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COMMEMORATION VOLUME



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9, NEW MARINE LINES, BOMBAY 400 020

EDITORIAL

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

THE GREATEST ORIENTALIST OF THE CENTURY

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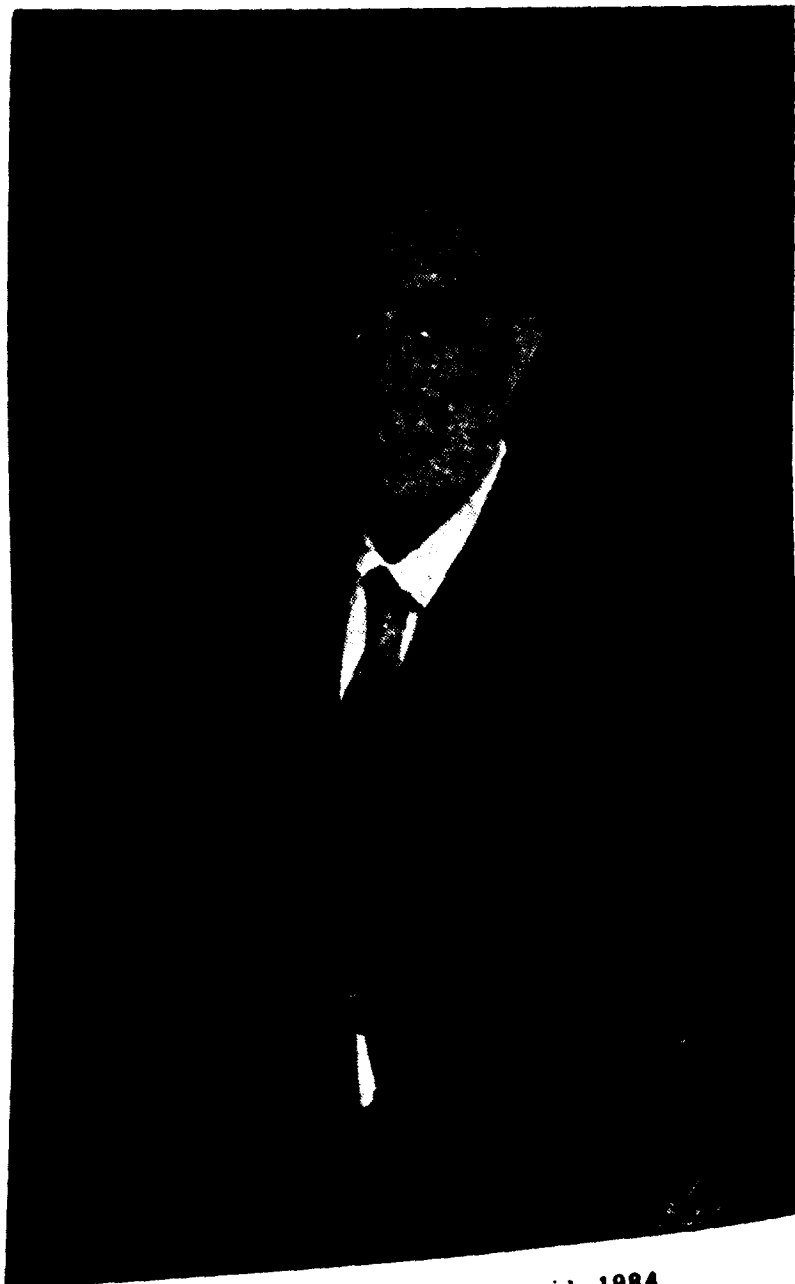
The list of the essential writings of Tucci, compiled by Mario Bussagli, which we published in Part I of the GIUSEPPE TUCCI COMMEMORATION VOLUME (India Past and Present, Vol. II, No. I : June 1985) served the purpose in whetting the appetite for a full bibliography of the writings of the Maestro. When apprised of the want, the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), Rome, founded by him and of which he was the perennial source of inspiration and unfailing guide for half a century, sent us its publication *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*, which it had brought out within a year of his death. This is Number LV of the Serie Orientale Roma, inaugurated by him in 1950 and now celebrated for its publication of the critical editions of Indian, Tibetan and Chinese texts and essays on history, art and literature by Italian and foreign scholars.

It is a measure of our ignorance of the undoubted contribution of Giuseppe Tucci to Asian studies that his books even in well-stocked libraries in the country can hardly be counted on one's fingers. And yet it is at our own risk and peril that we can ignore his own researches or the publications of IsMEO. I was thrilled on the occasion of the Asian History Congress, held at New Delhi, to hear in the course of conversation from Prof. Humayun Kabir, who was then the education minister, how helpful were the published researches of Prof. Giuseppe Tucci and Prof. Luciano Petech in our frontier dispute with China.

It was therefore thought expedient to translate the entire No. LV of the Serie Orientale Roma for the benefit of scholars in the English-speaking world who may be engaged in analogous research. The number contains the bibliography of the entire corpus of research of the polyhistor, painstakingly compiled by Luciano Petech and Fabio Scialpi, a full-length article estimating his contribution by Raniero Gnoli, a pupil who was close to him, Cursum honorum by Giovanna Galluppi Vallauri and Curriculum Vitae by Luciano Petech.

Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci is a worthy effort to honour the memory of One to whom in the words of Gherardo Gnoli, President of IsMEO, "not only the Institute, not only the oriental studies in Italy and abroad, but the entire intellectual culture of our century is profoundly and unquenchably indebted."

George M. Moraes



5th June 1894 - 5th April 1984

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Rome,

11 April 1986

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Prof. George M. MORAES
Editor,
India Past and Present
9 New Marine Lines
BOMBAY 400020, India

Dear Prof. Moraes:

I thank you very much for having sent me the Journal "India Past and Present" Vol.II, 1985, number 1, Giuseppe Tucci Commemoration Volume, in which you have published a beautiful editorial in memory of our late lamented Honorary President Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. We are all very grateful to you for your kind initiative and for the beautiful recollection you have done.

With renewed thanks and best regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Prof. Gherardo Gnoli)

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GIUSEPPE TUCCI

Curriculum Vitae

Luciano Petech

Giuseppe Tucci was born at Macerata (Italy) on 5th June, 1894. He attended the elementary and middle schools at his natal city and then enrolled himself at the University of Rome. His studies were interrupted by the first world war. He was enlisted in the army in December 1915 and was combatant at the front from 1917 in the grade of tenant. Demobilized in October 1919, he graduated in the same year from the University of Rome. In the years that followed he worked for some time at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies. Appointed on the Mission to the Indian Universities, he was in India from 1925 to 1930, teaching Chinese and Italian at the Universities of Shantiniketan and Calcutta. In 1929 he was nominated on the Italian Academy and in November 1930 was invited, owing to his growing reputation, to fill the chair of Chinese language and literature at the Oriental Institute of the University of Naples. In November 1932 he joined the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy at the University of Rome as Professor Ordinary of Religion and Philosophy of India and the Far East. He ceased to be on the staff of the University from 1964, was pensioned in 1969 and was appointed Professor Emeritus in 1970. From 1929 to 1948 he finished eight expeditions to Tibet and from 1950 to 1954 six more to Nepal.

In 1955 he embarked on a course of archaeological expeditions to Swat (Pakistan), in 1957 to Afghanistan and in 1959 to Iran. These were annual expeditions which drew to a close in 1978.

Having promoted the foundation of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO) in 1933, he became its President in 1947. He continued to hold the post till 1978 and was in 1979 appointed its Honorary President. He edited the periodicals "Alle Fonti delle Religioni" (1921-1924), "Bollettino dell'IsMEO", from 1936 under its new name "Asiatica" (1935-1943), "Le scienze del mistero e il mistero delle scienze" (1946), "East and West" (1950-1978); continuing as the General Editor of the last named till the end. He was the director from 1950 of the "Serie Orientale Roma", from 1952 of "Reports and Memoirs" of the Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia dell'IsMEO, from 1969 of the series "Restorations" of the Centro Restauri dell'IsMEO. He was in charge from 1950 to 1973 of the scientific direction of the series "Il Nuovo Ramusio", edited by the Libreria dello Stato.

Author of numerous scientific works, for use not only of a clientele of specialists, he was always in charge of cultural relations between Italy and Asian countries where (in India, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia, and Japan) he attended many conferences.

Obiit 5th April 1984 at S. Polo dei Cavalieri near Tivoli.

(By Courtesy of IsMEO from the Italian of No. LV of its Serie Orientale Roma)

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GIUSEPPE TUCCI

CURSUM HONORUM

Giovanna Galluppi Vallauri

ACADEMIC DEGREES AND DISTINCTIONS

Laureate in Letters and Philosophy, University of Rome, 1919

Doctor honoris causa of the Regia Litterarum Universitas Hungarica Francisco-Josephus, Kolozsvár, 1942.

Doctor honoris causa of the University of Delhi, 1953.

"Deshikottama" of the Vishvabharati University of Shantiniketan, 1961.

Doctor honoris causa of the Catholic University of Louvain, 1966.

Doctor honoris causa of the Melli University, Tehran, 1967.

Professor Emeritus of the University of Rome, 1970.

Doctor honoris causa of the University of Tehran, 1971.

* Doctor honoris causa of the Tribhuvan University of Kathmandu, 1975.

Doctor of Letters honoris causa of the University of Macerata, 1977.

Doctor of Letters honoris causa of the General Council of Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, 1978.

Birendra Prajnalanagar of the Royal Nepal Academy, 1980.

HONOURS

Cavalier of the Grand Cross of the Order "Al merito della Repubblica Italiana", 1953.

Order of II class of the Eastern Sun, Japan, 1955.

Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, France, 1956.

Order of the II class of the Crown, Iran, 1958.

Hilal Imtiaz, Pakistan, 1959.

Diploma di I classe "Gold Medal" to the Meritorious of the School of Culture and Art, Italy, 1960.

Order of the I Class of the Sacred Treasury, Japan, 1960.

Order of the II Class of the White Elephant, Thailand, 1961.

Order of II Class Homayun, Iran, 1965.

Star of II Class, Afghanistan, 1967.

Star for distinct merit, Indonesia, 1972.

MEMBERSHIP OF ACADEMIES, SOCIETIES, INSTITUTES AND SCIENTIFIC APPOINTMENTS

Member of the Royal Academy of Italy, 1929

Vice-President of IsMEO, 1934.

Honorary member of the Istituto Marchigiano Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Ancona, 1934.

Member of the Accademia de catenati, Macerata, 1946.

President of IsMEO, 1947.

Ordinary member of the Himalayan Club, Calcutta-Bombay, 1950.

Ordinary President of the Asiatic Society of Argentina, 1953.

Honorary member of the Imperial Academy, Japan, 1955.

Ordinary member of the Soci  t   Asiatique, Paris, 1956.

National member of the Academy of Science, Turin, 1959.

Corresponding member of the British Academy, 1959.

Accademico Benemerito of the Academy of St. Luke, Rome, 1960.

Honorary member of the Accademia Proterziana del Subasio, Assisi, 1961.

Honorary member of the Accademia Scientifico-Litteraria degli Incamminati, Modigliana, 1965.

Corresponding member of the Deutsches Arch  ologisches Institut, Berlin, 1967.

Corresponding Member of the Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1967.

Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1971.

Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1975.

Member of the Comitato d'onore internazionale della Societa di Studi Mitraici, Ca, Cambridge (Great Britain), 1975.

Honorary Member of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1978.

Honorary President of IsMEO, 1978.

Honorary President of the Orient-Occident Mansion (Institute for Buddhist Psychology and Central Asian Studies, Zurich, 1978.

Member of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, Florence, 1978.

Honorary Member of the Italian Geographical Society, Rome, 1978.

Honorary Member of the Italian Association for Chinese Studies, Venice, 1979.

Member of the Research Department of Toyo Bunco, Tokyo.

Member of the Scientific Council of the Persian Heritage Series.

Member of the scientific and editorial committee of the OPUS GEOGRAPHICUM of al-Ildrisi, published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Naples and the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Director of the "Serie Orientale Roma" of IsMEO.

Director of the Series "Reports and Memoirs" of IsMEO.

Director of the Series "Restorations" of IsMEO.

Director of the journal "East and West" of IsMEO.

Director of the Series "Il Nuovo Ramusio", published by the Libreria dello Stato, Rome.

Director of the Series "Scrittori d'Oriente" published by the Casa editrice Leonardo da Vinci, Bari.

Director of the work "Le civilt   dell'Oriente" published by G. Casini, Rome.

PRIZES

Gold Medal of the Calcutta Art Society, 1965.

Sir Percy Sykes Memorial Medal, 1971.

Medal for Archaeology, Academy of Architecture, Paris, 1972.

Medal of Gold Prize, Rome, 1972.

J  waharlal Nehru Prize for International Understanding, 1976.

Medal of the Centenary of Tagore, 1978.

Medal of the Centenary of Iqbal, 1979.

Balzan Prize for History, 1979.

Medal of the Bicentenary of Alexander Cosma de Koros, 1984.

(By Courtesy of IsMEO from No. LV of its Serie Orientale Roma)

THE RECORD OF GIUSEPPE TUCCI

Raniero Gnoli

In 1948 when I came to know Giuseppe Tucci, I had hardly left the Lycée. He happened to get down from the tram on the side of the Queen Margaret avenue, Rome, residing as he did then at the Vescovio Square. He drew close at a brisk pace to the Faculty of Arts. Here he was wont to take his classes, often with books and Tibetan manuscripts fluttering from under his arm. The telling image is still distinct: hair somewhat dishevelled, forehead deeply furrowed and eyes transparent and childlike.

The following year, I began to attend his classes, though hardly able to keep up with him. We read texts in Sanskrit, always very brief, bearing on logic or religion. And we listened once a week to his general lectures on the Philosophies and Religions of India and the Far East. These were of course well attended.

But I should not speak of myself or my personal impressions so much as of him, checking the sentiments of affection I cherished. For it is not the sentiments or the affection for him, he would say, that count but work successfully accomplished. It is this alone that survives in its fecundity the transiency of man, fame and memory itself. And achieving this, as Petrarch says, is tantamount to "dying agreeably". "The actions", as a Buddhist verse repeated times out of number has it, "are not extinguished even in hundreds of cosmic ages but coalescing at opportune moments and conditions bear fruit for the living."

*

Giuseppe Tucci was born at Macerata* on 5th June, 1894 of a family originally from Puglie. His first works, however, concern

*A picturesque Italian town, crowning the top of a hill with an imposing mass of buildings and enclosed by walls and towers, Macerata commands an arresting view of the Adriatic and the valleys of the Potenza and the Chienti. Before Tucci, Crescimbeni, a poet of the 13th century, his namesake the founder of the Arcadian Academy of Rome, and Matteo Ricci, the Chinese missionary and scholar, had been natives of Macerata. In Tucci's childhood, the city contained a population of 20,000. It boasted of a university, a public library (founded by Pope Leo XII), palaces - all splendid pieces of architecture - and among notable churches, the peerless masterpiece, S. Maria delle Vergini, and municipal buildings housing a museum. Editor.



Giuseppe Tucci during the first expedition

the Roman world, notwithstanding the fact that he should have given himself at little over twelve to the study of Sanskrit and Hebrew and a little later to Iranian. In *Atti e Memorie* of the Royal Deputation of the History of the Mother Country of the Marche, his "Researches in the personal Roman name of Piceno" saw the light in 1911 when he was barely seventeen. At the same time in *Romische Mitteilungen* of the Istituto Archeologico Germanico of Rome there appeared his essay in Latin on the little known and not yet published inscriptions of Macerata.

His humanism, however, was not indeed confined to the culture of the East. He did not cease to take interest in the classical world, in the culture and languages of Greece and Rome, not in opposition to the East but as an essential part of that culture and tradition, or rather "humanities", fundamentally single, which according to him pervaded the whole of Asia and Europe. This idea of a common culture extending from the countries touching the Atlantic Ocean to those lapping the sea of China, accompanied him all his life, so much so that shortly before his death he still insisted with his Italian and foreign colleagues on the necessity and importance of a concept which would no longer admit of East and West as opposed to each other but as a dual reality, complementary and inseparable.

