened since we now have channels of communications—the printed word,

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broadcasting, the press, the schools, etc., of an effectiveness then unknown.

The next point is that the reform movement in Finland and Hungary began considerably before the establishment of linguistics as a science. In very many cases those behind the movement had not the remotest idea of what the 'mechanism of language' implied; theirs was guess-work, aided solely by their feelings and sometimes inspired by ideals that were more metaphysical or romantic than was desirable. Even more serious was the fact that the ultimate end pursued was apt to vary with the man. Some wanted to provide their countrymen with a medium of expression sharing what they claimed to be the good points of the language of some great nation whose culture had won their admiration or esteem; others were mainly concerned to fashion an original instrument which would exploit the full potentialities of their own civilisation rather than provide an avenue to foreign culture; others, again, sought to devise the perfect language capable of conveying, in finest detail, the thought alike of individuals and of the mass.

Hence there was lack of consistency within the reform movement, both in the methods advocated and the objects sought. Most of the leaders were not experts in the science of language but, all too often amateurs, intellectuals, scholars and pedagogues and, more rarely, writers.

An interesting point is that with the emergence of linguistics as a subject, most of its practitioners, being concerned essentially with the history of language, were against the innovations and preferred the policy of a return to the past, by the restoration of the ancient tongue. In their case, too, it never occurred to them to begin by considering what a language was and what was needed to enable it to work. With very few exceptions, linguists, until recent years, concerned themselves merely with the history of language and comparative philology. Finland had to turn to a doctor, Elias Lonnrot, for a dictionary of contemporary Finnish, while Ahlqvist took more interest in etymology and comparative grammar.

In the light of the above considerations it is not surprising that the concomitants of reform in all three countries should have been much wasted effort and loss of time, and various flaws calling for gradual elimination.

For lack of clear appreciation of the goal and real nature of linguistic progress, the reformers made changes not all of which were desirable or represented genuine improvements, the most glaring examples being J. Aayvik's proposed additions, to the Estonian language, of new cases in the declension of nouns and a new infinitive form for the verb. The latter (the translative case of the infinitive in *-ma*) has no advantage over the subordinate clause it is designed to replace, and both proposals go clean against the whole tendency to simplification which appears in the evolution of modern language; the same is true of the attempt to endow Hungarian with a passive and a future simple, with both of which it could very well dispense without loss of clarity.

Hence the conclusion which must follow from any assessment of the comparative merits and defects of the innovations is that, while on balance they converted these languages from the vernaculars they were (or to which they had sunk) into civilised tongues capable of expressing adequately the thought of the age, the same results would have been secured more quickly, surely and economically if the work had been in the charge of experts with an informed appreciation of what needed to be done.

However we now have proof that, given co-operation by a people's natural leaders, the calculated action of the linguist can effectively modernize an idiom which has sunk to being a mere vernacular: and grammar and vocabulary can be developed to fit the requirements of any desired category of thought.

To secure the maximum results in the minimum time from any similar experiment, we need do no more to-day than apply the procedures which modern linguistics provide.

The pilot project for the modernization of a vernacular tongue should be planned in three stages:

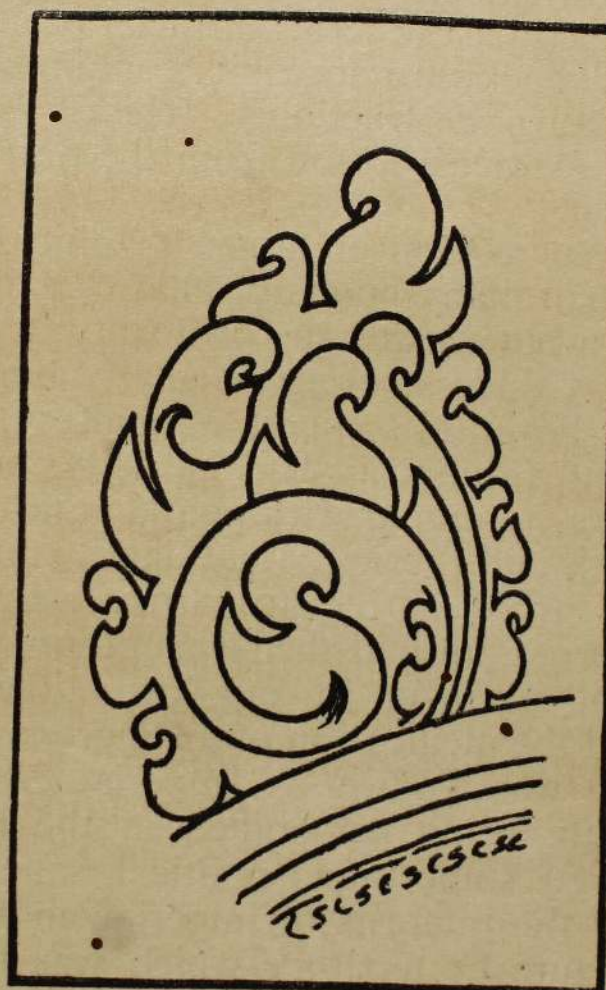
1. The respects in which the vernacular in question falls short of the civilised language or languages it is desired to emulate should be accurately determined.

2. In the light of the deficiencies disclosed, the requisite amendments to grammar, vocabulary, etc., should be worked out.

3. The amendments should be subjected to the test of use in both the written and the spoken language and any re-adjustments made which this test shows to be essential.

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Unesco would undoubtedly perform a useful task by providing aid in various forms for peoples wishing to convert their vernaculars into civilised languages. It is for its administration to determine what steps should be taken. (From a *Unesco Monograph on Fundamental Education*.)



FALSE PHILOSOPHY

Graham Martyr

AN article in the July issue entitled "Wrong History" is responsible for the following reflections on the fraudulent teaching, which led the Japanese nation into wrong paths and resulted in their entry into the Second World War which terminated in their defeat in 1945. In his informative description the Revd. G. B. Jackson remarked "very much of the cause of modern warfare (hot or cold) is the dissemination of wrong history." He adds: "A nation which begins to think of nationhood in terms of racial purity is a nation which has written its own doom" and "Nationalism which seeks to re-create a fabled past in terms of racial purity and religion is archaistic and backward looking, containing within itself the seeds of its own destruction." This is very true. Let us see if we can extract a lesson from the disaster which has befallen Japan.

The aboriginal religion of Japan is Shinto, the "Way of the Gods." It had many points of charm about it: the worship of Nature and the discerning of Beauty; every mountain had its God or Goddess; every lovely waterfall, towering ancient tree, any beautiful scenery, agriculture, especially rice fields, the sea and fishing, all had its deity, male or female, all of whom were honoured with gentle rural rites, offerings of food and drink and fabrics, ritual dances under the moon, and processions from shrine to shrine. Emperors, great men, national heroes, all had their veneration.

This ancient idealism in our own time came to be prostituted to aid the inculcation of an aggressive nationalism. The new Shinto was known as Imperial Shinto, or State-worship, the State being personified in the Emperor. The militarists required some super-political sanction to justify political unity in the interests of imperialism and aggression, to foster the seizure of territory which was to form a new great Pacific-embracing Empire.

The *Kojiki*, The Record of Ancient Matters, was written in 712 A.D. and claims to be the true history of Japan from the beginning. The book has been styled by a great English scholar of things Japanese "the greatest literary fraud in history." It is a record of the traditions which were handed

down from time immemorial by word of mouth, and accepted as truth by the ancient Japanese, and no doubt the traditions were in some instances echoes of events which had really occurred. There were no *written* records of Japanese history or traditions until the Sixth Century A.D. after the Chinese ideographs had been introduced into Japan, posterior to which date events become more credible: for instance a good number of the early Emperors were aged well over the hundred years' mark and some had ridiculously lengthy reigns. The introduction of writing modified many statements, and from that introduction the age and reign periods assume reasonable lengths. So for some 900 years the records were all traditional by word of mouth; it is only after the introduction of writing that details became credible. It is said the first *reliable* accounts in Japanese history could not have been earlier than the sixth century after Christ; all previous were echoes or inventions. Nevertheless, in 1940 on the 11th February, there was a great gathering in front of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo when the commemoration of the legendary foundation of the Empire on that day two thousand six hundred years before was celebrated, in the presence of the Emperor and a distinguished collection of notables and the foreign ambassadors accredited to Japan.

That great scholar, Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain, Professor of Japanese in the Imperial University of Japan, who translated the *Kojiki*, the Shinto "Bible" and the most ancient book in Japan, into English, wrote a pamphlet called *The Invention of a New Religion* in which he described how Imperial Shinto was set up side by side with the ancient faith to bolster the ambitions of the militarists. In effect, he represented the leaders of the new aggressive Japan as sitting in council and saying "We will invent a new religion, call it the ancient cult of Japan, and foist it upon the people so that we may the more easily control them." Chamberlain was of Gibbon's opinion that all religions were considered as equally true by the people, as equally false by the philosophers, and as equally useful by governments.

After all, in Japan, the idea of State-worship, of Japan as a unique state, peerless, with rulers of divine descent, had existed for centuries. All that the Government had to do was to turn this idea to its own use, and this they very successfully did, beginning by inculcating this teaching into the ductile minds of youth in the schools. So the train was laid. Naturally, the child accepts the teaching as true, and he gets

his first indelible consciousness of his own country. The following are excerpts from the *National History for Primary Schools* issued by the Ministry of Education.

It opens with an account of a squabble among the divinities in heaven, which resulted in a brother of the Sun Goddess being sent down in disgrace to the Japanese islands, which had previously been born of the Gods themselves. On his arrival he found the population "extremely rebellious," and so the Sun Goddess sent her grandson down, bidding him "go and rule." The narrative continues:—"The foundations of our Government, like heaven and earth, unchangeable through all the centuries, were really laid then." There follows a genealogical tree showing the line of descent from the Sun Goddess to Jimmu Tenno, the "first human Emperor," who founded the Empire in 660 B.C. The fact that this pedigree showed in one instance a lady who turned into a crocodile as the wife of one of the Gods, and a direct ancestress of the first Emperor, was discretely ignored by the Education Ministry.

The "History" was accompanied by a commentary to assist the school teachers. They are instructed:—"We subjects who live under such an illustrious Imperial Family are for the most part descendants of the Gods." This announcement is followed by a passage in which national conceit is expressed with unsurpassed naivete. "It is clear that the foundation of our State has been superior from ancient times to that of other countries. . . . If we consider the history of other countries we see that the existence of the people comes first, and that subsequently the rulers were chosen. That is why so many revolutions occurred among those nations and hardly one of them has kept its original structure. Considering this, we can understand why our national structure is superior to that of all other nations."

The schoolmasters, and perhaps the militarists themselves, appear to have on the whole honestly believed all this talk of Japan's "peerlessness," and to have participated willingly in the deception. A *Handbook of Ethics* used in the schools proclaims:—"From the year Jimmu Tenno ascended the throne, 2,600 years have passed, (1940). There are many countries in the world but there is not one that, like our great Japanese Empire, has one Emperor of the same dynasty through the course of the ages. We who have been born in such an exalted country have to become excellent Japanese, and do our best for our Government."

So plastic Japanese minds became immersed in the idea that they are a special race ruled by an Emperor God, a unique government, and a superior destiny, willed by the divinities to bring "the four corners of the world under one roof." This is the imperialist slogan supposed to have been employed by the Emperor Jimmu earlier than 660 B.C., that the militarists used to prepare the way for the Japanese dominance of an immense new Empire embracing the whole Pacific Basin and its vicinities, perhaps in time the whole world. This is the doctrine known as *Hakko kiu* of which much was heard by other nations after the Japanese aggression into Manchuria in 1931.