"Europe and its historians," he wrote in 1977, "have committed a stupendous error in regarding Asia and Europe as two distinct continents, while in reality they ought to speak of a single one, Eurasia, so conjoined in their parts that no remarkable event in one has not had its reflex in the other." And still speaking of the countries of the Eurasian continent, he remarked: "these countries alone where by a mysterious privilege or a miraculous happening man created the architecture of solemn ingenuity, most noble artistic fantasies, the slow pace of science, these treasures in which the whole of humanity participates today, enriching them or corrupting them." Neither the negotiations and the fickle political alliances nor the progress of diffusion of positive science and technology, but only the more and more profound consciousness of this common humanity was for Giuseppe Tucci the unique instrument which could really fraternize and unite the peoples. In its turn this consciousness cannot be produced without knowledge - knowledge of history, art, religion and culture in general - knowledge which never rests content but always finds in the research of every document yet scantily left by man new grist to its mill. In this sense he puts above from the plane of concrete comprehension and unification among the peoples what the neoplatonic ideas had metaphysically already intuited, namely, that knowledge is precisely given as redress and almost as consolation of this division. In short knowledge alone can unite and as such it constituted for him a true and proper ethical purification and the first duty of man.

His interest in the language and culture of Greece and Rome (and I can assure that not a day passed without his reading from Latin and Greek) has to be judged in the light of this conception and not as obedience to a scholastic or rhetorical tradition of our own and German. Nor by any chance, among the Latin authors whom he felt less congenial (because as typifying methinks, a repetitive and rancid philosophical tradition from which he had suffered personally) were Cicero and above all Quintilian whom he strangely linked (more because, I believe, of the savour of paradox most vivid in him, than any thing else) and also Virgil. To St. Thomas Aquinas whose *Summa* he read and reread when still in the high school and the lycée, he acknowledged his debt till the end: "That St. Thomas I shall never abandon and to whom I owe, if I have a little of it still, the clarity and logical solidity of thinking." In Italian literature his preferences were to the fourteenth century writers, to Cavalcanti, Passavanti, the Golden Legend. He preferred Petrarch to Dante, and he highly admired and esteemed Leopardi and Daniello Bartoli.

But be that as it may, interest for the East prevailed, and "gradually" as he himself says, "I entered the labyrinth of Orientalism, fascinating for me and more luminous, because little by little as I gained more familiarity with the books and insight into Asia, there began to dawn on me new solutions to the doubts that were tormenting me. And thereafter the philosophical subtleties of India and China, the logical structures of certain systems, those mythologies, intermixing lightning and terror, physical as well as metaphysical, attracted me like apparitions of a world, appearing at first sight too far from ours, but which, after intensive reading of the symbols in which they were expressed, revealed their close proximity, a proximity spiritual and human. And later I found more life than in that arid and boring filologism in which archaeology, when I attended the University, appeared to be prisoner, so lost was it in particulars, which were downright trifles, while I thought many times that it should have furnished the means to the fancy to resuscitate, though it be in a flash, the life of things and men of past times. Wherefore I abandoned archaeology and passed the culminating point of experiences which have not turned void - to the East."

The study of oriental languages - Chinese and more still Sanskrit - which he cultivated with extraordinary philological acumen - was for him not an end in itself. It was always directed to the investigation of the religious concepts, of the thought and philosophy of these peoples. Of the works specially in Sanskrit which he mastered to perfection and of which he became an insuperable savant, those which most interested him were not, in general, the ones specifically literary, as for example the poetry of art and dramaturgy but rather philosophical and religious. This predilection did not in any way

make him neglect literature and the study - if only by way of "penance" as he would jokingly put it - of the chief Kavyas of Sanskrit literature. Knowledge of the Kavyas, he rightly held, was indispensable for understanding India's culture, ethos, and art and history itself.

The assiduous study of Sanskrit was not interrupted even when he was called to arms during World War I and had to report himself at the front. In the trench - he related to me - he read and annotated the *Rājatarāṅginī* of Kalhana in the edition of Stein, the record of which it still carries in its tattered and worn out pages. Once the war was over, he graduated from the University of Rome in 1919.

Giuseppe Tucci was essentially an autodidact with no exalted notion of an Italian University of those days, but true to fact. "I ought to say immediately," he once wrote, "that from my first entry into the University it appeared to me a painful and morbid survival of ineffective and outmoded teaching. The university which I, more of an autodidact than a student, come out freshly from the lycée and hopeful of finding in it light and inspiration, found myself attending, carried on the courses of the German Universities of 1870s. Great distance had been traversed since those years both for man and science not to feel the consequences. Dead was the bond which determines, as between the master and the disciple, an inventive and concrete consanguinity; the way in which in the beginning the Indian teachers expressed *govatsanyāya*, namely a vital relationship, a prodigious exchange of ideas and affections. In fact, if I may be permitted to continue my reminiscences, when I began to follow the university courses, I found myself almost overwhelmed by academic dissertations, in *minoribus*, and by a squalid encumbrance of useless ideas. Spent was the ardour which excites the young in reading authors, be they classical or oriental, more to bring to light the beautiful and the ugly, the weak and the durable. All of this was lost in wearisome hacking and a complacent and minute enumeration of the opinions of others. These were far-fetched things which anyone who cared could have found by himself in books, and agree and disagree. And thus the critical evaluation or ardent approach was benumbed in those agonies."

At any rate, in his own turn, Giuseppe Tucci cultivated, together with Sanskrit, ancient Iranian and Chinese. His first works in oriental studies, as for example, *Osservazioni sul Fargard II del Vendidad* and *Il Tao e il Wu-wei di Lao-tzu* concern precisely these cultures. There followed these minor works at the end of the war his *Storia della filosofia Cinese Antica*, published in Bologna in 1922 and immediately thereafter in 1923 the *Linee di una Storia del Materialismo*

Indiano, published by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Already by the close of the 18th Century the notion had come to stay in the West of regarding "India as a country of visionaries and ascetics who at the dictate of their mystic enthusiasm had renounced the world and life itself." The task which Tucci set himself to demonstrate in this work was precisely the one-sidedness and falsity of this conception accepted in regard to a country of the utmost complexity which saw the development not only of idealistic, Buddhist and Vedantic monism, but also the realistic cosmology of *Sāṃkhya* and *Vaiśeṣika*, the logic of *Nyāya*, the judicious political science of *Kauṭilya*, and what is very much to the point the so-called materialistic tendencies and schools, some of which tried to liberate themselves from the practical hedonism, albeit without speculative pretension, in order to secure the dignity of philosophy.

Giuseppe Tucci - if I may be permitted to digress - was not a visionary, however much he may have appreciated or admired a dream in opposition to the practical reality of things, which he always defended and of which in his own field he was often a careful and cautious promoter. He identified the visionary in him with the past, because "I figure it," he said, "at my pleasure, whether good or evil, it does not matter at all: prevent me from building castles in the air, and I am a dead man." As in the Buddhism of *Nāgārjuna*, in whom he deservedly recognized one of the most profound thinkers of Asia, true reality cannot be affirmed without that provision and relativity in which we move, in short without error, as it happened to him with regard to the dream, because in order that it may live by feeding it continually, it was necessary paradoxically to be attentive to the usual transient signs to turn from the things to the ever recurring and wearisome error of man. But the dream, building castles in the air, is also a jest (for Indians, is not the universe the divine jest of God?) and of this wanton character of the things and of the culture in particular Giuseppe Tucci was most conscious. Only that we need to jest well with whatever seriousness and innocence we can muster. If his lectures as also his conversations were not heavy but always lively and light, even when serious and difficult questions and problems were confronting him and he owed a proper answer, the idea arising from the dream and the jest would amuse him and he would get off with an easy paradox and ready retort, the word and the glance. Certain incongruities, certain brusqueness, even some contradictions (his declared diffidence in and hostility towards every kind of machine never prevented him, for example, from taking advantage of every production of modern technology, however sophisticated) could perhaps find in the light of the *Nāgārjunian* conceptions of the dual truth, ready solution. But immediately the thought strikes us that this may be very easy and also indiscrete, because in reality we neither can

nor ought to penetrate the secrets of the heart but should only and silently respect them.

*

Interest in India (and when I speak of India, I speak of the whole sub-continent) and in Buddhism in particular nevertheless prevailed under what went as strictly sinological studies; and for full five years from 1925 to 1930 Giusappi Tucci sojourned in India, teaching Italian, Chinese and Tibetan at the Universities of Shantiniketan and Calcutta. These were perhaps the best and the most fruitful years of his whole life, during which his spiritual and cultural propensities gained more and more in precision and he oriented himself to the study and understanding of the vexed problems of Indian philosophy and above all of Buddhism, the religion with which Indian humanism, crossing in course of time the barrier of the Himalayas or sailing across the seas of Insulindia, diffused from Iran to the Pacific Ocean certain institutions and inspirations or logical constructions from whose influence the experience of the peoples among whom it arrived, and also of those people richer in culture, could not detach itself.

The study of Buddhism with whose concepts complimentary to vacuity and piety he wished to imbue himself - that of Śākyamuni and thereafter of Nāgārjuna - did not present itself to Giuseppe Tucci as only an intellectual curiosity but answered a profound exigency of his spirit, the reason why he loved to call himself a Buddhist; and he wished to name his only son Ananda which precisely in Sanskrit means joy, but which was also the name of Buddha's beloved disciple. These years saw the publication of his works relevant to Buddhism, such as *Buddhismo* (1926), *Pre-Diṇṇāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese sources* (1929), *Doctrines of Maitreya and Asaṅga* (1930). Nor did he during these years in India confine himself only to the study of Buddhism. He read with Indian scholars and pandits the celebrated texts of Hinduism; he participated in person in the intricate ceremonies of Bengali Tantrism and he entered at Calcutta and elsewhere into the hub of contemporary Indian culture, making friends during the time with men of letters and religion, meeting often with Tagore whom he always revered as his preceptor, with Gandhi, Radhakrishnan and Iqbal.

But Buddhism disappeared early from India and the works of the various schools in which the words of Buddha were reflected,

forgotten in their land of origin, were lovingly collected, translated and commented upon by the Chinese devotees at first and subsequently by the Tibetan. The desire to retrace the road of the Tibetan and Indian learned men who spread in the land of Snow the doctrine, philosophy and fantasy of Indian Buddhism, to follow the transformations in course of time, to study the various religious and artistic expressions, to visit places still not sufficiently known or not known at all, had been firmly impressed on the mind of Tucci. In 1929 there thus took place the first of the eight memorable expeditions to Tibet. During the last of these in 1948 he could betake himself to Lhasa, Samye and Yarlung. The scientific importance of these expeditions has been extraordinary whether with reference to the last phase of Indian Buddhism or for the knowledge itself of Tibetan culture and art. The results of the first seven of these long and tiresome journeys of thousands of kilometres covered on foot or horseback in one of the most impervious regions of the world have been described in seven volumes of the *Indo-Tibetica* (1932 to 1941), published by the Italian Academy, in which are discussed the multiple aspects of Tibetan culture with special reference to Buddhism. Of the numerous monuments, mural pictures, bronzes and wooden sculptures the photographs of Giuseppe Tucci in thousands (many published in these volumes and many more still not published) are now the only and irreplaceable document.

There were also numerous Sanskrit manuscripts (now no longer read by the Tibetans but jealously guarded by them as relics), which he could collect or photograph in the various monasteries visited by him. If some of these were later on collected and published by himself (vide for example the three volumes of *Minor Buddhist Texts*) or entrusted to his students, as for example, the *Pramāṇa-vārttikam* of Dharmakīrti, which I published, many still await study and publication.

These eight expeditions, Tibet having now become inaccessible thanks to its notable political vicissitude, and the six to Nepal have made Giuseppe Tucci the greatest explorer of the modern world, and by universal consent the greatest Tibetologist of all time. "Tibet" he wrote in 1978, "has been for many years the most absorbing passion of my life and still is, and the warmer it is the more difficult it is to satisfy. In eight journeys I have traversed the larger part of Tibet in length and breadth. I have lived in the villages and the monasteries, I have genuflected before the masters and the sacred images, I have crossed the mountains with the caravans and traversed the deserts, vast like the sea, I have discussed the problems of religion with learned monks." And further, "eighteen thousand kilometres travelled on foot in one of the most fascinating countrysides in the world where man, humiliated by the immensity

and silence in every place, imagines or suspects the presence of God invisible but certain; and nearly eight years spent under tent, without taking into account the many weeks in bevvouaking in the Indian plains, in the slow pilgrimages, at the holy places of religious tradition, wandering in the tropical heat following serpentine and sinuous embankments of the rice fields. And when the air was too hot, the nocturnal travel in the moonlight and the daily halt under the shade of the mango trees in that absolute horizontality of the Indian clime, polished like a petrified sea in a smooth and perfect combination of heaven and earth."

Buddhist in the sense that he firmly believed in a different dimension of the reality which our words and thoughts cannot tap, an athiest (but in the Buddhist sense of the word) and profoundly religious at the same time, most respectful towards religion in every form, because he was convinced that where other religions have preached for centuries, it is but meet that we should be appreciative, these travels constituted for him not only a research in culture but a spiritual purification. And this spiritual enrichment, coming as it did from these unbounded landscapes and those highest solitudes, more than from persons and meetings, however extraordinary, appeared at a certain point, as in the Buddhist conception, and transformed itself and systematised itself into a different regional perspective. "The summit of Kailāsa," he wrote in 1937, "sends inflamed lightnings, breaking the assault of violent clouds. Under this desolate earth we have the sense full of solitude. In these silences man appears to be confronted with cosmic forces; the demiurge disappears in him; the demon abandons him, pushing him to pursue his tragic fantasies and his daring dreams. He grasps the sense of elementary unity of things; express sprout of the land, he personifies himself, identifying himself with the versiform energy flowing in every thing." The Himalayan wanderings (according to Corrado Pensa) were completed for Giuseppe Tucci under two planes: "the first was that of a daring dream" or of the research of new documents and of reconnoissance, some times difficult and dangerous, of significant places, while the second stage is represented by brief eclipses and improvised by daring dreams, of course not in disinterest but certainly because of the unexpected advantage of an interest very great, very obscure and very unifying." And he confided to me how tedious and difficult was the aftermath of these journeys, truly twofold: he had again to rise equal to the exigency of the life in common, and take due interest in the studies and his students in which he was most provident and industrious.

The volumes of Indo-Tibetica and other scientific works are not the only documents of this expedition. The history, adventures

and results of his travels were repeatedly described by him in works which secured largest circulation in cultural circles and were widely known in India and abroad. Suffice it to mention *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Saints and Brigands in unknown Tibet), *A Lhasa e Oltre* (1950) (Lhasa and Beyond), *Tra giungle e Pagode* (1953) (Between Jungles and Pagodas), *Nepal alla scoperta dei Malla* (1960), (Discovery of the mallas), *La Via della Svat* (1963) (Road of Swat). These books which aimed at a larger readership perhaps better reveal his character, his thoughts, and his personal convictions and in which his various and contemporary aspects of the scholar, explorer and man of religion and one interested in all the movements of the spirit stand out in bolder relief.

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Giuseppe Tucci returned to Italy in 1930. In 1929 while still in India he had been nominated on the Academy of Italy. In 1931 he taught Chinese at the Oriental Institute of the University of Naples, and a little later he was appointed to the chair of Religion and Philosophy of India and the Far East at the University of Rome. He held this chair for more than thirty years when on superannuation in 1964 he ceased to be on the staff of the University.

As we have already seen, Giuseppe Tucci never had excessive faith in the Italian University which he generally regarded as "an ill-conceived fragment of the eighteenth century traditions". It was not the University of today. And so he had already made up his mind to establish an institution, more agile and scientifically adept, in which it would be possible to bring in and organise the various Italian interests and activities directed towards the Middle and Far East, and which could without much bureaucratic red tape and obstacles promote oriental research in all its different aspects - archaeological, philosophical, historical. Thus in 1933 was born thanks to his exertions and incentive the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (IsMEO) of which Giovanni Gentile was president till his death and from 1947 to 1978 Giuseppe Tucci himself.

This institute, to which he dedicated himself with exceptional energy and dynamism, became under his guidance of over 50 years the most important centre of oriental research in Italy and also one of the best known internationally, not only due to its activities in the East - suffice it to mention the researches and archaeological excavations in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and the active restoration centres in Iran and elsewhere - but also for the library located in its premises and which, already vast in 1950, has since been

continuously added to and teeming. In 1959 Giuseppe Tucci bequeathed to IsMEO his own large personal library of more than 20,000 volumes. And in IsMEO again he wished to keep all his manuscripts as well as books printed in Tibetan, all of which would go to create a very rich European fund, and perhaps, in an absolute sense, of works in general. Besides, IsMEO has always had the custody of the archived documents and photographs of his expeditions to Tibet and Nepal of the greatest historical and artistic importance. It is feared that most of the monuments and objects which he could then see and photograph now no longer exist due not so much perhaps the ravages of man as of time. Within the ambit of IsMEO his creation in 1950 was the Serie Orientale Roma, which, initiated that year with his own book *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, now numbers in its more than fifty volumes editions of Indian, Tibetan and Chinese texts and essays on history, art and literature, brought out by Italian and foreign scholars.

Also at this time the first volume of yet another series projected by him saw the light. This series aimed at collecting the writings and documents of the early Italian travellers to the East. And there also appeared his book of essays *Italia e Oriente*. He was always proud of being an Italian and of the Italian language (which, however, he gave up in his scientific writing from 1948 onwards preferring English) repeatedly, bringing to light in books and articles the exceptional contribution of Italy to the knowledge which Europe slowly acquired of Asia and conversely traces of Italian culture and art in the Orient. In fact in contrast to what happened in other countries, the Italian travellers were moved by disinterested curiosity in culture and science (or if missionaries by religious solicitude) but rarely by commercial exigencies and never with the object of political expansion. Moved by a sense of respect and deference, I had almost said of amazement, which he always entertained for these pioneers of orientalism who were often intelligent and patient disseminators of western ideality, art, and science in countries sometimes hostile but never easy, often among unspeakable fatigue and difficulties - which he an explorer in his own right could appreciate in every one else - he decided in 1950 the foundation of the necklace styled by him "Il Nuovo Ramusio", published by the State Library. As I have already hinted, Giuseppe Tucci proposed in this collection to assemble every published or unpublished text of the Italian travellers to the East. Thirteen volumes have appeared so far, comprising letters, documents and accounts of Italian travellers and missionaries in Asia. Other volumes are in the course of preparation.

Nor did Giuseppe Tucci devote his life wholly to IsMEO. He was wont to deplore the lack of a Museum in Italy specifically

dedicated to the East; and after 1950's exerted himself to fulfil this desideratum. His efforts were crowned with success, and in 1957 the National Museum of Oriental Art was founded in Rome. Constantly enriched, the museum houses besides its own collections those which are the property of IsMEO. Specially relevant among the latter are the numerous specimens of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, coming from the excavations in Swat.

But not to anticipate. During and immediately after the war, it having become impossible by force of circumstances to leave Italy, and for a short while also to teach, because, stupidly cleared, Giuseppe Tucci had to wait for what was the most important and exhaustive work ever written till today on Tibet, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* where, availing himself of a crop of Tibetan devotional figures, he draws a magistral picture of the culture, religion, art and history of Tibet. The volumes of the *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* were magnificently brought out by the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato in 1949.

But the Indological studies of Giuseppe Tucci do not concern Buddhism alone. Most notable are his contributions to a very precise knowledge of other religions and the ways to conceive of life in India, China and Japan. At a distance of thirty-five years of the publication of *Storia della Filosofia Cinese Antica* appeared in 1957 the *Storia della Filosofia Indiana* where he condenses and sums up, divides by argument rather than by schools the immense philosophical literature of India from the first dawn of the Upanishad to the scholastic setting of the New Logic. Innumerable were in fact the lectures of Giuseppe Tucci on every philosophical school or current of India from Nyāya, most ancient and recent, to the various aspects, monastic or not, of the Vedānta, from the devotional currents of the Viṣṇuvites and Śaivites to the early schools of Indian materialism so much so that, I can say, there is no current of Indian thought which he has not read and meditated on its original texts in Sanskrit, on the arguments and the doctrines. The amplitude of his reading is attested (but who has the patience to run through the volumes in his library, now at IsMEO) by the numberless warnings and annotations - with pen or pencil with which he commented in his books - gathering them often at the foot of the page. For Giuseppe Tucci, a man of prodigious memory, this remained always the only form of notes-taking or, to put it better, mnemonic warnings, because by inclination or reasoned impatience he always shrank from the idea of an index or catalogue, which, as he told me, in that indifferent, mechanical and printed exactness so conceals the work of the Evil One that all would be easy, equal and repeatable.

Giuseppe Tucci evinced great interest in the Śaivite Schools from Siddhānta to Virasaiya, from Kāpālikas to the great Kashmir syntheses of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta - whose study he regarded as indispensable also to understand well the last glitter of Indian Buddhism (We may recall, for example the particularity of Siddha) which has with this many points of contact. In 1947-48 - a little before I knew him he was found so engaged with his university course, with reading and illustration of one of the more difficult works of Abhinavagupta, the *Tantrasāra* (which he had already read, he told me, together with the raiguru of the King of Nepal, the most learned Hemasarmā), and of these I remember precisely those lessons which afterwards were of much use to me, when for the thesis of graduation I undertook the translation of this work.

At about this time he brought out his book *Teoria e Pratica del Mandala con speciale riguardo alla psicologia del profondo* (The Theory and Practice of the Mandala with special reference to the Profound) where he seeks to give an interpretation, availing himself of the modern Jungian concepts, of the structure of mandala, in support, not only in India or Tibet but also elsewhere, of the mysterious itinerary of the soul towards the centre. By the intuitions of Jung and specially by his conception of the collective unconscious, which the *ālayavijñāna* or the conscious deposit of the Buddhists so much recalls, Giuseppe Tucci showed live interest and repeatedly spoke and wrote about it. In the Jungian conception of the universal archetypes he always saw a valid medicine against certain forms of cultural and religious relativism which he never shared.

But Giuseppe Tucci was not attracted by religious and philosophical speculations alone, and well understood as this was, because he wished to transmit his true message, he could not prescind from the special historical situations in which he had appeared and spoken. But India, different from the West, is specially scarce of historical documents and hence the necessity in such dignified omission of approaching the sources specially non-literary - whether these be inscriptions, monuments of art, or archaeological documents in the broadest sense of the term - to make in brief every sign, however light, of the presence of man on earth, every purposeful trace he has left, speak of his incessant attempts to transform the ages. Giuseppe Tucci thus became an archaeologist (or rather if we take into account his earliest studies), he became, to put it better, an exemplar and organiser of archaeology, and noted for his work

the mission and excavations of IsMEO in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran. "Within a few years of the closing of the Tibetan and Nepalese exploration," he says, "behold me turned, forced by the necessity of research, to archaeology, not to make myself one, but because the learned experts who work with me can adroitly bring to light the monuments or documents or whatever the voices capable of filling to overflowing the tremendous historical vacuums which exist in many parts of Asia."

Nepal, which he visited repeatedly and which during his stay in India was closed to foreigners with very few exceptions under the regime of the Ranas, was the country where researches were carried on with vigour and in which during the years 1954-1956 were collected under his guidance and with the help of Kaisher Bahadur, formerly ambassador of Nepal at Peking, the most ancient inscriptions of the valley of Kathmandu. These inscriptions written in characters of the Gupta period, only part of which had been published thanks above all to the exertions of Sylvain Levi, are the oldest documents found in Nepal, and they throw vivid light on the social and religious life of the valley which was already from the 5th to the 7th century an important commercial link between India and Tibet. They were edited and published by me in 1957 in two volumes entitled *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* in the *Serie Orientale Roma*.

The research of the ancient inscriptions of the valley was not the only contribution of Giuseppe Tucci to the history of Nepal. In the course of a backbreaking expedition to Western Nepal in 1956, he discovered and studied at Giumla the relic of a kingdom till then unknown, the kingdom of the Mallas who ruled over this region as well as Western Tibet. Tucci himself has related the story of this discovery in two of his works, *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (1956) and *Nepal Alla Scoperta dei Malla* (1960).

If for reasons extraneous to his will, he was not able to translate into reality his ambition to excavate at Lumbini in the Nepalese Tarai, the birth place of the Buddha, which in antiquity and the middle ages was the goal of innumerable pilgrimages, Buddhist archaeology has in him one of its greatest representatives. In 1960 his attention was drawn to a region in Northern Pakistan, the Swat, Uddiyāna of old, set on the foothills of the Himalayas. He himself has related how Tibet pointed to him the exact way to Swat. Coming out of Swat was Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche in Tibetan), master and miracle-worker, by common tradition one of the greatest artificers of Lamaism, who arrived in Tibet in the eighth century and converted by the force of his magic the ancient and contentious

god Bon to the superior ideal of Buddhism, transforming him from a formidable adversary to a loyal and dreadful custodian of the sacred places of the new religion. Swat was in actual fact famed in tradition as a land of exorcism and magic, of witches and flying fairies, and the Buddhism which flourished there vigorously during the early centuries of our era (to mention only the innumerable monasteries and stupas from which it was disseminated over the region) had elements of gnosticism and magic introduced into it before long. Nor did Buddhists alone live in Swat, the speculations of the Śaivism of Kashmir of the ninth and tenth centuries are said to be precisely from this region, derived from some of the oldest and most venerated masters (and also master), and coming from this may have been the school of gnosticism of Krama whose doctrine flowed later into the grand synthesis of Abinavagupta.

But to return to Buddhism, after brief researches, Giuseppe Tucci recognised in Mingora the ancient capital of the country and in the contiguous locality of Butkara that which was till the fourth century one of the chief places of Buddhist devotion and pilgrimage. Commenced in 1956, the excavations which were continued uninterruptedly till 1962 brought back to light the entire sacred area which consisted of a great central stupa, surrounded by many minor ones. Despite the fact that in the past Swat and the very sacred area of Mingora had supplied innumerable pieces to dealers in antiquities both in India and the West, numberless sculptures, whole or fractured, came to light during the excavations, preserved in situ for the most part.

But the history of Swat is not confined to Buddhism alone. The desire to tread over again the track which Alexander followed, to research and discover the traces which he may have left, to bring evidence of the encounter of East and West with new documents, of also what happened after him - after him above all - in those localities where the art of Gandhara prospered, the art in which the Buddhist mythography was expressed in the narrative language of the classical world led Giuseppe Tucci to the excavations of Udegram, the ancient Ora which, according to the classical sources, was conquered by Alexander.

The archaeological expedition of Swat led indirectly to the discovery which is important for the history of the ancient Indian Buddhism. During his mission of 1956, Giuseppe Tucci was fortunate enough to find several parts wanting in the Vinaya of Mulasarvāstivādin whose last part - *Saṅghabhedavastu* - contains the earliest life of the Buddha in Sanskrit. The large beautiful leaves of this manuscript in birch bark of 6th century A.D. were sent by the Government of Pakistan to Rome for restoration and publication which I brought to a close in 1977.

The archaeological activity of Tucci, however, did not remain circumscribed to the Indian subcontinent. In 1962 he promised and organized the excavations of IsMEO in Sistan, and here in the desert confining on Afghanistan was discovered a temple with spires of the proto-Achaemenid epoch, those always found in Sistan, of Shahr-e Sukta, one of those very important urban centres of the earliest Iran, assigned to fourth millennium B.C. Other archaeological excavations and researches concern the Islamic period: as for example, those of Ghazni, where the palace of Masud III has been brought to light, the researches and restorations of the Friday mosque at Ispahan, and the restorations at Persopolis.

This historical and archaeological activity to which he dedicated major part of his energies from 1955 onwards did not distract him from the studies of his predilection, philosophical and religious, to mention as bearing witness to it only his most important works, the three volumes of his *Minor Buddhist Texts* (Part I, 1956, Part II, 1958, Part III, 1971), where he has collected and studied diverse Buddhist works which he himself discovered during his travels in Tibet. The last of these is devoted to the third *Bhāvanākrama* of Vikramaśīla and to the dispute which arose in the seventh century at Samye between the supporters of the quietistic way and those who maintained instead the necessity of gradual meditative practice (*Bhāvanā*). In 1970 there came out at long last his magistral volume (*On the religions of Tibet and in 1977 his study on the Dards (On Swāt. The Dards and Connected Problems)*), where in an original and synthetic disquisition he gathers and examines the chief documents of these Indo-Aryan people who, descending from Turkistan and probably from Iran, spread thereafter from Pamir to the limits of Tibet. In his last years he still expected to produce two more works, which have however unfortunately remained unfinished, one on Benares and the other on Indian religiosity under the title of *Eros and Thanatos in India*.

If we must needs give here an idea, however fleeting may be the indications of the boundless knowledge and research, historical, religious and philosophical, they are so extensive that they cover the whole of Middle and Far East, not to speak of his activity as an organiser and promoter of studies. But there is in Tucci also a third aspect besides the two already mentioned - I mean that of a magister (and Deshikottama, greatest among the teachers), as the University of Vishvabharati of Shantiniketan called him), inspirer, always solicitous of kindling in the young new interests, inducing in them a vivacious curiosity and stimulating their intelligence. "You have called me guru," he noted when in 1974 the Istituto Universitario di Naples dedicated a literary necklace in his honour, "and the guru, you know, transmits to his disciples what

he thinks, imagines, learns, intuitively through a vital relationship, which the Indians call *govatsanyāsa*, just as the cow instills into the calf the vital sap and makes it grow injecting, so to speak, its own vigour, while the *śuśkatarka*, the aridity of argument is a cold game of thought without the vivifying and warm vibration of the spirit. Science is not made only of knowledge, formulas, comparisons and data; it is a way to live, to feel and to react."

Giuseppe Tucci was never close-fisted - as the Buddha speaks of those teachers who would jealously keep for themselves their own learning without parting with it to others - but always sought to transmit his knowledge, content that others would know to profit by it and slowly develop whatever he had imagined or divined in his mind. His home and his library were generously open to whomsoever he estimated as deserving of help and guidance in his studies. Oh, the number of times I have been there to get him to read with me texts and manuscripts and returned often on foot with arms loaded with books from Vescovo Square where he resided to my home at via della Pace! And from these meetings at which he spoke exclusively of study, I emerged full of excitement, a sensation which I do not propose here to explain (nor do I believe that this could have happened to me alone), of an untying of knots or problems both personal and extraneous to the arguments treated, of an order which replaced confusion, of the determination of a centre which gave sense and reason to fragments too peripheral which far from dissolving themselves assumed a due form and proper relief in the measure that, no longer scattered, but co-related to each other, they converged towards the centre. Nor did this impassioned feeling - "passione impressa" - soon vanish but used to linger in the mind for a long while.

In the matter of studies Giuseppe Tucci was most respectful of freedom and the choice of others. Over the years I don't remember a single instance of imposition, too narrow a solicitation, a control; he knew to give "with that silent modesty that makes the gift acceptable". "In manus tuas commenda": with these words he entrusted to me books and manuscripts which later we examined again together for eventual publication, with that sentiment of silent and obvious trust, which indeed is encouragement the most efficacious. But not unlike every good teacher, he also knew to discourage. Treating of the difficult studies, which called for a long preparation and complete dedication, he discerned many to be hesitant or tepid or simply curious, impatient of the study of languages which alone permit of access to the sources (and his intuition was unmistakable), and he would reject them unceremoniously, exhorting them to take the sun or some other more pleasing pastime. Part of his impatience was owing to the fear (sometimes even excessive) that they were

merely aiming at a career or that superficial curiosity outran in them genuine scientific interest and spiritual exigency.

By temperament Giuseppe Tucci was intolerant of any form of deceptive democratization, but he always endeavoured to be correct with his innate authority and prestige (which he maintained till the last day not without an air some time of simple ostentation), his waverings and accommodations pulling directly to his way. Of ladies dedicated to studies, specially oriental, while appreciating isolated cases, he was often diffident, not being sure like Leopardi on account of the weakness of feminine nature, of the *Śakti*, of that most delicate instrument of depth and height which inclined him always to be respectful and sensitive but fearful lest the severity of the discipline should offend against the divine nimbleness and the essence itself of femininity. Giuseppe Tucci was not a feminist.

Although he encouraged his young pupils, he would not, because he was solicitous of their future, support them in their facile illusions. "To me belongs the duty," he warned in 1974, "to caution you that your mission is not easy, that your zeal will not be encouraged; it can fade like a rare flower in default of water. After finishing your courses with success there opens for you the period of your life happiest and at the same time horrendous. You are masters of yourselves, but you have received no guarantee of employment. There will begin for you the way of the cross, the interval of anguish between the University and the obligations of life. There exists here no half way house or asylum between school and employment; the studies are not small, and having absorbed the ardour and the fire of your best years, they run the risk of remaining a distant memory. The organisation of the universities does not reserve lucrative posts to the specialists of oriental learning. And their absorption in offices is long and difficult."

Both with example and teaching, Giuseppe Tucci held to the essential, *Pradhāne Yatnaḥ Kartavyaḥ*, as Patañjali said, looking with something between compassion and wonder at the miserable vanity of so many brief articles and notices which encumber the academic annals, good only for multiplying themes at one or other conference. Error in particular did not frighten him and he rather sought to exorcise his students and the youngest among his collaborators of its excessive fear. "Error in particular," he declared in 1979 "never held terror for me. There will always be commission of error and correction thereof. Error ought not to paralyse; it is a risk which he who works on the new fatally runs. But it is proper for the new to invite more: to open new fields of research, to discover documents not known before, to launch out hypotheses of work which, if they will be able in the course of the studies

to complete and corroborate, are nevertheless the first flashes of the tremulous lights, which help the probable solution of the obscure problems. And for the rest doesn't the Bhagavadgītā say that every action is wrapped up with error just as fire with smoke? And Nāgārjuna, that the only instrument of truth is error proper? And Goethe that "es irrt der Mensch so lang er strebt"?