The Japanese people became self-hypnotized by this theory of imperial divinity; otherwise this hocus-pocus of mythology would have only an anthropological interest, as a revival of Chinese and Polynesian myths of creation. But it was a dogma which drugged the consciences and intoxicated the imaginations of the Japanese people in their belief in national uniqueness leading to a great destiny, the overlordship of the world. The human desire to possess their neighbours' property is in this way synthesized with their duty to their Emperor, their Gods and their country. The duration of this Imperial House is the proof, they say, that Japan is called to an unparalleled destiny, a Dynasty "unbroken for ages eternal, coeval with heaven and earth and destined to endure to the end of time." The histories attest it, the government documents solemnly recite it, and the official school books proclaim it as an historical fact, that Japan alone among the nations of the earth has preserved her form of government under her divine Emperors since 600 years before the birth of Christ.

It would be a remarkable phenomenon if one Dynasty had ruled uninterruptedly for 2,600 years. But when we examine the miracle we discover it is not so wonderful after all. The law which today ordains that the Crown Prince must be the son of the Emperor and Empress is a new one, dating from about 1880. Prior to that it was an ordinary thing for the throne to descend to uncles, brothers, cousins or adopted relations of the dead sovereign. The imperial heir should possess imperial descent from some one of the Dynasty, even if such descent ascended to Emperors long deceased. Until 75 years ago a woman could succeed to the throne; there have actually reigned ten female *Tenno*, the most recent dying in 1770. Bastardy was no

impediment, nor was it considered any disgrace. The present Emperor Hirohito (pronounced Hiro'shto) is the first for quite a long time who is the son of the previous Emperor and Empress. Hirohito's father, the Emperor Yoshihito, was the son of the Emperor Mutsuhito and the Lady Aiko Yanagiwara, one of the permitted companions of the monarch. When Lady Yanagiwara died not so long ago, the newspapers announced without evasion or glossing over that she had been the unmarried mother of an Emperor. The question of legitimacy in the western sense simply did not exist. It was, however, taken for granted that the sovereign should smile only on ladies of good birth. The great Emperor of the Restoration of 1868 was the son of the Emperor Komei and a Lady of the *Kuge* (Kyoto Court Noble) Family of Nakagawa of the Fujiwara Clan, but who was not the Empress.

In authentic history there have been alive at the same time two, three, or four Emperors, who have abdicated, so there was plenty of room for intrigue and substitution. A fortieth cousin could be put in the position of a son, and so it has happened. No marriage certificate was needed to place the son or daughter of a pretty, well-born play fellow on the throne of the Sun Goddess. It followed that many sovereigns were the children of concubines. Charles II did not lack descendants born on the wrong side of the blanket, but they were not heirs to the Crown of England, though they are responsible for a proportion of our dukes today. So the uniqueness and unparalleled continuity of the Japanese Imperial House disappear when reason takes the place of mystical dogmatism.

This legend of enormous antiquity has a twin. It is that of continuity of government. Mr. Hugh Byas, correspondent for many years in Japan of *The Times*, London, to whom I am indebted for many facts in this argument, writes in his *Government by Assassination* that the political history of the Japanese dynasty is in reality not different from that of other dynasties in other lands. The Japanese Imperial House has had its share of misfortunes. Divine Emperors have been murdered and deposed. Rival *Tenno* have waged war on each other. There existed two reigning lines, the Northern and Southern courts, from 1336 to 1392. Actually the most conspicuous feature of Japanese history is the relegation of the Imperial line to obscurity for a thousand years, 670 to 1868, while the country was governed by successive dynasties

of hereditary administrators known as *Shogun*. These *de facto* rulers were not all of the same family: the period was marked by bloody feudal wars as one powerful leader arose after another and ousted the possessor of power. In all that time there was no period of actual Imperial rule. There were many occasions when the descendant of the Sun Goddess lived in poverty. The Thrice Cloud-Encircled Forbidden Palace leaked, the court had to shift its sleeping quilts to dry places which were difficult to find, the *Tenno* himself had to sell specimens of poems in his august hand-writing to raise funds for daily expenses, and in 1500 the Emperor Go-Tsuchi lay unburied for six weeks until his son could borrow money from rich Osaka merchants to pay the funeral expenses.

If allowed, the Japanese nation had only to read its own history to realize that its past differs in no essentials from that of other nations. The divinity and uniqueness of the Emperors was but a myth revived and reconsecrated by its modern rulers, to act as a support for their imperialistic and military ambitions. The occupation of Japan by the allies and the introduction of democracy will afford liberty to the people to read as they like and study as they should, to understand the myth of the Emperor God has been dragged from the earliest age to the latest to give aggression an air of destiny. Correction of this imposture or delusion, as in many cases it was, a delusion of immature minds, has now its opportunity under the new liberty brought to Japan by her defeat in 1945. Japanese scholarship can now use modern standards in dealing with history, which they dared not until yester-year. No longer need the man-in-the-street fear the thugs whom the army and the "patriotic" societies would send to suppress the intellectuals who believed Japan had nothing to fear from truth, or the statesmen who thought the central government should over-rule the military departments. Those days are gone, the days of Imperial Shinto, and it is incumbent on an emancipated people once more to worship truth and beauty, and to forswear fraud and the beastliness of war. The majority now realize that their Empire was no mystical abstraction with the sanction of unparalleled ages behind it; it was the fraudulent teaching, ordered by a group of men whose ambitions had run amok, that ruined the Empire they loved by lies, and came near to ending the Dynasty "destined to endure throughout ages eternal."

Beauty is Truth, and the love of Truth is the one true Love in life.

ART IN JAPAN TODAY

Chisaburoh F. Yamada

THE state of art in present-day Japan is much more complicated and confused than it is in America or Europe. The main reason for this is the coexistence of the traditional Japanese culture and the Western civilization imported during the last eighty years. When Japan, then a dormant little country, began to emerge from her long isolation and entered into the international world where occidental civilization was flourishing and almost dominating, she was faced by a very difficult cultural problem, which even now she has not succeeded in solving. It is the problem of how to adopt the Western industrialism and how to create Japan's new culture based concurrently on her national characteristics and the modern industrial life. It was a very difficult problem especially because Japan had already a highly developed culture of her own.

Modern industrialism is the product of Western civilization. It is based on the Western way of thinking and its scientific and technical achievements. It has the long historical background of Western civilization. Japan, an offshoot of Far-Eastern civilization, which is an almost opposite type to Western civilization, can not simply adopt only the industrial techniques without taking up the whole system of Western civilization. So she imported Western civilization in every cultural field but too hastily and therefore superficially.

The industrial revolution, accomplished by the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and thereafter, was of a quite different nature from the European in that it owed less to the internal necessity of Japanese economic development but more to the pressure of occidental civilization, especially its modern industrialism which surged around the islands in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is true that the Japanese economic and social condition at the time was almost ready to overthrow the feudalistic system of the Tokugawa Shogunate government. But without the pressure and the teaching from the Western world, Japan never could have

become such a modern industrial country as she actually did by the end of the nineteenth century.

The pressure from outside was so strong that Japan had to introduce Western civilization in haste not only in her industrial and economic structures but also in every cultural field. The hasty and superficial importation did not help to solve the grave cultural problem of Japan to create her own new culture, but only resulted in the coexistence of the traditional Japanese culture and the occidental civilization without being internally integrated; the former changed to a certain extent by the practical necessities of modern industrial life, the latter sometimes just imitated, sometimes modified and sometimes even deformed or misinterpreted.

This coexistence or dual civilization is still the main feature of present-day Japanese civilization, though there is something characteristically Japanese which comprehends both currents. Out of this confusion of dual civilization, a new type of Japanese culture is being born.

As Arnold Toynbee suggested, the Far Eastern civilization, including Japanese, is seemingly on the way, together with other three vital civilizations, to be incorporated into "a Great Society" with a Western cast. But this incorporation can not be just a simple swallowing up. In the scope of the Great Society, Japan will develop her own new culture taking advantage of its own tradition and Eastern wisdom which mainly depends upon intuition.

Art is always the reflection of the social life in which it was created. Contemporary Japanese art reflects the dual civilization and the Japanese struggle in creating her new culture.

In the fine arts, too, we have been practicing, during the last eighty years, two different techniques, traditional Japanese and European. The former uses the medium of either China-ink or Japanese opaque water-color, the latter uses oil or European water-color. No matter whether the style is realistic, expressionistic, traditional, or modernistic, if a picture is painted with Japanese medium on silk or paper, we call it Japanese-style painting. Pictures painted in oil, transparent water-color or tempera, in short with pigments of European origin are termed Western-style in paintings. In line with this classification contemporary Japanese painters are divided into two categories; Japanese-style painters and Western-style painters.

Japanese style painters are those who want to create their own art on the basis of not only internal but also formal traditions. Because the formal tradition is closely connected with the technical tradition, they take up traditional technique using traditional materials. On the other hand, there are also some Japanese style painters who highly esteem the aesthetic value of traditional material pigments, silk and paper, as the media suitable for their Japanese sense and feeling. They work in Japanese water-color on paper or silk but quite free from traditional forms, influenced by European modernistic art in search for pure form of emotional significance. This latter movement is represented by Setsu Asakura, Kaii Higashiyama, Fumiko Hori, Kuma Mukai, etc.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Japanese artists were eager to learn the technique of European realistic painting as an art to represent nature as she "really is."

As a result of importation of European science, the Japanese learned of the European objective way of perception and thought. And this resulted, in the case of painting, in the adoption of various scientific visual theories, such as linear and aerial perspective, shading, anatomical accuracy, etc. This new scientific knowledge lured Japanese artists like Eve's apple. The Japanese did not see, of course, even before the Meiji Restoration, things in such an inverted perspective as represented in old Japanese paintings, but our artistic perception of nature was different from the Westerner's. Our artistic values determined that the artists catch the beauty of nature in ways other than those of objective realism. After the restoration, Eve's apple induced the Japanese modern artists to dress up their fresh impression using scientific visual rules.

Besides, as history shows, the rising middle class always demands realistic art, because for one thing they are aesthetically naive, and for another, they want to see any thing they enjoy represented or fixed on a painting just as they enjoy it. As a rising class, they are always optimistic and appreciate the beauty of nature to the full.

It was thus that naturalistic realism prevailed in Japan in the later part of the nineteenth century. Realistic "European-style" painting in oil and water-color flourished. The painters who had been trained in traditional Japanese style tried to find a way to conform their old technique to the newly imported realistic rules.

The realism such as the one developed in Europe since the Renaissance is based on the empirical attitude on the part of the painter who perceived the outer world objectively rather than subjectively. Of course there have been many variations of this attitude. It developed through many phases and stages in the long course of time until it reached the extreme of the nineteenth century. If the self, that is the subject, asserts itself, symbolic or romantic art will be born. Modern Expressionism is one of typical art forms of self assertion. If the emphasis is laid on the objective world, art becomes realistic. We call classic those works of art in which the subjective and objective attitudes are well balanced.

In old Japanese art the outer world was not perceived objectively. Japanese art of the past is based on the typical Japanese attitude of perceiving the outer world not in opposition to the self, but regarding the self as a part of the universe. To maintain the self was to the Japanese mind nothing else than immersion into the universe. The self was not asserted in opposition to the objective world. The world was apprehended intuitively but not empirically. This attitude did not foster the empirical natural science but created art of unique beauty. The world art creates is a world of its own which is conceived intuitively and filled with significant feeling. Because of all this old Japanese art is full of illogical representations, which we, the people of today, would justify on the basis of artistic freedom.

Traditional styles and techniques of such Japanese painting could not be therefore easily conformed to the new realistic attitude of the modern Japanese, who adopted the European objective way of perception. Many different ways of approach to the solution of this problem have been attempted since the late nineteenth century.

One of the most successful approaches was made by a group of artists who advanced the realistic tendency of the Maruyama-Shijo School, the technique of which had been developed in the eighteenth century by Okyo Maruyama (1733-1795) under the influence of Dutch copper-plate prints imported at the time by using graduation of tones and adopting the rules of linear and aerial perspective to a certain extent.

Many artists of this group lived in Kyoto and the most representative master of this school was Seiho Takeuchi (1864-1942). Even today there are in Kyoto old masters

who are working in this fashion or developing this style still further under the influence of modern European art. Suisho Nishiyama and Chikkyo Ono are the chief exponents of this group.

Another successful attempt was made in the early part of this century by a group of young artists who adopted the color analysis and technique of dabbing different colors of the French Impressionists and still succeeded in representing decoratively the beauty of nature emotionally experienced by the artists. The great genius who initiated this style was Shunso Hishida (1874-1911).

Some other happy results were also achieved individually by other talented artists. Kanzan Shimomura (1873-1916) for instance, succeeded in painting sumptuous pictures by ingeniously blending the decorative style of the Korin school, the realistic technique of the Maruyama-Shijo school, and the vigorous brush-works of the Kano school. Taikan Yokoyama, who at first started as a companion of Shunso, created idealistic landscapes full of romantic beauty by mastering a new technique of chiaroscuro in black and white China-ink. This chiaroscuro technique was later developed more realistically by Koichiro Kondo.

Meanwhile, objective realism reached its limit in Europe. The reaction of the subjective attitude set in. Out of Impressionism which regarded art as "a piece of nature seen through the painter's temperament" grew Post-impressionism. From Post-impressionism there developed the more subjective art of Cubism, Expressionism, Fauvism and so on until the objective world was completely negated in Purism and Abstractionism.

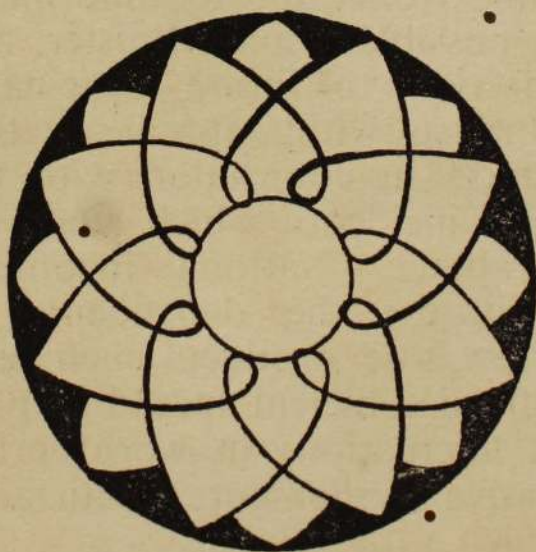
A little later then in Europe, toward the beginning of World War 1, naturalistic realism reached its limit within the scope of the Japanese mentality, at least at the time. This stalemate had two different causes. The one was the gap between the imported realism and the characteristic Japanese subjective attitude toward nature, which had not yet been entirely replaced with the new objective attitude but only shelved temporarily. The objective way of perception had not become a really integrated part of the Japanese mentality. The other cause was the development of social and economic conditions of urban life in Japan which had become pretty much like that in the Western world. Japanese rural life was still very much of a feudalistic and Asiatic nature, but modern Japanese art depends chiefly on the urban population.

Realizing this gap, Japanese-style painters of the younger generation tried hard, in the first and second decades of this century, to find a new way of the subjective approach to the beauty of nature as a higher synthesis of realism and the characteristic Japanese subjective attitude. The European subjective movements in art had significantly influenced these painters and the new technique of Japanese-style painting developed by their predecessors aided them in attaining their goal. Fortunately, they were successful in their effort.

More modernistic attempts are now being made by younger painters. Their works are also represented here, reflecting various aspects of today's cultural life in Japan.

On the other hand, as the Japanese have always been eager to learn the newest achievements of European and American development in every field of culture in order to catch up with Western civilization, Japanese artists have been introducing every new artistic movement of Europe. This cannot be said to be simply the result of the tendency to imitate since there are factors in our social and artistic background that make us sympathetic toward Western modernistic art.

In today's Japan more than a half of the professional painters are working in oil. Their various styles are similar to those practised today in Europe and the United States, varying from naturalistic realism to Sur-realism. However there are noticeable efforts being made to create in oil painting truly Japanese forms which are based on the Japanese thought and idea of beauty.



INDONESIA STRUGGLES TO ESTABLISH STABLE GOVERNMENT

Winburn T. Thomas

Dr. Thomas has lived in Indonesia since 1951. He has been reporting on the life of the Christian movement in the Far East for the *Christian Century*.

PREMIER Wilopo returned his mandate to President Sukarno on June 2. For fourteen months he maintained a government, the longest any of the numerous cabinets have survived since Soekarno organized the first in August, 1945.

Asia's newest Republic is having its difficulties. Many observers are pessimistic as to the future. Colonialists still hope the Indonesian people will admit their inability to govern themselves and request the Dutch to re-establish their paternalistic imperialism. Federalists who eschew the van Mook divisions of the state (the United States of Indonesia period) as a means of continuing Dutch control, believe that the Republic must retrace its steps by granting the regions a larger degree of autonomy. The central government is unable to suppress the bands in West Java which are killing, burning and looting every night; some of these are Islamic terrorists who aim to establish a theocracy by force, others are communist inspired, while many of them are people who would rather rob than work. Even Ex-Finance Minister Wibisono, liberal leader of the Masjumi (Moslem) Party, whose name from time to time has been mentioned prominently as a possible Prime Minister, admits that he too is pessimistic as he views the future of the nation.

There are conflicts within the army; the nation has yet to be told the facts in connection with the October 17th affair, one of the incidents which undermined confidence in the Wilopo cabinet. National income does not equal necessary expenditures; the dependence of the peoples' welfare upon a few sale products such as rubber, tin and copra does not afford sufficient spread to protect the nation's economy against fluctuations in world prices. There is as yet no representative Parliament; politicians can only guess

what the real will of the people is; yet the Nationalist Party refused to back the policy of the government with respect to land distribution in Sumatra on the grounds that the said policy was in opposition to the will of the people. The low literacy rate (some estimates are as low as 8%) complicates the holding of national elections.

The nation's attempt to adhere to an independent foreign policy makes difficult the obtaining of substantial material assistance from either of the two world blocs.

The compilation of a list of causes for pessimism is seen to be easy. Yet there prevails among the people of the nation, and among foreign residents as well a conviction that if any of the lands of South-east Asia is to survive, Indonesia will be among them.

Indonesia is having to go it alone, and is doing it. "Operation Bootstrap" describes the program in which the nation is engaged.

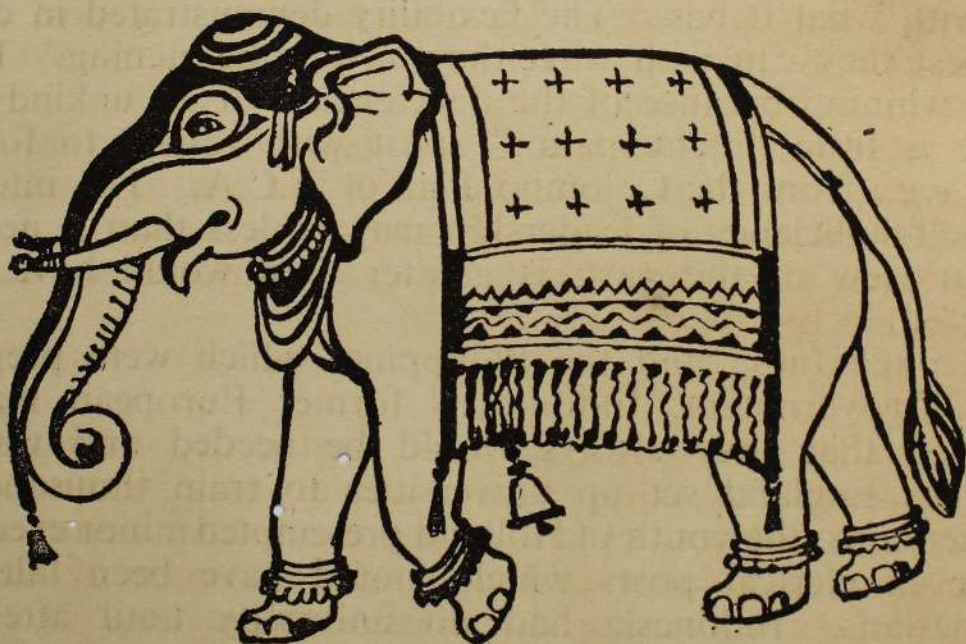
With but few trained leaders, the nation has been making out with what it has. The flexibility demonstrated in doing the best they can with what they have is heartening. There is no whining because of the deficiencies, or an unkind fate. There is little "itchy palm" spirit with respect to foreign gifts, e.g., from the Colombo Plan or T.C.A. The integrity and self-sufficiency of leadership may be less than is needed, but in view of the past, is greater than would have been expected.

• Unlike India and the Philippines which were prepared for self-government, Indonesia's former European masters assumed that they always would be needed and wanted. Whereas England set up universities to train thousands of civil servants, the youth of Holland pre-empted minor executive and even clerical posts which should have been filled by Indonesians. Indonesia had no university until after the proclamation of the Republic in 1945.

There have been no grants from war strapped Holland for the rebuilding of Indonesia, which was occupied by the Japanese, badly bombed (especially in the East) by the Allies, suffered and continues to suffer from revolution, and fought two (or three, if the Westerling Affair is included) military actions initiated by the Dutch Army. Hardly had sovereignty been transferred when one of the isolated areas, Ambon, which is colonial days had been called "The Twelfth Province of Holland" revolted. Not until two years later, and the

expenditure of large sums of money was the fighting there ended. It continues in West Java, thanks to the military activities of Darul Islam, which some critics claim was stimulated during the governor-generalship of the last Dutch governor.

Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo the new Premier has no easy job. But progress has been made since August 17, 1945. There are many reasons to expect it to continue.



MAHILA SAMITI IN MALAYA

Margaret G. Herbertson

An officer of Britain's National Federation of Women's Institutes.

WOMEN all the world over, whether they are Asian, African, European or American, need to get together for mutual help in tackling their main problems—food, clothes and the health of children in the home.

The women of Malaya are no exception, and this was why Lady Templer, wife of the High Commissioner for Malaya, Sir Gerald Templer, had the idea of introducing Women's Institutes into the small villages of that country. The Women's Institute movement, which started first in Canada and then in the United Kingdom as groups of country-women who wanted to improve conditions in their homes and villages, has now spread all over the world to 24 countries in five continents. To help to get the movement set up in Malaya I was invited to leave temporarily my post as an organiser of Britain's National Federation of Women's Institutes and go there for six months.

The long-term success of the plan is difficult to gauge at present, but when I left Malaya at the end of April, 1953, over 7,000 women had already enrolled as members of about 150 Women's Institutes, with 36 local territorial associations responsible for their running.