As always happens to men of genius, whatever may be their field, no one can determine their heredity with regard to their interest; and their no small number of pupils will cultivate and develop, each one as he can the disciplines which they feel to be more congenial to them, but that all were by force of circumstances to the last particulars reunited in him and dominated by him.

In 1970 Giuseppe Tucci left his house in Rome and retired to the countryside, fixing his abode at S. Polo dei Cavalieri near Tivoli. Life in the city had never been congenial to him, not even when the city was different from what it is today. In him love of nature had always been very strong. Certain verdure, certain changes of leaves, certain transmutations of colour in the earth and the meadows, some mountain scenes (two things which he most loved, he admitted, were the sun, like Julian the Apostate, and the mountain, like the shepherds) were viewed by him with special intensity so as to make him part of themselves. Strong as always has been his love of nature, scarce was his interest, curiously enough, in the study of the subject both in itself and in the particulars: the names and characteristics of plants, stones, stars, animals isolated from all, and for him perhaps as it should be as disintegrated fragments of a solemn time, did not interest him at all, and if they interested him, it was as referring to man and his works. Above all, he delighted in long journeys (in Tibet and Nepal, traversing on foot or horseback, as we have seen, thousands of kilometres) not in group as is often the custom today but more often than not with a friend or a student; neither is it mountain in Abruzzo, in Lazio or in Marche which he had not climbed and of whose footpaths he had no minute knowledge. This habit of travelling, he observed till a few years ago (as long as, that is, he physically could): he related to me that his happiest birthday was the eightieth when alone on Mount Gennaro he slipped and broke a leg (the police found him a few hours later).

He was very fond of animals, of dogs and cats in particular, of these latter creatures who alone in the land of enjoyment can, like the gods, swallow the karma and not accumulate it and also perceive acutely and pitiously the words, the logos, from which they are excluded. And during his last months his favourite cat never left his bed, leaving it angrily only when obliged to do so and returning to it immediately thereafter. "Of the sufferings in the world," he wrote in 1977, "there is also much of it. The days are interwoven with it from the cradle to the litter, large and small, of the body and of the soul, turned blindly and by accident fallen under us, but the suffering of the beasts appears to me of another dimension; it is suffering only, a metaphysical spasm, it is a hopeless solitude of suffering. To man are offered many easy ways of mitigating the suffering: I do not speak of the means which science invents, but those resistances which reason and faith suggest, the support which education and conviction prepare or habituate, nor are wanting the comforts of the devotion of other people or the tears of those who are close to him. But in the animal which suffers it is suffering in its infiniteness and solitude."

Of science, scientists and of their perilous games he had undisguised suspicion and distrust. Of the "magnificent and progressive destiny" he was somewhat sceptical, being inclined rather to the Hindu idea (but not Hindu only) of the declining *yuga*, hoping with the Bhagavadgītā, after joining in the worst decadence, in an existential and moral regeneration; and on the last days of his life he added this moving note which I am here transcribing: "when the law which governs the things, be it the Dharma of the Hindus and the Buddhists or the Tao of the Chinese, will commence to weaken, then the Saviors will descend on the ruin of the universe extinguished for reviving it and restoring it to its premordial health. I am not ashamed to confess that I also think so; it does not matter to me if science does not agree with me because I have greater faith in my masters with whom I have so many times discussed in their hermitages on the top of the Tibetan mountains closed or walled in their own inaccessible cells. They did not know who I could be but they were not ignorant that a pilgrim from the West had come in search of them in their voluntary withdrawal in expectation of the final dissolution in the supreme Light. In what they revealed to me I always had greater faith than in our science. If we persist in living as we have been doing, we shall be the bishops of the Apocalypse whose approaching arrival is foretold by all religions. when at the conclusion of the eons and the culmination of human perfidy all will be burnt in the fire of universal conflagration."

The comfort and speed of communication, he saw, had not resulted in the reciprocal understanding of the peoples; they are

more a snare and a grave danger. "Who will seek the brother? Where are any more the Giovanni di Piandel Carpine, Marco Polo, Pietro della Valle, the Venetian ambassadors, Matteo Ricci? To approach the soul of a people more can be achieved with their lingering bivouacking by caravans than by planes. He who has pilgrimaged in tents for more than five years tells you this. The faster the travel the more the countries appear to become vague, argumentative and quarrelsome. And again: "The differences and suspicion close the frontier and the uniformity of manners and customs, the monotony which they enchain, the levelling which submerges everything, render desolate our days, incinerated by the same presumptions everywhere. And no more solitude, because everywhere there is he who spies on you, thrusts his nose into your life and even into the secrets of your thought and of your head. To travel when the world is becoming uniform is like going about in a hospital of the dying; flashing of the old habits which are dissolved in a hurricane of sparks which are put out. And then nothing remains but to go down in time to raise the dead. There is no more to explore on the earth. With Tibet and Nepal I have finished my explorations, also there everything changes. Now that the East is absorbing our poison there is nothing else to do than to descend into the past; and because we have to do with shadows and images, the soul is in peace. The rest does not count."

Of the sentiments, of this intrusion of I myself and of mine, falsifiers and obscurers of the transparency of things, he had always an instinctive fear and sense of offended modesty, thinking of so exorcising them that he was entirely free from them and was arid like the herbs of the desert. And yet any one who knew him would agree to have rarely met a person less arid and of stronger feeling. Towards friends who were loyal and enemies and detractors who were not wanting, he was equally pleasing and polite.

Among people, he esteemed and loved the cold and the warm, but the lukewarm he always contemned, having had fixed in mind the words of the Angel in the Apocalypse (3.15-16), which I have cited more than once: "Scio opera tua, quia neque frigidus es neque calidus; utinam frigidus esses aut calidus. Sed quia tepidus es et nec frigidus nec calidus, incipiam te evomere ex ore meo." ("I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot. But because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of my mouth.")

But merciless time wins and transforms everything - "tutto vince e ritoglie il tempo avaro." A car accident in Afghanistan resulting in a fall with many broken ribs and the age itself were enough to demonstrate his tough metal, and in his last days he was compelled by his inability to move not to force himself thanks to his inborn civility to accompany to the door whomsoever visited him and not to get up but only bow if this was a lady. And as regards his courtesy and elegance, I always remember an old episode, now of many years and perhaps almost forgotten, when IsMEO invited for a conference F.W. Thomas, the renowned English orientalist, then old and incapable of making himself heard, and I was amazed on that occasion (but no longer so) at the concern of Giuseppe Tucci for him and the filial affection and devotion with which he escorted and guided him from room to room without a moment's break, assisting him when words would fail him, bearing with him, and trying in every way to see that he was not borne in upon by the infirmities of old age, while others pushed on with impatience and alas perhaps also with a laugh.

In his last fatal illness in which he was lovingly and constantly assisted by his wife Francesca Bonardi, he maintained an extraordinary power of spirit, without a word of complaint, impatience or offence, comforting himself as best he could and ever thankful to those who would be around, assisting him. At length the struggle between a mind grateful till the last and alert to itself and a body which no longer obeyed was resolved on 5th April, 1984 towards 5 in the morning: he asked for a sheet of paper to write, could not, and from there a little, as he wished to add in the funeral announcement: was dissolved in the supreme light. He was given a Christian burial. Two months more, and he would have completed ninety. Of the academic honours and numerous other Italian and foreign distinctions which had been conferred on him, he wished to remember only one, the Nehru Prize for International Understanding, thanks to the love he always bore for India and its culture and also perhaps on account of the bond of friendship with one who together with Gandhi was the supreme architect of Indian independence.

There are words and expressions which live in our mind, ready to be revived when a corresponding occasion, a similar event or memory, summons for them. Such for me are those of Plato at the conclusion of Phaedrus, with which I close here these lines, alluding to him as a man and teacher who played such an important role in my life: "Among the people whom I knew the best, the wisest and the most upright."

Castel Gioulano, March 1985

(By courtesy of IsMEO from the Italian of No. LV of its Serie Orientale Roma)

Translator's Note

I make my own the author's words in his concluding paragraph. I am beholden to the late Professor Tucci, as his invitation for me to the University of Rome was a turning point in my career. On my successful completion of the thesis under the supervision of Professor Luciano Petech, to whom as well I am happy here to acknowledge my sense of gratitude, I was privileged to receive the following letter from the illustrious Professor:

ISTITUTO ITALIANO
PER IL
MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

IL PRESIDENTE

Rome, July 4. 1953

Dear Dr. Moraes,

it is with the greatest pleasure that I extend to you my warmest congratulations for your brilliant achievement concerning the degree of the Oriental School. You have no doubt derived the best benefits from your stay in Italy, and the conferring of the degree comes as the most deserving recognition of your labours. You must be proud indeed of your success, and all those who appreciate the qualities of your mind and of your character will rejoice with you.

With all good wishes for your works, I send you my best regards.

Yours truly,

(Giuseppe TUCCI)

Dr George Marc MORAES
Pensione Vitali
Piazza Adriana, 12 int. 12
R O M A

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by

Luciano Petech e Fabio Scialpi

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Abbreviations

BSGI	= Bollettino della [Reale] Societa Geografica Italiana.
EW	= East and West
FR	= Alle Fonti delle Religioni
FSA	= Forme dello spirito asiatico (v.n. 148 of this bibliography)
GSAI	= Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana
IHQ	= Indian Historic Quarterly
ILN	= Illustrated London News
JRAS	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
MCB	= Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques
Mem. RANL	= Rendiconti della [Reale] Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie
NA	= Nuova Antologia
OM	= Opera Minora (v.n. 330 of this bibliography)
RA	= Rivista di Antropologia
RC	= Rivista di Cultura
Rev.	= Review
RIS	= Rivista Italiana di Sociologia
RSO	= Rivista degli Studi Orientali
VM	= Le Vie del Mondo (till 1937 : Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo).

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PAGAN BRONZE IMAGE OF VAJRĀSANA-BUDDHA

Lokesh Chandra

"Pagan has yielded a bronze stele representing the Buddha seated in bhūmisparśa-mudrā on a lotus-throne and flanked by two Bodhisattvas, evidently Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. Both of them are seated in lalitāsana, a favourite attitude for Bodhisattvas. Both of these attendants hold a lotus with a long stalk in their left hand, while the right is in varada-mudrā. The pedestal of the throne shows in relief two gazelles seated face to face on both sides of the dharmacakra; the subject thus refers undoubtedly to the famous event in the Deer Park of Benares. The head of the Buddha is surrounded by an aureole schematically arranged in a decorative lotus design, and the round stele is finished with flame designs at the sides, and with a foliated design at the top. It is significant that the two figures are ornamented and crowned."¹

In the description of plates (fig. 2) Ray dates it to about the 11-12th century and comments: "Dr. N. J. Krom, relying on finds from Java, suggested to me that they may also represent Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni. Note the dharmacakra flanked by two crouching gazelles which locates the scene at Sarnath, but the Buddha is depicted in bhūmi-sparsa mudrā locating the scene at Bodh-gaya."² The suggestion of Krom is not tenable as the two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni, usually flank Amitābha, and in this capacity Vajrapāni is termed Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Both hands of Amitābha are invariably in dhyāna mudrā. The present image cannot be Amitābha as he does not bear this characteristic and the second bodhisattava cannot be identified as Vajrapāni in the absence of a vajra.

A number of questions arise: How is the anomaly of the bhūmi-sparsa mudrā representing Bodhgaya and the Wheel of Dharma flanked by two deer denoting Sarnath - to be explained? Does any other Tathāgata have the right hand in bhūmi-sparsa? Was Buddha ever flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya? Ray has taken this identification from the local tradition of Burma. What is held by Maitreya with a long stalk? What does the stūpa atop the outer aureole signify?

The Tathāgata in bhūmi-sparsa mudrā as well as sitting on a lotus with the dharma-cakra with two deer cannot be Śākyamuni of the early traditions. Two Tathāgatas of the Vaipulya tradition are in this mudrā of touching the earth: namely, Aksobhya and Divya- Dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa. Two bronze images from Java in

the Musée Guimet identified as Akṣobhya have their right hand in the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā.³ In the Vajradhātu mandala⁴ Akṣobhya's right hand is in the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. In the Garbha maṇḍala the right hand of Divya-duṇḍubhi-megha-nirghoṣa is in the same mudrā.⁵ The Pagan bronze cannot pertain to Akṣobhya, because he is never flanked by two bodhisattvas. He can neither be Divya-duṇḍubhi-megha-nirghoṣa who is not represented independently.

The chronological incongruity in the juxtaposition of Bodhgaya and Sarnath, as represented by bodhi and dharmacakra-pravartana, shows that the image represents a transcendental Tathāgata who emerged after the turning of the Wheel of Dharma by the historic Buddha Śākyamuni. The attributes of the historic Śākyamuni were assigned to new transcendental Tathāgatas: "In another time and another place (some other Buddhakṣetra), the 'show' could be very different yet there would still be the eight great events in the life of the Buddha, whatever his name might be."⁶ The Pagan bronze represents a transcendental form.

Sādhana 3-5 of the Sādhana-mālā are devoted to Vajrāsana-bhaddāraka (3) or Vajrāsana-Buddha-bhaddāraka (4), on whose right is Maitreya and to his left is Lokēśvara. The Lord (Bhagavān) is touching the earth with his right hand while his left rests in the lap (savyakaram bhū-sparśa-mudrā-āvitam avasavyam utsarga-sthitam). Maitreya bodhisattva is white, two-armed, wears a jatā-mukuta, his right hand holds a chowrie, and the left sports a nāgakesara flower. On the left is Lokēśvara Bodhisattva, white, chowrie in the right hand and lotus in the left. This answers precisely to the Pagan bronze, which is thus an image of the transcendental Vajrāsana-Buddha.

In the earlier tradition, Maitreya is the Future Buddha. But, later on in the Vaipulya tradition he is a bodhisattva who plays several roles. In our bronze he is a bodhisattva as well as the Future Buddha. At the top of the aureole of the Pagan bronze is a caitya, with leaves and stamens. The caitya has not been noticed by Ray. A caitya is present in the coiffure of Maitreya as the Future Buddha, but only in images.⁷ The leaves and stamens (kesara) represent the nāgapuṣpika, which will be the tree of Bodhi of the Future Buddha Maitreya.⁸ The nāgakesara is a white flower with yellow stamens. The caitya amid leaves and nāgakesara stamens represents Maitreya. This is to highlight the role and function of Maitreya as the Lord of Tuṣita Heaven. Pious persons wanted to be reborn in the Heaven of Maitreya. We may cite the instance of a Burmese inscription which expresses the wish of King Anawrahta (Aniruddha) to attain the paradise of Maitreya: *Mayāniruddha-devena krtam, tena Maitreya-sambodho labheyan nivṛtto(?) padam.* "This should

has been made by me King Aniruddha, thereby may I when deceased (nivṛtto) attain abode (padam) in the Enlightenment of Maitreya",⁹ where the translation has to be corrected.

The cult of Maitreya was established in Buddhism from very early times. It was widespread in China as early as the fourth century. Tao-an (312-385) organised and disseminated the cult of Maitreya who was to descend to earth to restore the Dharma. Tao-an felt that his mission was also to rejuvenate Buddhism. Tao-an appeared before an image of Maitreya at Hsiang-yang and prayed to be reborn in his Tusita heaven.¹⁰

In the fifth and sixth centuries, China was undergoing a confusing era, and the people were convinced that the last period of the Dharma was at hand. "Consequently, they waited anxiously for the coming of Maitreya to purify and restore the dharma on earth. Images of Maitreya were therefore fairly common in the Yun-kang and Lung-men sculpture. In these early statues Maitreya appears as a large and heroic figure."¹¹

In the Lung-men caves of the Northern Wei dynasty the leading deities are Śākyamuni and Maitreya.¹² General Yang Ta-yen, one of the most famous generals of Wei, set up a stone statue of Maitreya on behalf of Emperor Hsiao-wen.¹³ The popularity of Maitreya during the Northern Wei "had a twofold aspect. First there was devotion to the deity as a bodhisattva, waiting in the Tusita heaven to be reborn on earth as the next Buddha. As part of this there was the earnest wish to be reborn in that heaven so that the devotee might be able to meet Maitreya face to face. Then there was the belief in Maitreya as the future Buddha here on earth. As part of this there was the earnest wish to be reborn on this earth at the time when Maitreya makes his descent, so that the individual might hear the teachings direct from him and benefit from the peace, security and prosperity that he was to bring to earth. It was also hoped that this descent would occur during the reign of the Northern Wei Dynasty, so that Maitreya would make use of that dynasty to pacify and unify the world."¹⁴ After the seventh century the cult of Maitreya was replaced by that of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara, in China.