VILLAGES ON THE JUNGLE EDGE

Some of these Institutes were started in isolated Malay villages on the outskirts of the jungle, some in the Chinese resettlement villages, others among the rubber estates or the tin mines. A number of them include women of all three races, Malays, Chinese and Indians, co-operating together to choose their own leaders and to decide what branch of home-craft they would like to learn from the instructors, both Asian and European, who are offering to do this work. The problem now is to get more and more instructors. My successor in Malaya is hoping to overcome it by short training courses for new volunteers.

It was an exciting adventure travelling over the nine States and two Settlements of Malaya to meet the women,

covering about 15,000 miles by air, river, road or on foot across the paddy fields. The language barrier was not insuperable—a practical approach is understandable by women in any language. We showed them home-made toys for the children, bright patch-work and hand-sewn clothes. Instructors explained in a variety of tongues how to use knitting needles or a tape measure, or how to cut out from patterns, which was understood by a sort of universal feminine intuition, helped by interpreters.

We hope these Institutes will improve the standards of life for the women of Malaya. First and most important, the community spirit will foster self-help and initiative among them. The medical units that tour the country will find ready-made groups to meet and teach. Instructors are gradually giving them valuable information about hygiene, first-aid and diet for children. Cookery is a popular item on the programme and though many women start with an enthusiasm to make English sponge cake, we aim at teaching them how to supplement their diet of rice and curry, salt fish and so on, with vegetables and other home-grown foods.

PRINTING PATTERNS IN MALAY

The Malaya women, although often expert at their traditional embroidery and with an instinct for design, do not generally know how to make or mend clothes. Patterns are now being printed and distributed with directions written in Malay for measuring and cutting out clothes for children and women. The Women's Institutes of the state of Negri-Sembilan invited me to an exhibition at which I saw neatly made shirts, girls' dresses, women's modern bajus (blouses) and knitted garments such as cardigans, jumpers and children's boots.

The Institutes have begun to co-operate with the local Malayan adult education associations and are passing on to them members who want to learn to read and write and obtaining from them news of women who want to form new Institutes. I believe the women in Malaya have taken an important step forward, and one day, I hope to go back to see how the movement has grown.

SIR JAMES FRAZER AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

Sumana Saparamadu

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THE first of January, 1954 marks the centenary of the birth of James George Frazer the celebrated author of the *Golden Bough*. He was the son of a chemist in Glasgow, and he might have followed in his father's footsteps and joined him in the business. "But," Frazer told the public of Glasgow when he received the Freedom of that City, "I never had any taste nor I fear any ability for business or indeed any form of practical life. My tastes were always studious; my father early perceived it and wisely allowed me to follow my bent without hindrance or even question."

Frazer belonged to an age marked by seriousness of thought, "a liberal and outspoken age, whose most representative men are . . . men of University education or of trained professional intelligence . . . the gentlemanly bearded intellectuals," when men devoted their time to learning for learning's sake. Frazer was one of those gentlemanly intellectuals. All his life he remained a keen and curious student, and he never wished for another life. He won a scholarship to Trinity College Cambridge in 1874, and this was followed by a Fellowship which he held for life. This gave him the leisure and the means to pursue his studies without interruption or distraction. "So I have always led a quiet uneventful life of a student. It is not a life about which there is much to say but I have found it a very happy one."

It was E. B. Tylor's "Primitive Culture" that first diverted his interests from the classics to the early history of society; however it was under the influence of his friend, W. Robertson Smith, who was also at Cambridge, that he started a systematic study of the subject. At the time Frazer came to know him, Robertson Smith was editing the 9th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and knowing Frazer's interests asked him to write the two articles on *Taboo* and *Totemism* for it. With the research done for these two articles began his "study of the backward races of men whom we call savages or barbarians."

The whole atmosphere of social studies in the latter half of the nineteenth century was charged with inquiries into the habits and customs of the so-called backward races. This was a natural interest at a time when ideas of origins and evolution were in the forefront following the publication of the "Origin of the Species," and the genetic approach which had proved so successful in philology was beginning to be applied in other fields of learning such as history, and law. Therefore it was quite natural that men turned to primitive societies in the hope of finding the origins and the different stages in the development of society and culture. There was a vast amount of ethnographical data available to the interested student. Accounts of the "backward races of men" which began to reach Europe with the voyages of discovery in the sixteenth century increased steadily as European colonization expanded in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Traveller's tales were followed by more serious accounts by explorers, missionaries, emissaries and administrators. Assuming that evolution was a simple line of progress, and that their own society and culture were the end products of evolution these students turned to primitive societies to construct scales of development; placing their own customs or beliefs at one end, and those most dissimilar and hence most primitive at the other, they fitted into the scales other customs or beliefs gathered from various primitive societies, to show what might have been the development of the institutions or the history of society. In "Ancient Law," Sir Henry Maine tried to trace the development of law. E. B. Tylor published his "Researches into the Early history of Mankind." John Lubbock, J. F. McLennan and Lewis Morgan considered the evolution of the family.

Frazer too was an evolutionist; he believed in unilinear development from a simple to a complex form of society—from savagery to civilization as he put it; that various contemporary primitive tribes marked the different rungs in the evolutionary ladder; that non-significant traits in a culture were survivals from an earlier stage thus proving that that society had passed through a more primitive stage. Origins, stages, survivals, savagery, and barbarism were concepts he used but never defined clearly.

His interests, his line of research, and whatever hypotheses he put forward were guided by these basic assumptions. He was interested in primitive societies, "Savagery" as he called them, because the customs and

beliefs of the savages illustrated the various stages in the development of institutions; "we must try to understand savagery before we can hope fully to comprehend civilization, for civilization has been derived from savagery by a slow process of evolution." His two volume work *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* is a study of "the lower side of ancient Hebrew life . . . the traces of savagery and superstitions." The many beliefs and practices mentioned therein caught his attention because they confirmed the belief that the ancient Hebrews like every other race had passed through "stages of savagery and barbarism."

Totemism interested him for it afforded a "glimpse into the childlike mind of the savage . . . it is as it were a window opened up into the distant past."

The theory of magic and its relation to religion and science put forward in the *Golden Bough* is his most valuable contribution to anthropological theory, but even this is coloured by his evolutionary bias. At first, primitive man was foolish enough to believe that his rites automatically controlled by nature; then as he saw that they were not always successful he tried prayers instead of spells; he offered sacrifices and humiliated himself before the powers that he could not compel. Thus magic gave way to religion. "Two fundamentally distinct and even opposing principles were at work. In the evolution of thought magic as representing a lower intellectual stratum always preceded religion."¹ While religion supersedes magic, its place is in turn gradually taken by science, as people come to know the true laws governing the universe.

As a theory of primitive mentality or as sequences of stages in the history of society, this theory cannot be accepted in its entirety, but he showed that magical beliefs are universal, and that by an analysis of their structure they could be reduced to two types—homoeopathic magic which assumes that "things which resemble each other are the same," and hence the desired effect can be effected by imitating it, and contagious magic which assumes that "things which have once been in contact with each other are always in contact, and that whatever is done to the material object" will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact.

1. He does not claim any originality for this view but gives the credit to Professor H. Oldenberg in whose *Die Religion des Veda* it has been already plainly suggested if not definitely formulated.

These two types are not exhaustive for there are many practices quasi-magical in character, which cannot be easily reduced to one or the other type, but this division helped to classify a mass of pertinent material.

It must be said in fairness to him that Frazer never expected this or his other theories to be accepted as final. He, more than any of his contemporaries, proclaimed the purely provisional character of his views. "That my conclusions on these difficult questions are final I am not so foolish as to pretend." He always regarded himself as a pioneer. "What we do now will have to be done over again and done better with fuller knowledge and deeper insight . . . we are only pioneers hewing lanes and clearings in the forest where others will hereafter sow and reap."

Yet the wealth of material he collected and classified, his handling of evidence with real insight into human motives, his unfinished discussions and his occasional comments are full of implications which later scholars took up and developed. Malinowski's theory of knowledge, Magic and Religion is based on Frazer's own evidence, and, to quote Malinowski, "is fundamentally in accordance with Frazer's handling of his material." R. R. Marret challenges Frazer's views on the relation of magic to religion and the theory that taboo is negative magic, yet in *The Threshold of Religion* he is only re-interpreting the evidence Frazer has classified and analysed in the *Golden Bough*, which he refers to as "that house of heaped-up treasure," and taking up the questions which Frazer has left unanswered. Whether they have agreed with him or not many of the British anthropologists like Crawley, Lang, Hartland and Westermarck have built on the foundations laid by Frazer. The French Sociologist Durkhiem and his school turned to Frazer for information. Durkhiem disagrees with many of Frazer's ideas on the origin and functions of totemism but he regards Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* as "a compendium on totemism," "a useful handbook for consultation and one facilitating research." When Freud looked for ethnographic evidence it was to Frazer that he turned. His theories on the totem and taboo are based mainly on the material collected and classified by Frazer.

Though his hypotheses have been refuted and superseded, his books continue to be sources of information, thus fulfilling his hope that his work "would have its utility and its interest as a reportory of facts." Though he never hesitated to

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put forward theories which seemed to fit facts his main aim was to collect, classify and record ethnographic data before they were lost and "lay a broad and solid foundation for the inductive study of man." He shifted his studies "more and more from that of classical antiquity to the general study of man, and concentrated his attention on savagery rather than on civilization" because it was necessary to understand savagery before attempting to understand civilization. Frazer was no doubt fascinated by the variety of customs and beliefs presented by primitive societies, and found in the study the savage an intrinsic value and joy. Accounts of non-European peoples were pouring in from every direction from buried cities of remotest antiquity" and "from the rudest savages of the desert and the jungle." Here was a new field of knowledge, an even wider vista than that which was opened to the classical scholars at the revival of learning was opened before the anthropologist, enabling them to follow "the slow and toilsome ascent of humanity from savagery to civilization." He was fascinated by the variety and strangeness of customs and beliefs presented by peoples in various parts of the world and at various levels of development. He saw in them an element of quaintness and picturesqueness and regretted their passing. "Society will be happier on the whole but," he observed, "it will be sober in tone and greyer and more uniform in colouring."

He knew only too well that with the rapid spread of civilization primitive tribes were being "rudely hustled out of existence or transformed into a pathetic burlesque of their conquerors." Therefore it was the duty of anthropologists to collect and record "the customs and traditions of savages which are of priceless value as documents illustrating the long history of our species," and "to paint savagery in its true colours" before its darker side is forgotten and only its brighter side is remembered as a sort of "Golden Age." With this end in view he pursued his line of research with untiring patience, collecting more and more facts. The result was that he often strayed far from his original line of inquiry, till the point from which he started became obscure or "broadened out into a disquisition and almost into a treatise." The *Golden Bough* is a case in point.

The *Golden Bough*, which was to make his name famous, was originally intended to be an investigation into a particular and narrowly limited problem—the strange rule of succession

to the priesthood of the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi. "A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest and having slain him, he retained office till he himself was slain by a stronger or a craftier." A similar rule imposed on kings in South India which he came across suggested an explanation, which if valid, he thought would throw much light on certain obscure and difficult features of primitive religion. Investigating this one problem led him to study the superstitions and religious practices of various peoples, and the survivals of such practices in Europe. The result of his investigations was the *Golden Bough* first published in 1892. Ten years later a second edition appeared enlarged with additional information; but his curiosity and empirical sense would not let him rest and he continued to collect more facts and still more facts. This new evidence in turn raised other questions. In attempting to answer one question he had raised many more and strayed into wider and wider fields. The *Golden Bough* had grown to inordinate length, "into a series of dissertations loosely linked together." So he decided "to resolve it into its elements." The third edition ran into twelve volumes dealing with these three main subjects—the principle of magic and the evolution of the sacred King from the magician or medicine man, the principles of Taboo and their relation to the sacred King, and the ritual of the dying god.

His curiosity, thoroughness when studying a problem and the patience which never left him, led to the collection and classification of a vast amount of cross-cultural data, some from very recondite sources. Frazer's main contribution to Anthropology lies here and not in the theories he formulated. His information came not only from books and from accounts of travellers, missionaries and administrators, but also from men in the field. He was a source of inspiration and encouragement to them, even though he never went to the field himself. This was the period of the arm-chair anthropologists, who interpreted facts recorded by men in the field, and formulated theories. Except for Lewis. Morgan who had visited the Iroquois tribe in New York State, none of the other anthropologists of this first period had visited any primitive tribe. They did not think it necessary. It is said that when Frazer was asked about the natives he had seen, he exclaimed, "But Heaven Forbid!"

Still, the work of Fison and Howitt and Spencer and Gillen in Australia, the Cambridge expedition led by A. C.

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Haddon to the Torres Straits, and the work of Junod, Roscoe and Rattray in Africa were carried on under the spiritual guidance of Frazer. His queries, comments and suggestions guided and encouraged them.

Although Frazer never saw his savages, their homes or their rituals, he was able to recreate scenes of those distant lands and times and bring them vividly before the reader's mind. Malinowski says in his appreciation of Frazer that only those who later went out into those strange and distant places realized how true and graphic had been his description. His style was simple, clear and had a literary finish, and at times rose to the level of great poetry. He created a vivid and dramatic narrative out of what might have been dull ethnographic data and attracted a wider reading public. He tells us that, in the 3rd edition of the *Golden Bough* he decided to discard its austere form, and by "casting it in a more artistic mould" he hoped to attract readers who otherwise might have been "repelled by a more strictly logical and systematic arrangement of facts."

His vivid and interesting narrative also attracted more students to the subject. Malinowski has said that his first love for ethnology is associated with the reading of the *Golden Bough*, and these graphic descriptions, created in him, as it did in some others, a desire for first-hand experience of the strange and the exotic, thus paving the way for the next phase in the history of Anthropology—the period of field-studies.



Ananda W. P. Guruge

Further the oldest historical tradition of Ceylon, incorporated in the two chronicles *Dipavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, speaks of a city called *Lankapura* in Ceylon, prior to the entry of the Aryans. Peopled by Yaksas and Nagas, Ceylon was at that time a fairly well-organised kingdom, whose king was killed by Vijaya with the aid of Kuvanna. The authenticity of the name of the city is borne out by the fact that the two chronicles do not show any familiarity with the Ramayana or its story. Later traditions, recorded in the *Rajavaliya*, not only date the Rama-Ravana war as 1844 years before the Buddha but also say that the castle of Ravana was subsequently swallowed up by the sea. Tamil tradition too speaks of an area in Ceylon called *Ilankai* which was to the south-east of Trincomalee on the east coast of the Island; it was washed off by the sea and its name was extended to mean the whole Island.² S. Krishnaswami

2. V. Ilankai's Tamil Dictionary; s v. Ilankai.

Aiyangar observes that the Tamil literature contains a few references earlier than the Buddhist tradition, which associate the Island with the story of the Ramayana.³ Thus if tradition is relied upon there is no difficulty in identifying *Lanka* with Ceylon.

But a criticism against it is that the traditional legends could have arisen later as a result of the spread of the story; thus Arthur Berriedale Keith says that "it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the identification of the more or less mythical *Lanka* with Ceylon is the product of the spread of the poem."⁴

However, it may be worthwhile to analyse the geographical data as regards *Lanka*, occurring in the Ramayana. It is clearly an island in the ocean and the words used to represent the surrounding waters are specifically those used for the ocean. The city of *Lanka*, which too was called by the same name, was situated on the peak of Trikuta mountain. Two recensions of the epic refer to a mountain by the name of Malaya in *Lanka*. This is a very important fact for the identification of *Lanka* with Ceylon because Malaya was exactly the name of the central hill country of Ceylon; in fact, it was marked by Ptolemy in his map as *Malaea*.

Two more citations in the Ramayana—though actually in later parts—are informative. In the fourth Kanda where Sugriva, the monkey king, describes the southern direction, it is said that in the ocean was an island of a hundred Yojanas, which is, however, not named. It is quite obviously *Lanka* although its name is not mentioned here so as to leave room for the adventures of Hanuman and his party in their search for *Lanka*. Its position is clearly outlined and the only Island which appears to satisfy the geographical conditions described in this canto is Ceylon. Again, in the seventh book of the Ramayana, the wars of Rama are referred to as having taken place *Paresamudrasya* (literally, beyond the sea); although this expression may be explained literally, its identity with the old name of Ceylon, *Palaesimundu*, (*Parasamudra*) cannot be altogether denied.

In addition to these, the data on the social conditions in Ramayana also seem to suggest that *Lanka* of the epic is a creation based on the actual conditions of Ceylon with which the Indian author or authors were familiar due to the lively contact between the two countries since Mauryan times.

3. Aiyangar: Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (1921) p. 68.

4. Keith: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1915) p. 324.

Even the glorious descriptions of *Lanka* as abounding in gems may be a conscious representation of the fame of Ceylon for precious stones. It should also be noted that the epic depicts *Lanka* as having an organized city-life, which the records—though legendary—of the pre-historic times of Ceylon seem to justify. According to the Mahavamsa, the capital of Ceylon under the Yaksas was *Lankapura* (Lanka-city) as opposed to *Anuradhagama* (Anuradha-village), the seat of government of the Aryan regime.

Besides, the references to *Caityaprasadas* of *Lanka* which are reminiscent of the peculiar architectural design of the early Buddhist monuments of Ceylon cannot be dismissed as of no significance and must be considered as throwing much light on the relationship between Ceylon and Ravana's Lanka. These *Caityaprasadas* of Ravana's city are throughout distinguished from the *Caityas* of Northern India. The findings of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon seem to shed a flood of light on this subject. A number of pillars around the earliest *stupa* or *Caitya* of Ceylon (*i.e.*, Thuparama at Anuradhapura) indicate that there was a mansion over the *Caitya* in the form of a *Vata-da-ge*—a common structure in the Buddhist architecture of Ceylon.⁵

To sum up, even those who reject as not proven the identity of Ravana's Lanka with Ceylon should have no difficulty in agreeing that the epic representation of Ravana's island was, to a great extent, influenced by the actual geographical and social conditions of Ceylon which were apparently within the ken of the authors of the Ramayana. The data under notice appear to relate to the conditions in Ceylon at the period when the Ramayana was composed rather than to pre-Aryan conditions.

5. A model of the Thuparama in its supposed original form was exhibited in the stall of the Archaeological Dept., at the Colombo Exhibition, Feb.-March, 1952.





CLASSICAL DANCE-DRAMA IN BHARATA NATYA

E. Krishna Iyer

THE uniqueness of ancient Indian genius had been in the creation, development and extensive use of fine arts to refine and ennoble humanity, by inculcating into the life of the masses a love of God, good conduct and aesthetic sense through them. Unfortunately, more of such art treasures have been lost or forgotten than preserved or remembered in our country. Even the few that still survive lie neglected in nooks and corners. Man does not live by bread alone. Any all round national regeneration in free India requires attention to be paid as much to the development of art and culture as to political and economic welfare of the people. Our national Government too seems to be aware of this and is taking some steps in that direction. Under these circumstances, it is up to all genuine connoisseurs to search out still surviving arts and bring them to public notice. The classical dance-drama of the Bhagavata Mela tradition in Bharata Natya technique, which is struggling for survival in the Tanjore District, is one such rare art of great value.

Its revival and popularisation will reveal, that Bharata Natya as such is not confined to or exhausted by the solo Sadir-nautch of women (now widely known as Bharata Natya) and that it has a dramatic form too, with many male and female characters expounding great Puranic stories and *rasas* other than *sringara* as well. As a matter of fact, Bharata Natya is a comprehensive and generic system of classical dance, the principles and technique of which are closely applied to three chief forms, namely, (1) the lyrical solo Sadir-nautch (2) the epic Bhagavata Mela dance-drama and (3) the lighter *Kuravanji* ballet.

The Bhagavata Mela dance-drama tradition seems to have been in vogue in this country from the 11th century A.D., if not earlier. It is known to have come into prominence in South India from the time of Thirthanarayana Yogi, the author of Krishna Leela Tharangini, who lived at Varahur in the Tanjore District, about 300 years ago. According to him and his followers, devotion to God through fine arts

became perfect only when it was expressed through a combination of music, dance and Abhinaya in drama, expounding the philosophic truths of the Bhagavata lore. Among his followers of later generations, Venkatrama Sastriar was a great composer, who lived at Melatur 150 years ago, as a senior contemporary of Saint Tyagaraja and wrote about 12 dance-dramas of high artistry.

These plays were being enacted year after year as a part of temple festivals in the months of May and June, in six Tanjore villages, namely, Melatur, Soolamangalam, Oothukad, Saliyamangalam, Nallur and Theperamanallur. A somewhat similar tradition was in vogue in the Kuchupudi village also in the Kistna District of Andhra Desa. The allied art of Yaksha-Gana was prevalent in Kannada areas. It is a pity, that after a glorious existence, till the recent past, this great Bhagavata Mela art is now found kept up in an attenuated form only in Melatur and has been allowed to virtually die out in all the other villages.

On being invited to inaugurate the dance-drama festivals at Soolamangalam in 1950 and at Melatur in 1951, '52 and '53, I had opportunities to witness and study this art closely.

Melatur is a small village situated in the interior about 8 miles from Tanjore town. With a branch of the Cauvery river flowing nearby and with fertile rice fields and water-ponds all around, the village has beautiful surroundings. It is said to have been given as a gift by Achyuthappa Naick, a former king of Tanjore, to 510 Brahmin families, each with a house, a water-well and about 12 acres of cultivable land, presumably for the purpose of developing the Bhagavata Mela art. The village contains 7 or 8 long and regular streets, in one of which is the Varadaraja Perumal temple. As a part of its annual Narasimha Jayanthi celebrations in May and June, the dance-drama festival also is conducted. A flat thatched pandal about 100 feet in length and a small stage at its eastern end are put up in the street in front of the temple and the dramas are enacted in the presence of the decorated deity installed in the front hall of the temple. The vast crowds of devotees and art lovers who assemble, squat on the street floor inside the pandal and witness the shows, which commence at 9-30 p.m. and close with the early hours of the morning.

In addition to the four usual dramas, namely, Prahlada, Markandeya, Usha and Rukmangada annually enacted, Harisandra also was put on boards as a new feature of

this year. It was said, that God Varadaraja put one of the dancer-actors into a trance and commanded through him, that this play, neglected for long, should be enacted this year. Surprisingly enough, it proved to be the most brilliant show of the season and its unexpected success was widely believed to be the result of obedience to the Lord's command!