The Pagan bronze image pertains to the transcendental Vaipulya tradition. It depicts Vajrāsana-Buddha flanked by Lokēśvara and Maitreya. The stūpa atop the aureole emphasises its context of the Maitreya cult: probably the wish of the donor to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven of Maitreya, or an earnest prayer of a royal personage to Maitreya to descend and stabilise the Dharma on earth.

FOOTNOTES

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LITERATURE AND SOCIETY IN NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD : A STUDY OF THE CASTE SYSTEM WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE OCCUPATIONAL CASTES

Ramesh Chandra Sharma

MAN is the pivot round which revolve society, literature and history, and his life is the *sine qua non* of their being. Society represents agglomeration of men in mutual cooperation and harmony. These depend on "the total network of relations between human beings,"¹ and these relations, in fact, form the components of society.² Literature is the vehicle which reflects and conveys something of the experience of the society³ in such a way as to produce out of the apparent chaos of human life a pattern⁴ through the efflorescence of the integrated human personality⁵ so as to help a better organisation and understanding of the factors of existence⁶ by its "essence of beauty, spirit of creativity and the light of the realities of life."⁷ And history epitomizes both society and literature by studying "the human phenomena as we see them move through time and space."⁸ It, thereby, aims at understanding men both as individuals and in their social relationships, which embrace everything that affects life of mankind.⁹ This is not a static study,¹⁰ for history is 'life going on, changing and developing.'¹¹ Thus this trinity manifests different facets of the one reality, namely, human life.

In view of the above, there can be no gainsaying about the necessity of the study of literature for a proper understanding of history. Since the historian is expected not merely to describe men, but make them "intimately known to us," he has to exhibit in his work "the character and spirit of his age in miniature."¹² This he does by representing the 'progress of life in its different phases and nothing can elucidate life better than literature.'¹³ For the writer does not write in a vacuum. He cannot avoid the influence of the circumstances through which he lives and carries on his work, for he himself is the part and parcel of the world he delineates in his writings. These influences work on him constantly. Therefore, it is natural for him to react to them. Besides, being a creative artist, a free thinker and an independent reviewer of life, he also shapes it and thereby influences the society.¹⁴ He, thus, represents the ethos of his milieu, which finds reflection in literature. Hence literature becomes a veritable social document and as such yields such intimate glimpses of life as more conventional and direct sources of history, by their very nature, cannot be expected to reveal.¹⁵ Literature thus becomes a unique source of information for the reconstruction of social life of an age.

II

An attempt is here made to examine the contemporary Hindi literature as a source of information for the study of social life in northern India during the medieval period, with particular reference to the caste, which with its elaborate and well-defined system formed the real basis of social organisation. It went not only to the roots of the Indian society but even embraced those who came from outside. Those who attacked and criticised it accepted it as a matter of course. Kabir, for example, could never forget that he was a *julāhā* of Kasi.¹⁶ Tulsidas, who upbraided those who troubled him about his caste because he became an orphan soon after his birth and was brought up by a *sādhu*, was conscious of not defiling the caste of others,¹⁷ and at the same time regretted the falling off of the people from the *varṇāśramadharmā*.¹⁸ The muslim society came to be influenced by the caste system¹⁹ so much that Sir Muhammad Iqbal had to say, "there are castes and sub-castes like the Hindus! Surely we have out-Hindued the Hindu himself. We are suffering from the double caste system, the religious caste system, sectarianism, and the social caste system, which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus."²⁰

Despite being predominantly "devotional and erotic"²¹ and bound by "formal conventions that not only laid down elaborate and rigid rules of composition but also determined the choice of subjects that merited literary treatment,"²² Hindi literature of the medieval period forms a rich but not yet properly tapped source of information for social life. For its creators - the poets, were impelled by "the desire to feel the reality of life" and accepted the challenges of the "complicated and ever shifting fabric of custom and law, society and politics,"²³ whether *bhaktas* or court poets. Kabir, Sur and Tulsī, for example, attempted to uplift the contemporary social life and sublimation of its thought through the progress respectively of the individual, the family and the society.²⁴ The court poets in spite of their close relations with their patrons never gave up their self-respect and boldness and tried to raise up the morale of the people through their historical-heroic poetry.²⁵ Thus their social-consciousness enabled them to transcend the crippling dead-weight of convention and to reveal some of the realities of the contemporary social life.

Rich information of varied type is available on social organisation in general and the institution of caste in particular in the Hindi literature of the medieval period. It is to be noted in this connection that while the muslim writers - *sufis* and others, treat the subject in a specific way, the Hindu writers take it for granted

and in their works only incidental stray references to castes and sub-castes are to be found. However, certain delineations of castes appear to be conventional to the Hindi writers of the medieval period. Thus descriptions of towns and cities generally carry specific references to castes of the people inhabiting them.²⁶ A marked convention in such descriptions is a detailed account of the chief markets of the towns where shops kept by people of different trades, which had consolidated in most cases as separate castes are generally mentioned.²⁷ Again, references to castes occur in connection with the account of social ceremonies and domestic rites and rituals.²⁸ References to different occupations provide yet another occasion for the enumeration of castes.²⁹ In these frequent mentions of caste, it is interesting to note, the females figure quite prominently not only in connection with the different domestic rites and ceremonies but also as practitioners of varied sundry trades and avocations in society.³⁰ Their intimate connection with the performance of the family rites and ceremonies is quite natural, as women usually play the leading role on such occasions. The references to the women professionals make it clear that women of the lower orders of society actively participated in bread-earning for the family and as such might have enjoyed greater freedom and regard than their counterparts belonging to the higher orders of the then society. Not only this, the analogy of the castes, *varṇas* to be more precise, has been used in many other contexts, as for example, as a standard for indicating the classical correctness of the metre in poetry,³¹ and indicating the gradation of horses,³² white of which being regarded as *Brāhmaṇs*, red as *Kshatriyas*, yellow as *Vaiśyas* and black as *Sūdras*.³³

III

Any inquiry into the caste system should invariably begin with the consideration of the *varṇa* system, traditional of the Indian social organisation since the later Vedic period. By the medieval period, however, the system had undergone complete change which came to be regretted in the late sixteenth century.³⁴ Yet references to the four *varṇas* are very frequent in the Hindi works of the period under review.³⁵ But the general treatment of the *varṇas* in these works is neither distinct nor specific except in the case of the *Brāhmaṇs*, who figure very prominently in the contemporary Hindi poetry as a caste. They appear to enjoy their traditional pre-eminence in the society.³⁶ It is interesting to note that some new bases for their special position in the society had been discovered in accordance with the changed times, as is indicated by their mention as inspiring the Hindus to resist the political domination of the Muslims.³⁷ Their subdivisions and traditional-cum-specific functions are frequently mentioned, as would be clear from Appendix-A. But by the period

effective barrier to the mobility of labour in the long term at any rate.⁷² In determining the social status among the different occupational castes, the usual medieval differentiation between occupations requiring manual labour and those not needing it or what we call the white-collar jobs, and the polluting and the non-polluting nature of the work concerned, appear to be the main criteria. Of these the latter in both cases were accorded a higher social status.⁷³ However, in so far as they contributed their respective services towards the common life of the society, the castes were welded together and became interdependent. Through their certain special functions on certain occasions, especially social ceremonies, certain occupational castes, ordinarily considered to be low, were afforded importance and even opportunities of enjoying temporary superiority.⁷⁴ At the same time, being economically the most productive section, they held the strings of social prosperity, as is clear from the frequent references to business activities and the special notices of the banias in the contemporary records,⁷⁵ which, however, are not chary of mentioning about the sufferings of these professionals at the hands of the ruling classes.⁷⁶ This has been regarded as the cause of the proverbial poverty of the artisans, because it not only meant low wages but also implied working for no payment quite often.⁷⁷ The abundant supply of artisans has also been regarded as a cause for low payments.⁷⁸

Although in the medieval feudal society, in which kinship organisation depended on the patron-protégé relationship,⁷⁹ they may not be expected to enjoy a place commensurate with their share in production, the occupational castes, nevertheless, formed the basis of social organisation in those days, as is clear from their multiplicity and the number of groups into which they may be categorised.⁸⁰ One such group was formed by those castes which rendered traditional services to the society and received annual and occasional payments (*pāvanā*), usually in kind, in return.⁸¹ They were generally called *pauniā*⁸² or *tahaluā*,⁸³ who may be regarded as traders in social services. They worked under the age-old traditional kinship organisation of the castes, known as the *jajmānī* system.⁸⁴ Among these the barber-*nāi*, also called *hajamānā* or *vratī*,⁸⁵ was very prominent. He performed his usual tonsorial duties, but on occasions of domestic rites and ceremonies, especially marriages, he used to figure prominently along with the priest.⁸⁶

Another well marked group was of those who were engaged in business activities. Generally called baniks and *bañjārās*, they included a wide range of people who earned their living through transactions in goods and money.⁸⁷ At the apex of the group were the *vaiśyas*, who as *baniās* figure prominently in the accounts of the foreign travellers.⁸⁸ The sectarian caste of jains was also engaged

in the *banik-vritti* (profession of a banik, i.e., business).⁸⁹ Some of the members of the community in view of their intellectual and professional attainments, cultivated tastes and outlook, may be regarded as forming the nucleus of the Hindu middle-class, as will be clear from the perusal of Banārasidas's autobiography - the *Ardha-Kathānak*.⁹⁰

Those practising various crafts formed the third group of the occupational castes.⁹¹ They included both practitioners of the fine arts as well as those engaged in the utilitarian crafts. They, especially the former, generally prospered under the patronage of the royalty and the nobility. But at the same time, they had to bear with the whims and frowns of their patrons,⁹² inspite of the excellence of their workmanship and products.⁹³ The usual professional activities of some of them found mention in the contemporary literature.⁹⁴

In the fourth group may be included professionals of a miscellaneous type.⁹⁵ Among these the primarily official class of the *kāyasthas*⁹⁶ by virtue of the epistolary and computational skills of its members is said to "rule all the courts."⁹⁷ Though they did not receive high pay, "they are still cherished by the great for their good service."⁹⁸ The bards⁹⁹ were also included in this group, in which may also be placed some of the tribal castes, like the *ahīr*, the *nat*, the *kevat* etc., which were devoted to specific occupations.¹⁰⁰ Thus the occupational castes formed a major segment of society in northern India during the medieval period.

VI

Some of the tribes had become consolidated as castes during the medieval period.¹⁰¹ Of these the *rājputs*, who had adopted "the sword as their calling",¹⁰² were the most important. They were considered to be divided into thirty-six families,¹⁰³ of the three branches - the *Suryavanśī*, the *Chandravanśī* and the *Agnikula*.¹⁰⁴ But there was no certainty and agreement on the names of the different families, and actually more than thirtysix have been mentioned, which included some other independent tribes such as the *jats*, the *gūjars* and *badgūjars* as well.¹⁰⁵ These tribal castes are to be distinguished from those tribes which lived in the forests beyond the pale of the organised society, as pointed out earlier.

The jains came to be regarded as a particular caste during the medieval period.¹⁰⁶ They also came to think of themselves as such, having developed the common requisites of castes - the *kula*.

gotra etc.¹⁰⁷ Thus in those days there existed sectarian castes as well.¹⁰⁸ Here it may be interesting to note that even in the Muslim society in medieval India traces of castes and their sub-divisions existed, which were not only confined to those converted to it from Hinduism.¹⁰⁹

Then there were those who were placed at the lowest rung of the social ladder. They were generally despised inspite of the services rendered by them to the society.¹¹⁰ They were treated as pariahs and as such as untouchables.

Thus it is clear that the medieval Indian society consisted of innumerable castes and sub-castes. They formed an intricate hierarchical order.

FOOTNOTES

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Kahū kī betī Saun betā na byāhal,
Kahukī jatī bigāra na Sau
Mere na jati pāti, na Chahaun kahu ki jāti pāti
R. C. Shukla et al
(eds.) *Tulsī Granthāvali*, vol. ii (Kāśī 2031 V), p. 187. (abbrv. T.G., ii)
18. Tulsīdās, *Rāmācharitamānasa* (Mūla Majhalā size) (Gorakhpur 2025 V) pp. 580-582. (abbrv. RCM). Also Nābhādās, *Bhaktamāla* (Bombay 1978 V) pp. 313-314. (abbrv. BM).
19. Tara Chand, *Society and State in the Mughal Period* (New Delhi) (1961) p. 29; M. W. Mirza Muslim Religion and Society, in R. C. Majumdar et al (eds), *History And Culture of the Indian People*, vol. vi (Bombay 1960) p. 608.
20. As cited in *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, p. 31.
21. *The Indian Historical Review*, vi, 1-2, p. 209.
22. *Ibid.*
23. G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social history* (London, 1962), pp. viii & ix.
24. G. B. Raman, *Kavitraya Samāj Darśan* (Chittur 1971), pp. 7-8, 185.

25. *Rītikālīn Hindī Sāhitya kī Aitihāsik Vyākhyā*, pp. 82, 221. Indeed, the whole book deserves careful perusal in this context.
26. So far as poetical works are concerned references are generally to verse no./page no.: Banārasīdās, *Ardha-Kathānak*, ed. N.R. Premi (Bombay 1957) 29/4-5 (For an English translation of the work by the present author vide *Indica*, vii, 1-2, March & September 1970, pp. 49-73 & 105-120) (abbrv. A.K.); Dāūd, *Chandāyana*, ed. P.L. Gupta (Bombay 1964) 26/90 (abbrv. Ch.); V.P. Misra (ed.), *Keshav-Granthāvalī*, ii (Allahabad 1959) *Rāma Chandrikā* (abbrv. RC), 43/233; iii, *Vīra Charitra* (abbrv. VC) 5/557 (abbrv. K-G); Usmān, *Chitrāvalī*, ed. S. Verma (Allahabad 1929) 14/6 (abbrv. CV); Kutuban, *Mrigāvatī*, ed. S.G. Misra (Prayag 1885 Saka) 171/121, 172/122 (abbrv. MG).
27. M. P. Gupta (ed.), *Prithvīrāj Rāsan* (Jhansi 2020 V 25/10 (abbrv. PR); Vidyāpati, *Kīrtīlātā*, ed. V. S. Agrawal (Jhansi 1962) 100-114/71-78, 121-122/80 (abbrv. KL); M. M. Jāisī, *Padmāvat*, ed. R. C. Shukla (Kāśī 2008 V) 2/14-15, 3/80-81 (abbrv. Pd); S. B. Singh, *Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān* (Jhansi 2018 V) pp. 352-367 (abbrv. Rahim).
28. Ch 251/222; Tulsi, *Rāmalālā Mahachhū* (abbrv. Rln), TG ii, 5-18/3-5; Manjhan, *Madhu Mālī*, ed. M. P. Gupta (Allahabad 1961) 52/43, 54/45, 286/242, 287/243 441/387, 462/407, 515/459 (abbrv. MM); Pd 3/80-81.
29. MG 25-26/75-76; Rahim, pp. 352-367.
30. *Ibid*; Senāpati, *Kavitta Ratnākara*, ed. U.S. Shukla (Prayag 1936) 59/63 (abbrv. Senapati).
31. Keshav, *Chhandamālā* (abbrv. Cm), K-G ii, 13/450, 21/451, 32/452.
32. VC, K-G iii, 46-47/555
33. *Ibid*.
34. RCM, Uttar, 98/580, 102/583; *Kavitāvalī*, ed. I. Narayan (Gorakhpur 2025 V) Uttar, 84/155, 183/223 (abbrv. KV).
35. Nanddās, *Nanddās Granthāvalī*, ed. V. Das (Kāśī 2006 V) 56 (abbrv. Nand); *Gītāvalī*, ed. V. Sharma (Allahabad 1926) Uttar, 1/275 (abbrv. GV); CV 14/6; *Rasikpriyā*

- (abbrv. R), K-G i, 4/1 RC, K-G ii, 43/233, VC, K-G iii, 31/479; Bhūshan, *Śivarāj Bhūshan* (abbrv. SB), *Bhūshan Granthāvalī*, ed. S.B. Misra (Kāśī 2015 V) 22/116 (abbrv. BG); Narottamdas, *Sudāmā Charita*, ed. P. C. Jain (Agra 1966) 12/29 (abbrv. SC); A. K. 28/4; Lal Kavi, *Chhatra-prakāśa*, ed. M. P. Singh (New Delhi 1973) p. 102 (abbrv. Cp).
36. Nand 59, 207; Tulsi, *Kundaliyā Rāmāyana*, ed. S. N. Pandey (Allahabad 1941) 60-61, 196 (abbrv. KR); *Pārvatī Maṅgal* (abbrv. Pm), T. G. ii, 93/31; G V Bāl, 2/7, 4/9, 6/15, 12/24; RCM Bāl, 155/98, 165/102; *Kavipriyā* (abbrv. K), K-G i, 77/174; RC, K-G ii, 14-20/342-343, 36/364, 55-56/410; A.K. 417-427/46-48; Senāpati 54/22.
37. Ratan Bābani (abbrv. RB), K-G iii, 22-23/469. The entire work of Bhūshan centres round Shivaṛāj and Chhatrasāl, two Principal opponents of Aurangzeb. It would be appropriate, here, to consider Ziā-i-Barani's fulminations regarding Hindus in general and Brāhmaṇs in particular - Cf. *The Fatawā-i-Jahāndārī*, trns. Afsar Begum, *Medieval India Quarterly*, iii, 1-2, pp. 21-22, 62-65.
38. This phenomenon was, in fact, an earlier one - Cf. *Manu Smṛiti*, ed. & trns. R. Bhatt (Bombay 1929) 8/102/198.
39. Ch 432/323; Pd 1/30; *Society and State in the Mughal Period* p. 26. Abul Fazl mentions ten categories of brāhmaṇs according to their occupations, including *Mlechchha* and *Chāndāl-Āin-i-Akbarī*, iii, (trns.) H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta 1948) p. 129.
40. RCM Ayo., 172/283; Uttar, 99-100/581; Senāpati, 54/22. Yet the brāhmaṇs continued to take pride in poverty and equanimity, as is clear from the following line of Narottam dās - "Aurat ko Dhan Chahiye, Babri banman ko Dhan keval Tichha" - SC, 10/28.
41. Kabir, 93; *Gorakhbānī*, ed. P.D. Barthwal (Prayag 1999 V), 42/136 (abbrv. GB); RCM Uttar, 100/581; BM, 235.
42. For instance, those by Tulsidās and Keshavdās.
43. Senāpati, 26/103 and 27/104; *Āin* iii, p. 130.
44. *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, p. 26.
45. Cf. Appendix A.

46. *Āin* iii, 126. Even here there appears to be some confusion, for sometimes the khatriis are referred to as a separate caste altogether, as, for example, in Ch. 251/222.
47. *Āin* iii, p. 131. Cf. Appendix C.
48. Ch. 26/90.
49. *Jahāngīr-Jas-Chandrikā* (abbrv. JC), K-G iii, 16/618.
50. Cf. Appendix B.
51. *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, p. 34.
52. B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India (1030-1194 A.D.)* (Calcutta 1960) p. 79.
53. Cf. Appendix F.
54. RCM Ayo., 250/320; CV 45-49/76/77. Also Appendix F.
55. For example, 41 in Ch, 31 in MG and more than 60 in Rahim.
56. KL, 121-122/80; K. M. Sen, *Bharat men Jatibheda* (Calcutta 1940) pp. 19-24; *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 79. Iravati Karve has shown how 204 castes can be derived on the basis of mixing of varnas as per Manu - *Hindu Samāj aur Jāti Vyavasthā* (Hindi translation of *Hindu Society : An Interpretation*) (Delhi 1975) p. 57.
57. P. V. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra kā Itihāsa*, i (Lucknow 1980) p. 120.
58. Ch. 35/98; MM, 515/459; Pd, 4/39; VC, K-G iii, 18/6/557. For further references in Hindi poetry vide M. G. Gupta, *Hindī Kāvya-men Bhāratīya Sanskriti* (Delhi 1968) pp. 322-323.
59. PR, 13/114; Pd, 3/80-81; M. P. Gupta (ed.), *Madhu Mālī Vārtā/Madhu Mālī Ras Vilās* (Kāśī 2021 V) p. 1 & note on p. 249 (abbrv. MMV/MR). Abul Fazl, however, says that the rajputs were divided into "thousands of septs" - *Āin* iii, p. 131.
60. A. K., 28/4

61. *Ibid.*, 29/5; MM, 52/43, 54/45.
62. MG 298-299/172-173.
63. *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, 79 ff.
64. No doubt, from the beginning there was no rigidity with regard to the profession assigned to each varṇa and caste, and "there were groups of occupations like trading, agriculture, labouring in the field, and doing military service which were looked upon as anybody's, and most castes were supposed to be eligible for them" - G.S. Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation* (Bombay 1961) p. 15.
65. These two varṇas were supposed to do all the productive as well as aesthetic labour in the society. Thus most of the occupational castes of the later days developed from these two varṇas, although a few like the kāyasthas might have been derived from all the four varṇas - R. Thapar, *Social Mobility in Ancient India*, in R. S. Sharma (ed.), *Indian Society : Historical Probings* (New Delhi 1974) pp. 87-88, 100, 111-112. Moreover, we come across progressive assimilation of the vaiśya with the śūdra, as revealed by the medieval commentators - *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 100. This process started in the Gupta period (circa 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.) - R.S. Sharma, *Śūdraṇ kā Prācīn Itihās* (New Delhi 1979) p. 280.
66. By the period of the sūtra literature (circa B.C. 600 to A.D. 300) - V. C. Pandey, *Bhāratvarsha kā Sāmājīk Itihās (600 B.C. - 100 A.D.)* (Allahabad 1960) pp. 2, 54, 98.
67. The intermingling of the varṇas was not liked by the lawgivers like Manu, who were purists trying to guard against this by creating different social groups in the form of castes, especially in the case of the pratiloma unions, in which the varṇa of the father was lower than that of the mother - *Bhāratvarsha kā Sāmājīk Itihās*, pp. 56-63; *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 99.
68. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (Hindi transl.) (Sagar 1966) pp. 14-16, 18ff, 21.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 333, 357, 366; *Bhāratvarsha kā Sāmājīk Itihās*, pp. 53-55; *Indian Society*, pp. 118, 122.
70. Bābur, dwelling upon the "advantages of Hindustān", says, "another good thing in Hindustān is that it has

- unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind.... Mulla Sharaf, writing about the building of Timur Beg's stone mosque, lays stress on the fact that on it 200 stone-cutters worked from Azarbaijan, Fars, Hindustan and other countries. But 680 men worked daily on my buildings in Agra, Sikri, Biana, Dulpur, Gualior and Kiul. In the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindustan" - A. S. Beveridge (trnslr), *Babur-Nama* (New Delhi [Reprint] 1970) p. 520 (abbrv. BN). He also mentions that "all artisans, wage-earners, and officials are Hindus" - Ibid, p. 518. Father Monserrate refers to the "great number of artizans" - J. S. Hoyland & S. N. Banerjee (trnslrs), *The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, S. J. (London 1922) p. 36.
71. BN pp. 518, 520; W. Foster, *Early Travels in India* (Delhi 1968) p. 322; E. Grey (ed.), *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India* (London 1892), i, p. 71; W. H. Moreland & P. Geyl (trnslrs), *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrance of Francisco Pelsaert* (Cambridge 1925) p. 60; R. C. Temple (ed.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ii. (London 1914) p. 94; F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (trnslr) A. Constable (London 1916) p. 259; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (trnslr) V. Ball, ii (London 1889) pp. 184-185; S. N. Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (New Delhi 1949) pp. 88, 254.
 72. Irfan Habib, Technology and Barriers to Technological Change in Mughal India, *The Indian Historical Review*, v. 1-2, pp. 170-171.
 73. *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 242. The kāyasthas, for example, largely being in the state service enjoyed greater regard.
 74. *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 25; Cf. Rln. TG ii, 5-18/3-5 *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vi. pp. 575-577, 579-580.
 75. For the contemporary literary references see Appendix B (ii) A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India* (Calcutta 1969) p. 229; *Early Travels*, pp. 226, 322, 323, 324; *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 152, 164, 285; *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, i, p. 178; *Jahangir's India*, pp. 13, 17; *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ii, pp. 93, 95; *Travels in India*, i. pp. 6, 59, 60, 74, 75, 77, 91, 104, 156, ii, pp. 63, 129, 183, 184; *Indian Travels*, pp. 88, 89, 256.
 76. Pelsaert, for example, writes, "the second (scourge) is (the oppression of) the Governor, the nobles, the Diwan, the Kotwal, the Bakshi, and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare raise any objection and in the evening paid half his wages, or nothing at all" - p. 60; *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 254-256. Banārasidās's autobiography abounds in references to such vexations at the hands of the government officials suffered by him and his kinsmen at Jaunpur - A.K., 22/4, 110-114/13-14, 467-473/52.
 77. *Jahangir's India*, pp. 60-61.
 78. *The Indian Historical Review*, v. 1-2, p. 169.
 79. R. C. Sharma, Occupational Castes in Uttar Pradesh During the Mughal Period, A.D. 1526-1707, *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, xxii, 4, p. 69.
 80. Cf. Appendix B.
 81. Appendix B (i).
 82. A.K., 29/5
 83. BM, p. 97; Hargulal, *Madhyakālīn Krishnakāvya men Sāmājik Jīvan kī Abhivyakti* (Delhi 1967) p. 139.
 84. R. Lannoy, *The Speaking Tree* (London 1974) pp. 157-162.
 85. Appendix B(i). Peter Mundy makes a special mention of the barbers of Etawah for their "neatness in shaving and artificial shampooing" - *Travels*, ii, p. 86.
 86. Appendix B (i).
 87. Appendix B (ii)
 88. Ftn. 75 Supra
 89. A.K., 14/3.
 90. R. C. Sharma, Life of a Middle-Class Man in the Seventeenth Century, *Journal of Indian History*, lix, 2 & 3, pp. 389-403.
 91. Appendix B (iii)

92. Ptn. 76 *Supra*. The poet Vrinda says:
 Ve to rojagārī rojagāra ke Umedavāra.
 Tuma rojagārī deta main naik. na darat ho.
 Khijamati Chahen Khijamati bīcha āvāin tuma.
 Khijamati Kari kari Ulṭa Parata ho
 Rakhīya tamāma Sirapāvatiyau Chahai tuma.
 Kariya tamāma Sirapāva hi dharata ho.
 Vṛnda Kahai Chākara ki Chākari banata kaisen
 Sahiba Kaha aisi Sahibī Karata ho.
 ("They are wage-earners expecting daily work, but you do not hesitate in abusing them. You expect service, but you not only interfere in the work but also show ill-temper to them. They work hard for reward, but in spite of all their efforts you put them down (lit. put your foot on their heads). Says Vrinda how can a servant work in the face of such a shoe of mastery (lit. what sort of mastery do you have)?" - J. R. Chelver (ed.), *Vrinda-Granthāvalī* (Agra 1971) p. 351.

93. *Travels in Mogul Empire*, p. 254
 94. For example, for the *Sunār's* exact weighing of gold and the *Lohār's* hammer beating the iron - *Senāpati*, 44/18 and 43/57 respectively; *Rln*, TG ii, 5-18/3-5.
 95. Appendix B(iv).
 96. VC, K-G iii, 3/594, *Indian Society*, pp. 111-112.
 97. N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, (transl.) W. Irvine, ii (Calcutta 1966) p. 422.
 98. *Ibid*.
 99. Appendix B (iv)
 100. Appendix C.
 101. *Ibid*
 102. *Āin*, iii. p. 131.
 103. Cf. Discussion of the thirty-six castes and sub-castes in the text *supra*.

104. *Āin*, iii. pp. 130-131.
 105. Appendix C; Also *Āin*, iii. p. 131.
 106. Ch. 26/90; *Kabir*, p. 93
 107. A. K., 10/2.
 108. Appendix D.
 109. *Rahim*, p. 358; *Jān, Kyān Khān Nāso*, (ed.) D. Sharma (Jaipur 1953) pp. 3, 6, 17, 19, 27, 37 (abbrv. KKR)
 110. Appendix E.

APPENDICES

The lists given in these appendices are by no means complete; they are only tentative.

Additional Abbreviations Used

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Akbari | <i>Akbarī Darbār ke Hindī Kavi</i> , S. P. Agrawal (Lucknow 2007 V) Pad and page no. |
| BB | <i>Bihārī Boddhīnī</i> , (ed) B. Din (Banaras 2013 V) Doha and page no. |
| BH | <i>Bhaktamāla</i> , Nābhādas (Bombay 1978 V) page no. |
| Din | Din Dayal Giri <i>Granthavali</i> , (ed.) S.S.Das, page.no. |
| DV | <i>Dohāvalī</i> , Tulsī (Gita Press) Doha no./page no. |
| Jm | <i>Jānaki Māhgal</i> , TG ii, verse and page no. |
| KRV | <i>Krishnā-Rukminī Rī Veli</i> , Prithviraj Rathod, (ed.) N. Swami (Agra 1953) verse and page no. |
| Sur | <i>Sūr Sāgar</i> , 2 vols (Kasi 2009 V) Skand and page no. |
| SS | <i>Sant Sudhasar</i> , (ed.) Viyogi Hari page no. |
| Vp | <i>Vinaya Patrikā</i> , (ed.) R. N. Sharma (Agra 1963) Pad and page no. |
| VP | <i>Vidyāpati Kī Padāvalī</i> , (ed.) W. N. Gupta (Allahabad 1910) Pad and page no. |

APPENDIX - A

The Four Varnas

<u>Varnas</u>	<u>Sub-Divisions</u>	<u>Remarks and References</u>
Brāhmaṇ	Sanādhyā/ Sanaudhiyā	A prominent sub-division of the brāhmaṇs in northern India - K, K-G i 1/99, RC, K-G ii 4/229, 14-20/342-43, 36/364, 55-56/410; BM 314.
	Kanaujiā	BG 26/8; BM 152.
	Māthur	BM 171.
	Gotras/Alls	Gotras indicate exogamous sub-groups of sub-castes. Originally known after rishis, later they came to have a varied nomenclature and came to be known as alls, which appear to have substituted the gotna in the medieval period.
	Tiwārī	Ch 26/90.
	Dube	Pd 4/268.
	Miśra	K-G i K 18/95, 9/100, ii RC 7/229, Cm 13/450; Kabir 344; Cp 158.
	Pāṇde	Pd 2/53; Ch 37-38/100; CV 39-41/117, 1/125; SC 34/42, 37/43, 77/59; Cp 58, 70, 71, 72.
	Kaśyap	BG 26/8.
	Dīkshit	Senāpati 5/2-3.
	Bhatta	BM 174, 257-260.
	Professional	
	Purohit, Uprohit, Pīr, Kulgurū	Pd 6/189; GB 96/33; Jm 156/50; RCM Bal 169/104, 172/105, 214/127, 323/179; Nand 243, 244, 326, 371; Ch 431/322; KR 12, 17, 24, 64; GV Bal 12/24, 100/117, 101/118; KRV 36/19; MG 301/173;

Carrying loads in kānvars - RCM Bāl 300/167, Ayo. 193/293; CV 54/31. Carrying dolās etc. - Vp. 189/398; Sūr 5-4; Ch 51/109; MM 465/410; A.K. 29/5.

Dhāgar Ch 26/90, 251/222; Sūr 10-15, 16, 18; MM 310/265 mentions Bārī in this group.

Bāghbān,
Fulhārī KV Sundar 31/63; K-G i K 6/183, 23/200; Pd 15/15; Sur 10-32, 40, 1075, 3109; Din 36-5; Nand 119, 336; Ch 439/327; MG 165/120, 348/189; MM 380/331, 384/334, 385-86/336, 388/338, 392/342; MMV 65, 67; A.K. 29/5; BM 47, 123. Mālin sent as messenger - Ch 275/237.

Hajmānā, Vrattī Ch 26/90; K-G iii VC 2/525; MG 387/202; A.K. 29/5; BB 109/43; Akbari 7/313, 160/442; BM 147, 148. (i) Cutting the hair; (ii) Massaging - BM 147, (iii) Doing sundry works in marriages and other ceremonies - Rln T-G ii 8-18/4-5. (iv) Carrying marriage proposals - Ch 37-38/100, 151/165. 260/228, 393/298, 397/307; A.K. 102/12.

Rln T-G ii 8/4; RCM Bāl 319/177; Ch 151/165; MG 387/202; Pd 8/21; K-G i R 1/68; Sur 10-19; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 13-14/353; Cp 55, 57, 58, 59, 100. Sent as messengers - MM 283/240, 400/349. Holding respectable position - MM 425/372.

K-G i R 2/61, iii VC 13/256, 21/526; BM 158, 177.

(ii) The Business Groups

Kabir 149; Pd 3/81; KRV 186-7; MMV 70, 72-74, 79, 90; KL 118/191; Akbari 76/356, 167/444; Rahim 17-18/353-54; A.K. 75/10; BM 273, 277.