Though the artistry of the present day dance-dramas is not so high as it used to be in the days of the last generation of veterans like Melatur Natesa Iyer (my guru), Soolamangalam Sitarama Bhagavata and Oothukad Swami Bhagavata, it has still many interesting features. It is a marvel, how even in its present attenuated condition, high class music, Abhinaya and *Nattuvangam* (rhythmic direction for dance) are still intact. Throughout all the dramas, the music that I heard, was of pure Carnatic tradition, rich in *ragabhava*, graceful and melodious in presentation and moving in its appeal. *Padya*, *Gadya*, *Dharu*, *Sabdha* and *Dvipada* were among the many musical forms employed in the dramas. Some of the Dharus sounded majestically like the bigger kritis of Tyagaraja. Be it remembered, that they were composed by Venkatrama Sastriar before Tyagaraja brought out his master-pieces. Some other songs were as exquisite as the padas (love lyrics) of Kshetragnya. Dialogues and soliloquies in fine diction were also to be found providing *Vachika*.

Almost all the songs and speeches were interpreted in Abhinaya; and rhythmic nuances with well-knit *adavu jathis* were frequently intertwined in the songs. The *Sollukkattus* and *Thirmanams* (dance syllables) for the dances were rendered in tune with *sruthi* and hence they sounded like another form of melodious music. The Abhinaya throughout was pure and *shastraic* and elaborate too with plentiful *kalpana*. Comic interest too was added occasionally to relieve the high tension of the serious classical atmosphere. In short, Bharata's conception of Natya evolved 2,000 years ago, can be said to live still in these Bhagavata Mela dance-dramas.

The plays are all in the Telugu language. All the characters, including feminine ones, are personated only by young men. Age-long religious and social conventions do not allow women to mix with men on the stage. One cannot pretend to admire classical art and at the same time decry such conventions long associated with it, in India.

Balasubramanya Sastri, otherwise called Balu Bhagavatar, is the aged and well experienced conductor of these dance-dramas. With inherited talents in music, as the grandson of Vidwan Ganesa Bhagavatar, he has had training also in it under the famous Sundara Bhagavatar and Krishna Bhagavatar of Tyagaraja's *sishya parampara*. Having got the knowledge and experience of the dance-drama tradition from his illustrious predecessors like Venkatrama Bhagavatar and Natesa Iyer of Melatur, he has been keeping it up without a break after them. He is well versed in scriptural lore as well as Bharata Natya Sastra. All the same he is a simple *Vaidik* following *acharas* strictly. He is much respected in the village. He has two chief music assistants in Messrs. K. Subramania Iyer and P. K. Subba Iyer to provide vocal music of a superior order. They are supported by a suitable orchestra of instrumental music including flute and mridangam. The most noteworthy feature about the dance-drama troupe is, that all the dancer-actors lead a life of religious austerity during the festival and play their parts as a devout offering to their God, without any thought for individual fame or profit.

Mr. Ganesa Iyer, a landlord, and his family are in charge of the secular arrangements for the festival and at great expense to themselves, lavish the proverbial village hospitality on all visitors from outside, by providing them with free lodging, boarding and other creature comforts. Mrs. Rita Chatterjee of Bengal (a fine Manipuri dancer), Mr. Ranga Vital of Bombay (a Kathak expert), Mrs. Indrani Rahaman of Delhi, Mr. Nala Najan of New York and Kumari Nirmala of Madras (all Bharata Natya artistes) and Kalakshepam Vidwan Embar Vijayaraghavachariar were some of the distinguished visitors who attended and enjoyed the shows this year.

On the whole, the classical art of the Tanjore Bhagavata Mela dance-drama, though surviving only at Melatur, is worth witnessing and deserves to be studied and popularised. With more and more public patronage, it is sure to be improved. Most of the defects now found therein seem to be due to the want of a proper theatre with sufficient space and arrangements for effective showmanship. They can be remedied and the shows can be made more attractive, if such a theatre is put up, as a memorial to Venkatrama Sastriar, the great composer of the dance-dramas, on the piece of land, where he is said to have had his living house at Melatur.

The few still surviving veterans, like Balu Bhagavatar, may be brought over to urban areas like Madras, Tanjore and Kumbakonam and their services may be utilised to train young men and women (already versed in Bharata Natya technique), in these dance-dramas also and to expound the latter art through them.

Anyway, this rare art of the classical dance-drama form of Bharata Natya is now found in the same predicament of struggling for survival, as Sadir-natya was in the 1920s, when the great Melatur Natesa Iyer initiated me into it and inspired me to work for its renaissance. It is doubtful, whether the Bhagavata Mela tradition will survive after the aging Balu Bhagavatar even at Melatur. Hence urgent steps have to be taken forthwith to preserve and encourage this glorious art, the richest legacy of our forefathers among Indian fine arts.



HILAIRE BELLOC

Lucian de Zilwa

BELLOC was not a bookish recluse like Voltaire, but a full-blooded man, keen on every form of out-door activity. He was a Christian with a pagan appetite for enjoying life. The writing of books appears not to have held a high place in his estimation. "What!" he exclaims, "here we are with the jolly world of God all around us, able to sing, to draw, to paint, to hammer and build, to sail, to ride horses, to leap!" Happy were the days when, with his hand at the helm, he sailed along the coasts of England, France and Ireland, exploring their creeks and coves. His writings are full of descriptions of the sea, of mountains and rivers and cities, and of people encountered on the way. One of his books of verse is devoted to the praise of wine, with curses on the drinkers of water. In the "Path to Rome" he tells of a man who was a drunkard, and how he weaned him. He advised him to drink nothing that had been made and sold since the Reformation. "Let him drink red wine and white, good beer and mead, liqueur made by monks, and confirming beverages that our fathers drank in old time; but not whiskey, nor brandy nor sparkling wines, nor absinth, nor the kind of drink called gin." The Reformation was an obsession with him. All the evils which came upon England and the rest of Europe, "determinism, capitalism, socialism, vegetarianism, teetotalism, and other afflictions amid which we sit and hear one another groan," were outcrops of the Reformation.

It has been well said that to Belloc writing was not a substitute for living, but an extension of it. And yet, the man who would rather do things than write about them produced more than a hundred books, just as Carlyle preached the gospel of silence in forty volumes. But it was by his pen he had to earn his living, and one might apply to him what he said of Ronsard: He had that power which our anaemic age can hardly comprehend, of writing, writing, writing without fear of exhaustion, without irritability or self-criticism.

No general reader can be expected to go through a hundred books by one author, except for some special reason, without neglecting others not less worthy of attention. And it was a happy thought to commemorate Belloc's eightieth birthday in 1950 by the issue of an anthology of his prose and verse, and of a volume of selected essays. He wrote a large number of historical portraits, studies of Napoleon; Cromwell, Wolsey, Cranmer, Robespierre, Danton, William the Conqueror, Richelieu, Louis XIV etc., of which I have read the first two, and wish I had time for the others. But if I were allowed to choose only three books I should select *The Path to Rome*, *The Bad Child's Book of beasts*, and the *Cautionary Tales*, as presenting the quintessence of Belloc. Mr. A. P. Herbert, whose weekly contributions to *Punch* we eagerly await, is himself a master of the craft of writing light verse, and here is his verdict on the *Cautionary Tales*. "There you find that perfection of form that we old-fashioned fellows still regard as valuable. There is no sense of strain or confinement. Everything the writer wishes to say is said, but every word and every rhyme is as precisely fitted into its place as the stones of an arch."

Belloc was even more than Kipling a man's writer. There is no love-interest in any of his books. Apart from his *History of England*, his portraits, and sociological studies, he wrote essays on *Something*, on *Anything*, on *Everything*, and on *Nothing*. Events have proved that he was ahead of his generation in reading the signs of the times, and by observation of the trend of political thought, predicting the birth of Servile State, such as we have seen under Hitler and Lenin. His book, *The Servile State*, was published in 1912, and was generally considered to be unduly pessimistic. He declared that Europe was drifting along to "shoot Niagara," and that the individual would be annihilated in States with committees, and plans, and forced labour, and concentration camps. With his friend G. K. Chesterton he waged war on the plutocrats of Park Lane who flourished in the Edwardian era; but their glory has now departed, and the money and the power are in the hands of the masses and their leaders. His bright sword flashed unceasingly in the fight against atheism, materialism, and communism.

"Life is sweet, brother: there is the wind on the heath brother," said the Romany chal. And Belloc to loved a high wind.. "It is health in us to be full of healthiness."

and of the joy of the world: and whether we have such health our comfort in a great wind is a good test indeed."

In an article on Norman Douglas a critic comments on the brilliant style of certain writers to whom English was a foreign language. He thought the conscious effort and concentration on expression prevented the slipshod carelessness of a native writer. (There would however be a certain lack of spontaneity). He mentions Conrad and Belloc as other examples. A correspondent pointed out that, although Belloc was the son of a French barrister, his mother was an Englishwoman, and he had an English nurse. Further, Belloc was a small child when his father died, and he was brought to England. He was educated in Newman's Oratory School in Birmingham, but he spent his summer holidays every year with his French grand-mother. After he left school he served in a French regiment of artillery, and must therefore have been familiar with the literary and colloquial language. One can imagine him singing with gusto the Rabelaisian Chansons de Regiment, with their naughty words. He entered Balliol rather late, at the age of twenty-three, and two years later obtained first class honours in the history schools.

Conrad did not want to write in Polish, because it was understood by only a few million people. He hesitated between English and French, and chose the former. For the same reason, Princess Bibesco, instead of writing in her native Roumanian, has made her name in French literature. Douglas was born in Austria, where his grand-father had established a cotton mill. He did not like Uppingham, and was transferred to Karlsruhe at the age of fifteen. His first publications were in German, but later he was recognised as a polished writer of English. In spite of Belloc's familiarity with French one has not heard of his having written anything in that language.

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

Alan Bird

'A man ought to read just as inclination leads him; for what he reads as a task will do him little good'

(Dr. Johnson as quoted by Boswell).

VOLTAIRE and Rousseau! How those very names conjure up for us the French eighteenth century, the Age of ~~Reason~~, the Century of Reasonable Doubt! And perhaps they have much more than historical significance in literature and philosophy. For basically they represent two opposing temperaments, two opposing schools of thought, two contrasting beliefs in human nature; Voltaire, the wit and sceptic with no great faith in quick human progress or revolutionary changes of thought; Rousseau, the great prophet of progress, advocate of feeling and sentiment, the emotional thinker.

How many people today read the philosophical works of either Rousseau or Voltaire? French students will certainly have to plunge into selected passages but the ordinary reader trembles before the 'Nouvelle Heloise' or the 'Contrat Social,' and instead turns to his shelves and reaches for 'The Confessions' of Rousseau, and 'Candide' of Voltaire. And the common reader is right for these two books, in form as well as matter so different, are typical of their authors, typical of the age; and both are enjoyable and enduring works of literature. As it happens the 'Confessions' have lately been published in a new translation and without senseless cuts; the translator is J. M. Cohen. 'Candide,' too, is available in a translation by John Butt. These translators have taken heed of the remark of Dryden on his version of Juvenal, 'I have endeavoured to make him speak that kind of English, which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age.'

Voltaire was a great wit; and it may be objected that a great wit has no heart. At first that seems true of Voltaire, especially in 'Candide,' but he had a heart, and a compassionate heart, and pity is the motive-spring of the book. Throughout his life Voltaire had known great success as

a writer of tragedies, verse such as 'La Henriade,' historical works such as his 'Century of Louis XIV,' philosophical works such as his 'Philosophic Dictionary,' his 'Philosophic Letters,' and the 'Essay on Customs;' and, too, he knew persecution and imprisonment and the life of an exile when in the middle of his life he was forced to flee to Switzerland where he was at last safe from the persecutions of the French church and state. He mixed with the great, residing for a while with Frederick the Great, rarely, however, feeling very secure, and with reason, for he was once beaten by the orders of an angry aristocrat. Fortune did not spoil him nor did persecution embitter him, and ~~he died~~ in 1778, at the age of eighty-four, a celebrated, honoured and contented old man. 'Candide' was written in 1758, in his later and brilliant years, when by thought and experience he was qualified to write such a fable with its sub-title of 'Optimism.'

Candide is a lad who lives at the country home of Baron Thunder-ten-tronckh in Westphalia and who because he makes love to the Baron's daughter Cunegonde, described briefly as 'a buxom girl of seventeen with a fresh, rosy complexion, altogether seductive,' is obliged to leave and wander about the world. In every part of the globe he meets misfortunes and troubles. Fortunately he has the consolation of a philosophy he learnt in his youth. The source of this wisdom is Pangloss, (a tutor employed by the Baron for his son), a sage who is recognised in the household as an authority in all branches of learning. Pangloss's philosophy is the key to the whole book . . . 'metaphysicotheologo-cosmologynigology,' and he proves conclusively that there is not effect without a cause. 'It is proved,' he says, 'that things cannot be other than they are, for since everything was made for a purpose, it follows that everything is made for the best purpose. Observe: our noses were made to carry spectacles, so we have spectacles. Legs were clearly intended for breeches, and we wear them . . . it follows that those who maintain that all is right talk nonsense; they ought to say that all is for the best.' This is the philosophy by which Candide is nurtured and in all his travels and adventures he never abandons it. Towards the end of the story all the characters meet again—miraculously still alive—but, as we can see, it is not this philosophy which has sustained them but our natural and happily incurable optimism. Of course, this kind of satirical fantasy is common in eighteenth

century literature; we have the same thing in 'Gulliver's Travels' and Dr. Johnson's 'Rasselas.' Only Voltaire's story shines by its wit and good-sense and brevity and has more than historical value in literature.

A compassionate heart is behind all the humour. There seems nothing especially wrong with Pangloss's philosophy—it is often preached today—when it is examined rationally; one feels that it is wrong because it forces man to accept all that happens to him and his fellow-humans, it is opposed to all social reform, to all improvement in standards of living. Voltaire felt and knew that it was wrong; he was disgusted with the futility, the stupidity of this philosophy which was so fashionable in his day; he saw that the philosophy he satirised in Pangloss was not adequate and that all is certainly not for the best. Human suffering moved and bewildered Voltaire (he wrote a poem on the terrible earthquake at Lisbon in 1755) and he could not believe that all suffering was necessarily for the best. This was how he said the 'All for the Best' school had explained the Lisbon earthquake in which fifty-thousand people lost their lives: 'the heirs of the dead would now come into their fortunes, masons would grow rich in rebuilding the city, beasts would grow fat on corpses buried in the ruins; such is the natural effect of natural causes. So don't worry about your own particular evil; you are contributing to the general good.' "No! No!", cried Voltaire in indignation, "Man can control nature, he must not submit to everything in the belief that all is for the best; his own natural optimism will show him that there is hope for the future." As Pope (who was a kindred spirit) wrote:

'Hope springs eternal in the human breast.'

And the moral of the book is given at the end when a character says, 'Let us work without arguing; that's the only way to make life bearable.' More work and less argument is the advice Voltaire gives us in this classic of wit, satire and sympathy.

Voltaire said he detested Rousseau's 'Nouvelle Heloise'; and, as for the 'Contrat Social,' towards the end of his life Rousseau said he did not understand it himself; the 'Confessions,' on the other hand, are surely comprehensible to every reader and even the passionate Voltaire must surely have admitted its quality. In autobiographical literature as Voltaire's 'Candide' in satire, it is a recognised masterpiece. Before the 'Confessions' there had been few personae

revelations in literature; nobody had thought of writing down the entire truth about himself. Rousseau changed all that and since his day the personal element has penetrated into fiction and such works as 'David Copperfield' and 'The Way of all flesh,' are recognized as disguised autobiography and also as legitimate novels. But then Rousseau changed so many things. He questioned man's place in society and the nature of the social institutions of his day in a forthright way. He was a master of controversial writing, probably because he was so single-minded and self-convinced, yet when he came to actually expound his theories of the development of society ~~and~~ the original, blissful state of humanity he was vague as if he was not so sure of himself. He liked the simple country life and found himself mixing in the highest society; he did not believe in the reason and was always in the company of the rationalists of his day; he painted a glowing picture of human nature and yet rather disliked and feared his fellow-men. In his 'Confessions' he never spares himself and, it might be said, he doesn't spare his readers either. For Rousseau does not leave us in ignorance on any feature of his life, perhaps going to the other extreme and exaggerating his own sinfulness. As a result the 'Confessions' form a great human document—very few men had been so frank about themselves before, and few have been as honest since.

What is wonderful about the 'Confessions' is that Rousseau sees everything, the past as well as the present, in bright, clean colours, exactly as though it were happening before his eyes. The single-mindedness which made him a great controvertialist is here used in recalling and presenting the past. Rarely do we better understand or feel closer to a writer! We feel his changes of mood, his illnesses, his disappointments and his regrets in these pages of recollections. A man entirely swayed by his emotions, and suffering from constant ill-health, he was all the more sensitive to changes in people and places. When he was happy, he was very, very happy; when he was miserable, he was often mentally unbalanced; and his sense of persecution clouds the later books of the 'Confessions.' There is no reason to believe that he was persecuted as he so frequently alleges. When he remembers his happy years in the country or the shocking incidents of his youth (and he seems to have forgotten nothing), he does so with a sympathy for landscape and setting that reminds us of Wordsworth. He had, in

fact, something of the Wordsworthian nostalgia for a once-known paradise of blessed innocence, for a simple life among simple people. Elsewhere he expresses his beliefs in the innocence of childhood and the value of primitive society (about which he knew very little); in the 'Confessions,' he is content to let events speak for themselves, he describes and recreates, he rarely attempts to philosophise; events and people are simply described as he encountered them. And when we close the 'Confessions' we realize with amazement that this is the man whose educational, political and social theories revolutionised Western thought, whose influence is not dead today, and one of whose sayings is quoted in many parts of the world by people who have never heard the name of Rousseau—for Chapter I of the 'Contrat Social' begins, 'L'homme est né libre et partout il est dans les fers'.... 'Man is born free and is everywhere in chains....'

Rousseau wrote fluently although the later books are somewhat loose in style, and he used more and more the annoying rhetorical manner favoured by his age. Mr. Cohen's translation is in everyway successful and his notes illuminating. He might have told us a little more about some of the characters—for instance, what exactly was the occupation of Mme. de Warens and how did she end up?—and I think he is wrong when on page 505 he ascribes the novel, 'Princess of Cleves' to Mme. de Sevigne; the author was surely Mme. de Lafayette.

How strangely alike then are Voltaire and Rousseau—Voltaire with all his faith in reason emphasising the value of work and human optimism and the emptiness of over-much argument—Rousseau with all his belief in emotion also emphasising the value of work (he made his living by copying music), and recognizing the strength of human optimism and the shallowness of much argument. Really, they both had such great faith in human nature and in human progress. And again, Marcel Proust tells us that, 'The lamentable and magnificent family of neurotics form the salt of the earth. It is they, and not others, who have founded the religions and composed the great works of art. The world will never know what it owes to them, nor what they have suffered to be able to create thus . . . ' and, in this sense, both Voltaire and Rousseau are members of the same family, nervous, excitable, and not at all backward in telling us how to behave ourselves. A really normal lover is content to love and doesn't have the urge to philosophise to others

on the nature of love—Rousseau and Voltaire were neither of them just content to live—they also wanted to show others how to live. Rousseau gives us the example of his own life with its failures and successes. The truth is they were both writers of genius. Voltaire, the sceptic who believes that nature cannot be changed much (despite the efforts of the thinkers in vogue), writes to convert people to his views; and Rousseau who believes that the emotions count more than the reason also writes to convert—though how many people read or think with their emotions he does not say. The two men are paradoxes; Voltaire, the rationalist, no less than Rousseau, the emotionalist; they are also born writers who were never fully happy without pens in their hands and empty sheets of paper before them.

Voltaire earned fame with his tragedy on the theme of Oedipus and Rousseau had some knowledge of the classics; it is surprising that neither of them theorised more about the Greek legends. It was left for Sigmund Freud in the present century to investigate the legends and to seize upon the Oedipus story as a kind of proof of his theory of infantile sexuality. The collection of legends told by Mr. Rex Warner called 'Men and Gods' has already been praised in these pages and it is a pleasure to welcome a new volume called 'Greeks and Trojans.' Mr. Warner deals mainly with stories of the ten-years war between the Greeks and Romans, the stories of Paris and Leda, Helen and Achilles. His style of narrative, as in the earlier volume, is excellently sober, he lets the stories speak for themselves and they are enthralling. A knowledge of these tales is essential to an understanding of Greek drama and, possibly, to a study of the Greeks themselves, for embodied in their legends are fragments of their history. Some day we shall have a good dictionary of classical references not merely giving a few facts about the central figures of Greek mythology but also showing the relationship of one person to another. It would be intriguing to have a full account of the House of Cadmus or of Atreus, not merely unconnected snippets about separate figures.

Psychologists are well treated of late for the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud have appeared in English and a book has also appeared on the psychology of Jung. Freud studied the Greek myths and advanced several explanations of them. Jung also studied them. Freud is dead and many of his theories are already widely accepted by people who

do not know their author; Jung is still living and not so well-known as Freud. One might say not so notorious for Freud is best known for his theories of sexuality, whereas Jung, in his studies of the human psyche, has tended to a more spiritual view. He first used the terms, 'introvert' and 'extravert,' terms sometimes bandied about by people who do not understand their significance. 'An Introduction to Jung's Psychology' is therefore needed and welcome.

This study of Jung's psychology by Miss Frieda Fordham has an introduction by Jung himself. It is a small book and not only is it the first study of Jung that has included all aspects of his work, but also it explains them simply and effectively; it is then an important work. Jung places all humans into several main psychological types and he considers it important that everyone should know to which main type they belong; like the Greeks he believes that happiness lies in self-knowledge. Jung's theories on 'Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious' are interesting because he believes certain feelings persist through the ages, dark shadows which affect our lives even today. Some of these dark shadows are related in the Greek legends and they are the foundation of much of the world's literature. But obviously these few remarks hardly do justice to Jung's work and the book by Miss Fordham must be studied by all readers interested in psychology and mental health. Sufficient to say, that anyone who feels there is a need for deeper understanding of human nature (and literature and the arts are manifestations of our nature) will wish to read this valuable addition to works which help us to understand ourselves and others; and with such understanding the world will certainly be a happier place—how Rousseau and Voltaire must be smiling far away in the Elysian fields!

BOOKS MENTIONED:—

"Candide," translated by John Butt

Rousseau's "Confessions," translated by J. M. Cohen.

"Greeks and Trojans," by Rex Warner.

"An Introduction to Jung's Psychology," by Frieda Fordham.

STATESMEN-SCHOLARS BOTH

Xavier S. Thani Nayagam
Editor, Tamil Culture

THIS YEAR we have had occasion to remember two great personalities who were embodiments of Tamil Culture. One died in South India four months ago, at the age of sixty-one, leaving behind a sense of loss and regret that will take many years to diminish. The other died in Ceylon, twenty years ago, and the Tamils in Ceylon are not yet reconciled to the loss they have sustained in his death.