(iii) Moral degeneration and some of them taking to despicable professions - Cf. *Āin* iii 129; *State and Society during the Mughal Period* 26.

Kahatriya Khattri

GV Bāl 14/6; PR 13, 186, 190, 213, 275, 288; K-G iii VC 17/507; MM 258/219, 356/309; RCM Bāl 160/100, Aran 19/371, *Kia*. 1/394, Lanka 236-37/460; Pd 1/279; CV 42/97, 22/109; K-G ii RC 24/231, 22/249, Cm 13/450; Kabir 496; KR 54, 55, 57, 61; MG 103/99, 113/102; MM 50/42; MMR 299, 303, Cp 3, 57, 89, 102, 180; BM 275.

Chhatra-vandhu

RCM Bāl 174/106.

Vaisya

K-G ii Cm 13/450; BM 118; Cf. Appendix B (ii).

Śūdra

Kabir 341; DV 553/194; RCM Uttar 97/580, 99/581, 100/582; K-G Cm 13/450, 21/451; KRV 60/31. The śūdras came to be identified with some of the professional and service castes - Cf. Appendix B(i) and (iii).

APPENDIX - B

The Occupational Castes

Caste	Sub-division Alternative name	(i) The Paumiās Remarks and References
Kumhār	Kulāl	GB 42/136; Kabir 47, 63, 245, 280, 496, 542; Ch 80/123; RCM Uttar 100/581; VP 457/232; Sur 10-4399; BB 675/246; A.K. 29/5; Akbari 65/415; Rahim 27-28/355; BM 249, 277, 308.
Dhobī	Rajak	Kabir 74; Ch 260/228; Sur 10-3037, 3038, 3042, 3057, 3655; KV Uttar 66/142; BB 675/246; MG 387/202; A.K. 29/5; Akbari 89/328, 166/443; Rahim 37-38/366; BM 185.

* Kahār

Carrying loads in kânvars - RCM Bāl 300/167, Ayo. 193/293; CV 54/31. Carrying dolās etc. - Vp. 189/398; Sūr 5-4; Ch 51/109; MM 465/410; A.K. 29/5.

Dālī

Dhāgar

Ch 26/90, 251/222; Sūr 10-15, 16, 18; MM 310/265 mentions Bārī in this group.

Mālī

Bāghbān,
Fulhārī

KV Sundar 31/63; K-G i K 6/183, 23/200; Pd 15/15; Sur 10-32, 40, 1075, 3109; Din 36-5; Nand 119, 336; Ch 439/327; MG 165/120, 348/189; MM 380/331, 384/334, 385-86/336, 388/338, 392/342; MMV 65, 67; A.K. 29/5; BM 47, 123. Mālin sent as messenger - Ch 275/237.

Nālī

Hajmānā, Vrattī
Chhatīsā, Nāpit,
Nāū

Ch 26/90; K-G iii VC 2/525; MG 387/202; A.K. 29/5; BB 109/43; Akbari 7/313, 160/442; BM 147, 148. (i) Cutting the hair; (ii) Massaging - BM 147, (iii) Doing sundry works in marriages and other ceremonies - Rln T-G ii 8-18/4-5. (iv) Carrying marriage proposals - Ch 37-38/100, 151/165. 260/228, 393/298, 397/307; A.K. 102/12.

Bārī

Rln T-G ii 8/4; RCM Bāl 319/177; Ch 151/165; MG 387/202; Pd 8/21; K-G i R 1/68; Sur 10-19; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 13-14/353; Cp 55, 57, 58, 59, 100. Sent as messengers - MM 283/240, 400/349. Holding respectable position - MM 425/372.

Khawās

K-G i R 2/61, iii VC 13/256, 21/526; BM 158, 177.

(ii) The Business Groups

Baniā

Kabir 149; Pd 3/81; KRV 186-7; MMV 70, 72-74, 79, 90; KL 118/191; Akbari 76/356, 167/444; Rahim 17-18/353-54; A.K. 75/10; BM 273, 277.

Agarwāl Māhur, Māthur, Māhaur Dhanī Banwārā Sāhū	Ch 26/90; A.K. 75/10. A.K. 119/14. DV 207/65. Ch 26/90. DV 148/46; Kabir 99; BM 79, 213, 218.
Banik*	DV 398/136; KV Uttar 96/162; K-G i K 50/126, iii VC 20/478, 17/495; BG 61/18; MMV 54, 56, 57, 71, MMR 291, 292, 299; BM 96, 282. *Also used as a socio-economic group, being a term for businessmen in general - Cf. RCM Bāl 3/20, Uttar 28/544; KL 90/64; Senāpati 96/39.
Modī	SS ii 36.
Bañjārā Baipārī	Pd 2/59; MG 298-99/172-73; Kabir 379, 420, 490, 496; Pd 30/33, 2/94; GB 15/104; Vp 151/341; MG 275/164, 289/169, 298/172; MM V 50; VP 92/49, 129/67, 180/92; Rahim 25-26/354; BM 73, 143, 185, 256. (i) Generally traders going from place to place for business. (ii) Appears to be a socio-economic group, including traders of other castes as well - Ch 432/323; Pd 1/30.
Bājārī	KV Lañkā 5/68.
Dalāl	Rahim 104-5/363.
Gandhī Gandhālī	Ch 26/90; pd 15/15; BB 663/242, 676/246; Rahim 57-58/358.
Bisātī	Ch 26/90.
Sāhnī	RCM Ayo. 272/330.
Bajāj	PR 101; RCM Uttar 28/544; Akbari 166/443; BM 281.
Sarrāf	Akbari 31/423.

Mahājan Vyohariyā, Bohare	Pd 13/14, 2/30; Kabir 282; KL 28/75; RCM Uttar 28/544; KR 132; MG 171/121, 328/182; VP 454/231, 849/425; Senāpati 10/4, 96/39, 14/6, 24/10, 26/11; BM 110, 154, 273.
Jauharī	Kabir 184; A.K. 40/6, 111/13, 145/17, 148/17, 327/37; Akbari 99/433; Rahim 7-8/352; Senāpati 28/12.
Kalār	Kabir 47, 312; Pd 3/81; RCM Uttar 99/582; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 31-32/355.
Telī	GB 42/137; Kabir 496; RCM Uttar 100/581; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 41-42/356; BM 145.
Bhadbhūñjā	Ch 260/228; A.K. 29/5; Senāpati 15/75.
Tambolī	Rln T-G ii 6/3; K-G i R 20/80; Kabir 126; MG 387/202; Akbari 166/443.
Kāchhī Sākbanik	RCM Bāl 3/20; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 35-36/355.
Marijīyā	Pd 4/63, 9/93, 18/100, 21/101, 23/184, 5/295. Special type of businessmen who undertook great risks for procuring rare supplies.
(iii) The Artisans	
Sunār Sonī, Svarṇakār	Ch 26/90; Pr 25/101; Pd 3/81; KV Uttar 24/120; GB 6/91; K-G i R 1/68, K 16/178, 6/183, iii VC 20/475; A.K. 29/5; MG 208/139; Rahim 15-16/352; Akbari 45/396; Senāpati 37/15, 44/18, 79/32; BM 73, 201, 303.
Patuvā	Pd 3/81; K-G i R 2/68; VP 13/463-64; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 43-44/356.

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Korī	Julāhā, Patbuniā	Kabir 348, 391, 405, 406, 417; KV Uttar 106/169; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 98-99/362; BM 134, 205-06.
Badhai	Suthālī, Khātī Kathariyā	DV 536/188; Vp 189/394; A.K. 29/5; MG 208/138; Rahim 122-23/365; BM 172, 196.
Lohar	Lohkār	Pd 2/286, 5/288; Rln T-G ii 5/3; Kabir 175, 177; VP 545/274; A.K. 29/5; MG 208/138; Rahim 29-30/355; Senāpati 43/57.
Darjī		Rln T-G ii 6/3; A.K. 29/5.
Mochī	Chamār	Kabir 496; Pd 3/200, 2/267; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 139-40/366; Akbari 63/354, 83/357; BM 144, 188, 206, 244.
Kanserā	Thatherā	KL 101/72; K-G iii VC 19/478; A.K. 29/5; Rahim 106-7/363.
Pakhandī		Pd 15/15.
Dhādhi		Pd 15/224; K-G i K 57/170; Nand 336; Cp 157.
Shilpī	Rāj	K-G i R 1/68; A.K. 29/5.
Churihār	Manihār	K-G i R 1/68.
Bihnā	Dhuniā	K-G iii VC 39/480; A.K. 29/4; Rahim 96-97/362.
Bedin	Kaṅchani, Pāture	Pd 14/46; Ch 203/197; K-G ii RC 13/255; Rahim 75-76/360, 81-83/360-61.
Chūnī	Chunharā	Ch 26/90; MG 208/138.
Sīagar		A.K. 29/4.
Dhīnwar		A.K. 29/5; Senāpati 19/131; Cp 100.
Raṅgbāl	Raṅgrez	A.K. 29/4; Rahim 19-20/354.
Saṅg-tarāsh	Pathariā	A.K. 29/4; MG 208/138.

Kandōī		A.K. 29/5
Kundīgar		A.K. 29/5; Rahim 94-95/362.
Kāgadī		A.K. 29/5; Rahim 108-9/363.
Masikarī		Rahim 110-11/363
Kisān		A.K. 29/5.
Chiterā		A.K. 29/5; MG 208/138; Rahim 11-12/353.
Thabai		MG 29/75, 208/138; Rahim 92-93/361-62.
Kuderā	Unherā	MG 25/75, 26/76.
Bindherā		A.K. 29/5.
Lakherā		A.K. 29/5.
Chhappanbandh		A.K. 29/5.
Siklīgar		A.K. 29/5; Rahim 53-54/357.
Hawāīgar		A.K. 29/5.
Dhanvā		Rahim 21-22/354.
Chhīpī		Rahim 51-52/357; BM 75.
Khatīk		Rahim 86-89/361; BM 203.
Kasāī		Senāpati 4/41; BM 196.
		(iv) Miscellaneous
Kāyastha	Munshī	KL 121/80, 116/190; Pd 3/81; K-G i K 16/178, iii VC 30/594, 33/596; Kabir 105, 106; Akbari 76/356; Rahim 9-10/353; BM 166, 290.
Bhāt	Bandī, Sūt Māgadh Baitāl Chāraṇ Bansh- Prasānsak, Jagā, Dasaundhī	KL 226/127; Pd 20/17, 4/112, 6-7/113; K-G i R 21/62, 57/170, ii RC 17/240, 9/235, 19/240, 8/254, 13/255, iii VC 23/611; KV Uttar 96/162; RCM Bāl 316/175, 319/77; KR 8/9; GV Bāl 1/2, 2/6; PR 28/61, 34/67, 8/79, 21/120;

		Jm T-G ii 180/51; Nand 326; Akbari 102/431; Rahim 65-66/359; Senāpati 1/1, 46/111. Acting as envoys-Senāpati 53/144-45.
Bājīgar	Chharhantā, Chetaki, Indrajāli	Ch 29/93; KV Uttar 96/162; RCM Lanka MMR 285; Rahim 118-19/364; BM 111.
Gāruṇī	Gunī, Bāigī	Kabir 267, 433; Nand 197; Pd 2/49; RCM Uttar 93/578.
Vyādh	Pāradh, Baheliyā, Chirhantā, Chirhāri, Vadhi, Aherī	Vp 208/430; Pd 15/15, 8/21, 4/27, 5/31, 2/76; Kabir 32; VP 175/90, 392/200; Ch 338/272; CV 14-15/15; MG 158/117, 178/125; Akbari 115/331; 20/422; Rahim 77-78/360; Senāpati 19/131; BM 288.
Bhānd		DV 63/21; K-G ii RC 34/242, 13/255; MM 535/478; BM 125.
Sūt		RCM Ayo 153/274. Chariot-driver.
Od		BB 675/245.
Gadariyā		MG 199/135, 233/148.
Jaṅgam		Sur 657.

APPENDIX C

The Tribal Castes

Ahīr	Gop, Ghoshī, Gwāl, Jādav, Gopāl, Pohiyo, Dauvā	(i) Quite a prominent tribal group, descended from the Ābhīrs of old, and renowned and celebrated due to Krishna's connection with them. (ii) Regarded by some as a branch of the old kshatriyas and the medieval rājputs. (iii) Generally engaged in animal husbandary, specially cows, and selling milk and curds. (iv) Figure very prominently in the medieval Hindi poetry, especially of the Krishna-Bhakti School. For general references - BB, Vp, Ch, GB,
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		KRV, Sur, Nand, T-G ii, KV, GV, VP, KL, Pd, K-G i & iii, Akbari, Rahim, Senāpati, Cp, BM. (v) Banārasīdās refers to a special type of courtesan, Ahīrī - 505/56.
Kevat	Kariā, Gundharā, Nishād, Guh	BB 687/249; Ch 418/313; Pd 3/63, 4/173; KV Ayo 8/25; KV Uttar 21/117; BR T-G ii 25/18; GV Ayo 68/181; RCM Ayo 88/244, 193/293; K-G ii RC 13/280; MG 126/106; Akbari 10/320, 180/446; BM 51.
Nat	Natvā, Nrityakārī	MG 210/139; Ch 29/93; KV Uttar 96/162; RCM Bāl 319/177; GV Bāl 225/6; Kabir 273; Jm T-G ii 180/51; K-G i R 1/68, ii RC 3/235, 13/255; BM 262, 301. (i) A tribal occupational caste of dancers - RCM Bāl 348/194, Ayo 241/315; PR 6/293, 20/306; K-G ii RC 13/255; BM 172. (ii) Giving performances - PR 24/267; Pd 15/1, 6/251; BM 28. (iii) Practising magic - RCM Uttar 104/584; Pd 15/15, 6/251; Rahim 71-74/359-60.
Jāt		K-G iii VC 9/489, 18/490, 36/508.
Gūjar	Badgūjar	K-G iii VC 18/490, 53/497, 5/99, 105/505, 36/508. The jāt and Gūjar were both considered as branches of the rājputs.
Khasiā		CV 18/41.
Rājput	Gaharwār	Ch 26/90; K-G i K 7/94, iii VC 3/476.
	Chauhān	Ch 26/90; PR 3/14ff; Pd 22/119; K-G iii VC 15-20/516; BM 112.
	Parmār/Panwār	PR 11/49, 1/74, 27/201, 31/236; CV 15/63, 26/111; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
	Rāthor	PR 1/74, 16/225; BG 100/31, 134/41, 259/74; K-G iii VC 15-20/516; BM 234, 238, 282.

Solankī	PR 13/114; BG 2/134; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Pundīr	PR 1/74.
Guhīl	PR 1/74.
Badgūjar	PR 1/74; 14/224, 15/225; BG 19/115; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Kurambh	PR 1/74.
Rohillā	PR 1/74.
Jahgarā/ Jagarā	PR 1/74; K-G iii VC 11/489, 18/490, 53/497.
Dahimā	PR 20/196.
Chandel	PR 27/201; Pd 3/81; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Bhattī	PR 27/201; BM 205-6.
Bagarī	PR 31/204-5, 4/211.
Jādav	PR 31/204-05, 4/211; K-G iii VC 15-20/516. Also identified with the Ahirs.
Parihār	PR 31/204-5, 4/211; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Morī	PR 31/204-5, 4/211.
Chālukya	PR 29/235, 12/282.
Baghel	PR 32/237; BG 12/115; K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Tomar/Tonwar	PR 34/238; K-G i K 12/100, iii VC 36/508, 15-20/516; BM 301.
Kachhwahā	K-G iii VC 2/476; BG 134/45.
Sisodiyā	K-G iii VC 8/494, 15-20/516; BG 5/2, 10/4, 315/88.

Bundelā	K-G iii VC 25/495; BG 19/115.
Shekhāvat	BM 285.
Sikarwār	K-G iii VC 36/508.
Bhadauriā	K-G iii VC 53/497, 15-20/516.
Hādā	K-G iii VC 36/508, 15/516; BG 134/41.
Khīchī	K-G iii VC 36/508.
Gaur	BG 134/41.
Gūjar	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Mārū	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Bais	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Chandāwat	BG 292/83, 19/115.
Banāfar	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Kanaujiā	K-G iii VC 15-20/516; Ch 26/90.
Pavaiyā	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Kaikeya	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Naishadh	K-G iii VC 15-20/516.
Bīkavat	BM 301.
Vīdāvat	BM 207.
Rājput	Reference as a separate caste - KV Uttar 106/169; BM 258.
Thākur	As an equivalent of rājput - K-G iii VC 15/516.