The late Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, and the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam the centenary of whose birth a grateful people celebrate this year, were both statesmen-scholars, both parliamentarians, both patriots and the finest fruits of the ever ancient and ever new culture that is the most precious heritage of the Tamil-speaking peoples. Both had by birth, by education, and by circumstance abundant opportunity to serve the cause of the Tamils and to promote their learning and their cultural heritage, and both used their opportunities so well that today they deserve to be the luminous examples that will alter the attitudes of this lethargic and unimpressionable generation. Both considered the causes they represented greater than their own personal interests. Both played their parts in a world context not usually the privilege of those who speak the Tamil tongue. And their understanding of the fundamentals of Tamil Culture was such that both of them, far from being communal, offered their very best to the country and to the common national cause.

The late Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, or R. K. S. as he was so affectionately referred to by high and low in the Tamil country, devoted himself unstintedly to the cause of Tamil Culture. Tamil Nad has cause to remember him for many brilliant achievements and for a life dedicated to causes dear to his people. As member of the Madras Legislative Council, as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, as Secretary of the Swarajya party, as Dewan of Cochin, as first Finance Minister of the Republic of India, he so distinguished himself by his ability as a parliamentarian, speaker and debater that he was the pride of the Tamil South. In his visits

to the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries as member of India's special delegations and missions, he was at the same time an ambassador of Tamil Culture. He gave such leadership and he was so synonymous with everything Tamil that the news of his death threw every lover of Tamil Culture into consternation, for the South had lost its most powerful representative.

There was no branch of Tamil learning or no aspect of the life of the Tamil peoples in which he was not interested. He sought to encourage Tamil studies not only in the universities of the South, but also in the traditional Tamil manner by a patronage of individual poets, writers and journalists. Even during his last days, he was engaged in a prayerful study of the *Periyapuranam* in the company of the veteran scholar and commentator, C. K. Subramaniya Mudaliyar.

He was aware that the Tamil Revival required a renaissance in creative writing, in sound scholarship and in the Fine Arts if it was to be of lasting benefit to the inheritors of Tamil Culture. He was not only a patron of literary enterprise but himself showed the way of a new, easy and fresh interpretation to the classics with his annotated edition of the *Silappadikaram*. One of his greatest desires towards the fulfilment of which he took steps as soon as he accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Annamalai University was to see a critical edition of *Kamba Ramayanam*. He identified himself with the Tamil Isai Movement from its very inception, and his patronage of the Tamil Arts inspired enthusiasm and co-operation among all sections and communities.

He was a great lover of his native city, renowned in Tamil history and Tamil literature, Coimbatore, the present status and dignity of which are not a little due to his civic sense and his local patriotism. Above all as a man, he was known for his interest in all communities and persons of every caste and creed, for his fairness, for his tolerance, and for the serene and unruffled equanimity he brought to bear on all controversial questions. Tamil Nad has bred few men in our generation that deserved the praise and tribute of our people as Dr. Shanmukham Chetty. It has been said that he was the only minister, who like the ideal ministers outlined in our gnostic verses, could stand up to, advise or admonish the uncrowned king that is the present Prime Minister of India. It cannot be regretted enough that men and man-made circumstances did not permit him to serve longer in the interests of the Republic of India. He was the one who

with the advent of a Tamil State would have been its undisputed leader. His premature demise is tragic for Tamil Nad.

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Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was one of those few refined scholars of this century to whom it has been given to sound the depths of Tamil wisdom and enjoy the heights of beauty attained by Tamil literature and the Tamil Fine Arts. With the background of his Western education and with the aid of his knowledge of Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, not to mention English and French, Sir Arunachalam had the enviable advantage of appraising the value and place of Tamil Culture in the context of World Culture.

His Tamil learning was not in a little measure responsible for the deep-seated love he had for the progress and prosperity of Ceylon and the Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon. While his brilliant career as a statesman and patriot is familiar to the people of Ceylon, they are not so familiar with the aspect of his life that represents his scholarship and his devotion to Tamil studies. Many of his speeches reveal a mind steeped in the traditional Tamil lore, and the classicism of his language and the brevity, precision and uncton characteristic of his style, were not a little due to his familiarity with Tamil poets. As President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) and as President of the Ceylon University Association, he contributed greatly to the cultural life of the island and to creating interest in Tamiliana.

There is no better evidence of his scholarship, of his vast erudition and of his interest in his mother-tongue than the volume from his pen modestly entitled "*Studies and Translations, Philosophical and Religious*," (The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd. 1937). The studies unfold a variety of topics but in each one of them the reader will note a thorough and critical examination of the subject matter. Whether he speaks of Eastern ideals in education or finds Hellenic memories in the purity of line and the perfection of proportion in the Siva temple of Polonnaruwa or traces the history of the worship of Muruka in Ceylon, Sir P. Arunachalam is endowed with an erudition and poise that even professional scholars may envy. His translations of poems from the *Purananuru*, of Nakkirar, of Manikka Vachakar, Tayumanavar, are classical renderings of poems that influenced his life and fired his imagination.

For the benefit of readers who may not have an occasion to read Sir P. Arunachalam's book, we give below a few paragraphs of his commentary on the second poem of *Purananuru*, while apologising on behalf of our printers who regret that just now they are unable to reproduce passages in the original Greek. The poem is a panegyric addressed to the munificent Cera king, Utiyancheralatan who is said to have fed the armies of the Pandavas and Kauravas of the Mahabharatha war.

"It is interesting to compare the poem" says Sir Arunachalam, "with similar odes of a nearly contemporary Latin poet, Horace, who, in the opinion of Quintilian, "almost alone of lyrists is worthy to be read," and whose odes, more than any other of his writings, display, as a later critic has said, the charm of "exquisite aptness of language and a style perfect for fulness of suggestion, combined with brevity and grace." Take, e.g., the panegyrics addressed to the Emperor Augustus (Odes 14 and 15 of Book IV). Compare:-

நின்கடற் பிறந்த ஞாயிறு பெயர்த்துநின்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
யாணர் வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொருந்

"Warrior-king of the good land of wealth ever new in whose western sea of the white-headed ocean the sun born in thy sea laves," with

Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaue et imperi
Porrecta majestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.

"The glory of Latinum and the might of Italy grew and the renown and majesty of the empire was extended to the rising of the sun from his chamber in the west."

"Wealth ever new," an allusion to the wealth yielded by the sea (pearls, fish, salt, &c.) and by commerce with foreign nations whose vessels frequented the king's ports.

"The 'white' headed ocean" flashes on the mind some such scene as described in the *Iliad* (IV, 422 et seq.).

"As when on the echoing beach the sea-wave lifteth up itself in close array before the driving of the west wind, out on the deep does it first raise its head, and then breaketh upon the land and belloweth loud and goeth with arching crest about the promontories and speweth the foaming brine afar."

"அலங்குளைப் புரவி யைவரோடு சினைஇ." "Wroth with the Five (heroes) of the horses of tossing mane," suggests horsemen in battle with a vividness combining that of Homer's—

“Speedeth at the gallop across the plain exulting, and holdeth his head on high and his mane is tossed about his shoulders” (*Iliad* VI, 510), with Horace’s

Impiger hostium
Vexare turmas et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.

“Swift to overthrow the enemy’s squadrons and drive the neighing charger through the midst of the fires.”

The “large-eyed does” with their “wee-headed fawns” slumbering peacefully on the mountains by the light and warmth of the hermit’s fires—exquisitely beautiful as a picture—are suggestive of the confidence and security with which the king’s subjects live under his rule.

The Tamil poet, moreover, strikes a higher spiritual note than Horace. While the Roman dwells on the glories of Augustus gained in the battle field and by the extension of his empire, and on his achievements as civil administrator and guardian of the public peace and morals, the other poet, touching on these, passes on to nobler graces of character, forgiveness of injuries and steadfastness in the pursuit of high ideals.

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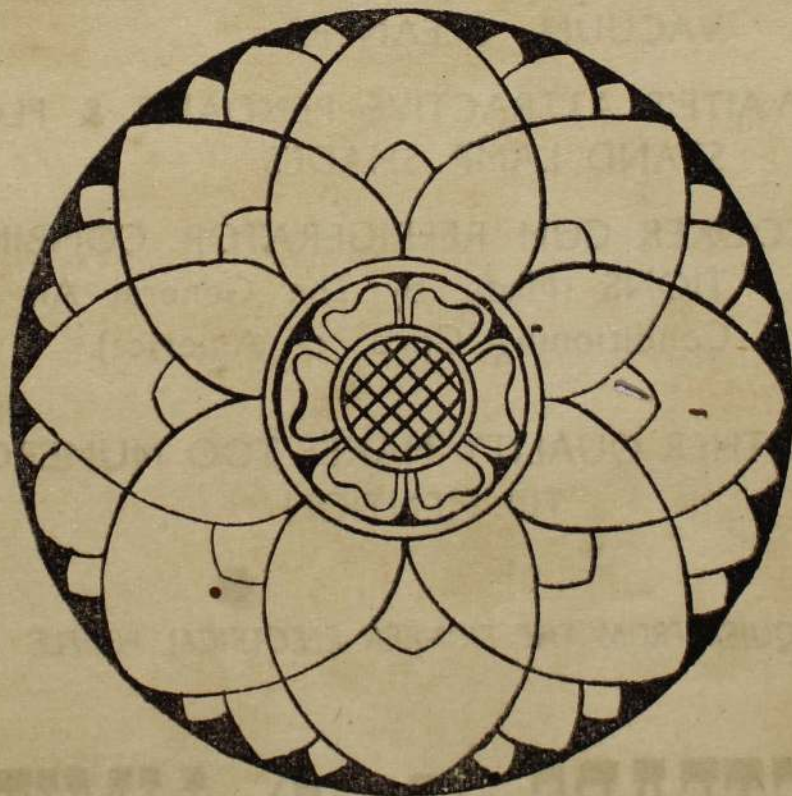
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Every commemoration of such illustrious embodiments of Tamil Culture cannot but remind us of the pitiful state of Tamil leadership, of lack of leadership that we experience to-day. Though students and scholars ought to develop an attitude of disinterestedness in politics, yet the course of culture is so bound up with political conditions and trends that even a quarterly journal such as ours cannot but regret the poor leadership that is so marked in Tamildom. In the political, educational, economic and social fields, the Tamils seem to show a remarkable aptitude to be camp-followers and opportunists. Our students show a painful disregard for excelling in studies; and exhibit a want of initiative and courage, two compelling qualities necessary for progress. Statesmanship and scholarship that formed a delightful combination in the two distinguished Tamils about whom we have written seem conspicuously absent in most of those who aspire to leadership among the Tamils. Our leaders should be endowed with the vision that is the result of travel and a study of history, with the experience that is the gift of a knowledge of men and books, with the outlook that is the result of learning and wisdom. Leadership and mediocrity

seem to have joined hands to the great detriment of Tamil Culture.

It is necessary at this juncture of our history that our statesmen be scholars as well, for it is then that they will realise the greatness of their calling and the role they are expected to play in passing on to the next generation the accumulation of our past cultural achievements. The world of the present does go on changing, the culture of our time progresses; yet the role played in this evolution by what was accomplished through generations which have gone before, is severely under-estimated. Unless our leaders are aware of the heritage that is theirs and the heritage of which they are the custodians, they will hardly play fair by the people they represent. In Sir Shanmukam Chetty and in Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam they have inspiring examples. May we continue to have such statesmen-scholars. *Exoriare aliquis.* (Tamil Culture Vol. II Nos. 3 & 4 Sept. 1953 by Courtesy of the Editor.)



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