APPENDIX - DThe Sectarian Caste

Sarāvag	Sarāvagī	Ch 26/90; Kabir 93; BM 107. The Jains ultimately came to be recognised as a particular caste, and most probably they themselves regarded them to be the same with distinct kula and gotra - A.K. 9-10/2.
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APPENDIX - EThe Untouchables

Pachvānān		Ch 26/90
Chāndāl	Mor	KL 110/76; VP 725/363; KRV 59/31; PR 25/101; SS i 183.
Dom	Helā	Pd 9/195, 8/263, 5/295; SS i 183; BM 125, 209.
Svapach		K-G ii RC 20/289, iii VC 37/480; BM 165, 238.
Pasiā		K-G iii VC 19/478. The hangman.

APPENDIX - FOutside the Pale of Society

Kol		BR T-G ii 54/21; KV Uttar 15/112, 19/115, 20/116; RCM Ayo 224/307, 250/319, 251/320, 276/331; GV Ayo 45/160.
Bhīl		KV Uttar 18/115; RCM Ayo 28/216; PR 191; GB 26/119; K-G i K 6/132; BM 51, 53.
Kirāt		KV Uttar 19/115, 169/213; GV Ayo 42/157, 45/160, 47/165; RCM Ayo 60/231, 135/266.
Sabar		DV 11; KV Uttar 15/112; GV Aran 17ff/382 ff.

Dhāhgad

KL 86/244. A wild tribe in the Vindya and Kaimor regions (Referred to as plunderers).

Gond

DV 559.

Mīmā/Mainā

BB 104/41; K-G iii VC 9/489, 18/490, 36/508. A wild predatory tribe of Rajasthan.

General remarks:

(i) Generally looked down upon RCM Ayo 194/293; DV 5. (ii) Called *ban mānush* and *banchar* - CV 45/76, 47-49/76-77. Also called *ban samāj* - GV Ayo 49/166. (iii) Used as terms of abuse - RCM Ayo 13/209, 159/277.

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**THE MAHAJANS OF GUJARAT - SOME QUESTIONS RELATING
TO THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION
FROM ANCIENT TO MEDIEVAL PERIOD**

Makrand Mehta and Yatindra Dixit

IN WHATEVER MANNER THE TRADITIONAL DIVISION of Indian history into ancient, medieval and modern periods might have helped the study of political history, it has positively hampered a proper understanding of the evolution of social institutions. This is because political events such as wars and succession of kings and change of dynasties had little impact on the day-to-day life of the common people. As such certain institutions displayed a remarkable degree of resilience and continuity, untrammelled by political changes, a circumstance which cannot be adequately appreciated without transcending the narrow limits of conventional periodization. The objective of this paper is to take a peep at this phenomenon by tracing the history of the mahajan institution in Gujarat from ancient to medieval period. It is strange but true that whereas the institution of mahajan went into oblivion in the other parts of the country, Gujarat still continued to nurture and develop it, and in fact, it continued to flourish well up to the end of the nineteenth century.¹ Gujarat being, in the words of Jadunath Sarkar, "the gateway of India to the western world",² its cities and towns had become prominent centres of trade and commerce, and the wealth and prosperity of its merchants lent itself to the formation of pressure groups. Among these were associations known as mahajans, each of which, headed by a *Shreshtin* or *sheth*, continued to remain an integral part of the civic life of Gujarat.³

The mahajans were the trade guilds organized by the merchants to regulate trade and promote the interest of their members. They would often set up standards, collect funds for the construction of temples and public buildings, and serve as a link between the government officials and the inhabitants of the city. This was true of medieval India. But during the pre-Muslim period the functions and obligations of the mahajans were vague and the term hardly denoted the above functions. In fact it bore different meanings such as a "great man", or a "body of great men", or a "caste panchayat". In ancient times the words sangam and shreni were generally used, but the functions of these sangam and shreni were not clearly demarcated.

II

R.C. Majumdar and D.D. Kosambi have shown that the institution of mahajan was of Indian origin and that it played an important part in the business and cultural life of India in ancient times, at least from the 6th century B.C.⁴ But their writings seldom throw adequate light on the composition and organization of the mahajans, their rights and obligations, and their relationship with their members or the members of the government bureaucracy. And though they abound in detailed descriptions of the commercial and manufacturing activities, they do not say much about the nature of the *shrenies* and *sanchams*, while the paucity of inscriptions and other historical sources has often led these writers to make assumptions and assertions.

Majumdar states that the *shrenies* and the *jyeshthakas* (Aldermen) "may be fairly compared with the guilds of medieval age in Europe", and that "after the Christian Era the guild organization had developed into a highly important factor in state politics".⁵

Kosambi associates trade guilds with the growth of urbanization and the evolution of Buddhism, and states that they began to decline after the 8th century, and particularly after the Muslim invasions. "The cities declined rapidly", he argues, "Patna becoming a village by A.D. 600; the royal court and camp amounted to a moving capital ... The merchant's union (Vaniyagama) of the locality... become prominent (institution) through the Middle Ages, till Muslim conquests reduced its importance by introducing a new type of trader".⁶ He describes the artisans' organizations as guilds in the following words:

"We read about whole villages (especially near Banaras) settled by basket-makers, potters, smiths, weavers, and the like. These artisans, though kinship groups, generally formed guilds (*shreni*) naturally with a tribe-like organization inherited from their own past... The guild as a unit often had considerable wealth at its disposal which was not the private property of any member, but might be disbursed at need by the headman or guild council either to any member of the guild or to some external individual or organization. This happens to be present-day custom in the poorer Indian professional castes, the prototypes of which are clearly to be traced back to this period or earlier".

Surprisingly enough, neither Majumdar nor Kosambi has a word to say about Gujarat which had already evolved and developed the rudimentary forms of guilds in the pre-Muslim period. They

exhibited remarkable vitality during the seventeenth century, thanks to the political stability and administrative unity provided by the Mughal emperors. At the same time they took great care in developing the urban business centres of Gujarat such as Ahmedabad, Surat, Nadiad and Baroda. These were the new business centres, and they developed two distinct categories of guilds, namely the mahajans and the *panchas*. The mahajans were the merchants' guilds and they cut across the caste and community line. The mahajans dealt solely with occupational matters, social and religious matters being generally outside their purview. The *panchas*, on the other hand, were formed by the artisans who strictly adhered to their caste-based professional norms. In other words the membership of a *panch* was usually coterminous with a caste.⁸ We contend that the mahajans and the *panchas* in medieval Gujarat reflected a continuing business tradition and culture which the region had generated centuries earlier.⁹

III

Gujarat evolved trade guilds in ancient times. The Mandasor inscription dated A.D. 436 shows beyond doubt that the *patola* weavers of Lata-Pradesh (South Gujarat) migrated to Dasapura in the Madhya Pradesh region during the reign of Kumaragupta I (A.D. 415-455). The inscription mentions that the weavers had formed their *shreni* before their migration. They constructed a sun-temple at Dasapur. Another inscription dated A.D. 592 shows that the merchants of Lohata approached King Vishnusenana and requested some privileges which the latter granted. The inscription also refers to the various subordinate rulers and government officials along with the merchants. The King enjoined on the "members of different guilds not to stay in the same market". (*Sarva-Sreninam eka āpaṇako na deyah*).¹⁰ The idea seems to be that the different mercantile guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market. An inscription of a later date (A.D. 1287) states that the *malis* (gardener) *sarani* had agreed to offer 200 lotuses and other flowers at the shrine of Somnath every day during the reign of Sarangadeva Vaghela,¹¹ the ruler of Gujarat.

That the merchant played an important part in the civic and cultural affairs is shown in another inscription of the time of Sarangadeva Vaghela. The inscription is dated A.D. 1292 (V.S. 1348) and refers to the following groups of persons inhabiting the Palanpur town: (1) Panchkula, (2) Purohit, (3) the entire body of the mahajan including sadhus (*sahukars*)*, *shreshthins*, *thakuras*,

**Sahukar* means a banker, a merchant, a rich man (F. Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, p. 1549) Ed.

sonis (goldsmiths), Kansaras (braziers), and followers of other professions, (4) the entire body of the Vanijyakaras (Vanjaras), and, (5) the nauvittakas (ship-owners).¹² The entire body was popularly known as *panch-mukha nagara* and it supervised, among other things, the sale of urban property such as houses and shops, and the sale of female slaves.¹³

An inscription dated A. D. 1294 (V. S. 1350) retails to the taxes collected from the merchants' *shrenis* for the maintenance of the two Jain temples on Mount Abu. The inscription gives detailed information of the names of the merchants of Abu and Chandravati and government officials. The inscription forbids the government officials to collect the toll from the pilgrims. If the belongings of the pilgrims were lost or stolen, the *thakurs* were obliged to pay the damages.¹⁴

IV

The lack of sources or rather our inability to read Persian language sources have obliged us to take a long leap from the thirteenth to the 17th century, and this has hampered our efforts to understand the important phases of transition with regard to the trade guilds of Gujarat. Significantly enough, the merchants and *Sharafs* of this region adopted paper as writing material in the sixteenth century, a change which must have enabled them to co-operate with greater ease, and facilitate their business transactions. The paper technology helped to supplant *tada-patras* used for centuries for writing, Ahmedabad itself emerging as a centre of the paper industry. The Arab contact with Gujarat had started soon after they acquired the technology of paper-making from the Chinese in the eighth century. The Arabs had regular settlements in Cambay, a renowned port-town in Gujarat. They had a small settlement in Kocharab, a village adjacent to Ahmedabad (now within the Ahmedabad municipal limits), after the latter's foundation by Sultan Ahmed Shah in 1411. It is likely that the Arab settlements antedated the founding of Ahmedabad, but we know little about this.* The Kocharab village also emerged as a paper-manufacturing centre, and even though the traditional manufacturing has totally disappeared in Ahmedabad now, it is significant that a large number of *Kagdi* families still inhabit the Kocharab area of the city. It is also significant that the local Muslims still believe in the tradition

*Centuries before the inscriptions of the Southern and Northern *Silāhāras* had been singling out *nakhara* or *nagara* *Hahjamana*, Sanskritized form of *Anjuman*, the *nakhara/nagara* or guild of the Arabs, for honourable mention. *Hahjamana* was long taken to mean a city due to its association with *nakhara/nagara*. Ed.

that the Arabs had their settlement at Kocharab on the banks of the Sabarmati river and that the term "Kocharab" is a corruption of the word "Kuch-i-arab".¹⁶ Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, who visited Gujarat in the early fifteenth century, stated that whereas Indians in other parts used *tad-patras*, the Gujaratis had adopted paper as a writing material.¹⁷

The Jain monks and merchants seem to have been among the earliest Gujaratis to adopt paper. The Jain *Bhandaras* (manuscripts preserved in temples and other places) contain a large number of paper-manuscripts written in the sixteenth century.¹⁸ It is thus reasonable to assume that the use of paper brought about new social formations in the traditional *shrenis* by facilitating the activities of traders and their guilds.

The Mughal rule accelerated this process. They ensured political stability and created a sound bureaucratic network in India enabling Gujarati merchants and *sharafs* to establish their trading branches in various parts of the country. These activities got further stimulated by the operations of the European East India Companies. This was yet another new phenomenon.

That Gujarat had a strong commercial and industrial base at this time is too well documented to need repetition here. Its port towns like Surat, Cambay, Broach, Gogha and Porbandar and the manufacturing centres such as Ahmedabad, Nadiad, Baroda, Ankleshwar and Navsari lost little time in responding to the favourable climate of enterprise which the European demand for Indian goods had created. This was reflected in the emergence of the non-*vaishyas* as traders in Surat and Ahmedabad, a factor which, indeed, disturbed the centuries old equilibrium between the social division on the one hand and the occupational division on the other. We have evidences which indicate that certain degree of occupational mobility took roots in the major urban centres of Gujarat at this period.¹⁹ There is a strong possibility that during the sixteenth century the *shrenis*, which had hitherto existed in the rudimentary stage, began to develop themselves into the mahajan institutions.

The guild system secured firm footing in Gujarat and achieved multilateral growth during the Mughal period. Abdul Fazl in his *ain-i-Akbari* has referred to the mahajans while enumerating the duties of Kotwal. He writes that Kotwal while recording a case should enter the name of guild-master (*sar-i-giroh*) of every guild (*juki*) of artisans.²⁰ A large number of unpublished Gujarati documents that we have consulted shed important light on the institution of *mahajan* and *nagar-sheth*. They are known as the *Khatapatras* or the mortgage, sale, and purchase deeds pertaining to the houses

and shops of Ahmedabad. They mention the terms like *mahajan*, *Shreshtin* and *nagarsheth* along with the names of those who then assumed the functions of officials such as *bakshi*, *kotwal*, *Quarungo*, *Qazi*, and *Padshahi Diwan*. The reason why the legal deeds stipulated the names of the *mahajans* and the *nagarsheths* was that they tended to accord the conventional moral sanction.²¹ The role which these institutions played in the business and the civic life of Ahmedabad shows that the city was much more than morally the political capital of Gujarat.

Ahmedabad was a populous city in the seventeenth century and it was a centre of textile industry. The city also manufactured paper and sugar. The neighbouring village of Sarkhaj (now within the Ahmedabad municipal limits) produced indigo. "Ahmedabad or Amadabar," wrote William Finch, an Englishman in 1611, "is a goodly city and situated on a fair river, inclosed with strong walls and fair gates with many beautiful turrets... The buildings comparable to any city in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well-paved, the trade great (for almost every ten days go from hence two hundred coaches richly laden with merchandise for Cambay). the merchants rich, the artificers excellent for carvings, paintings, inlaid works, embroidery with gold and silver".²² J. Albert de Mandelslo, a German traveller, who visited Ahmedabad in 1638 observed: "There is not in a manner any nation, nor any merchandise in all Asia which may not be had at Ahmedabad, where particularly there are made abundance of silks and cotton stuffs. They also make there great quantities of gold and silver brocades.. The best indigo in the world comes from about Amdabath, from the village called Chirchees".²³ A number of contemporary European travellers have attested to the heterogeneous nature of Ahmedabad's business castes and communities. This clearly shows that Ahmedabad was neither a purely bureaucratic town nor was it merely a market town. It was a commercial and industrial centre with the textile industry as a base. All these activities suggest that the institution of *mahajan* grew as an integral part of the business environment of the Ahmedabad city.

The mahajans of Ahmedabad included the *sharaf mahajan*, the *kapad* (cloth) mahajan, the *sutar* (yarn) mahajan, the *jewellers' mahajan*, and the *Kagal* (paper) mahajan. The head of the cloth dealers' guild was known as *chautano sheth* (head of the cloth merchants) as distinct from the head of *sharaf mahajan*.²⁴ The *nagarsheth* belonging to the Jain community was the head of *sharaf mahajan*, but he was at the same time the leader of the entire city, particularly of its business communities.²⁵ The paper guild was known as the *Kagdini Jamat*, in view of the fact that the paper industry and trade were the exclusive monopoly of the Muslims, the *Daudi Vohras* managing and controlling the trade. The mahajan system

and its machinery for arbitration and conciliation in trade disputes was a highly developed form of business organization in Ahmedabad.

That the mahajans were an important feature of the business life of Ahmedabad could be shown from the fact that a large number of them voluntarily agreed to pay a share from the octroi duties to *nagarsheth Khushalchand Laxmichand* when he saved Ahmedabad from being sacked by the Marathas in 1725. The Marathas needed money, and they were about to destroy the city when the *nagarsheth* paid a huge amount as ransom to the invaders from his own pocket and turned the invaders back. The *nagarsheth's* gracious act won for him the gratitude of the city population, particularly of the mahajans from the various professions including that of the Muslims who were the hardest hit by the Maratha presence.²⁶

The port city of Surat was not far behind. Like Ahmedabad it was a flourishing city inhabited by rich Hindu, Jain, and Muslim merchants and bankers. In 1618-19 European piracies on the Red Sea route were met by the decision of a group of merchants not to supply calicoes and other goods needed by the European Companies.²⁷ In July 1624 the *subahdar* of Surat and the president of the Surat factory appointed a committee with a view to granting certain trading and religious rights to the English. The Committee consisted of such important persons as *Saif Khan* (*Subahdar*), *Thomas Rastall* (president of the English factory at Surat), *Jam Quli Beg* (Commander of the Castle), *Mahmud Kasim* (Chief *Qazi*), and two wealthy and influential Jain merchants, namely *Virji Vora* and *Hari Vaishya*.²⁸ The Jain merchants seem to have represented the mahajans. On several occasions town committees were formed in Surat which included members of the influential mahajans.

That the Hindu and the Jain mahajans of Surat exerted pressures on the ruling authorities could be shown by the fact that they raised a protest against the oppressive bureaucracy following the forced conversion of the nephew of *Tulsidas Parekh*, a prominent trader, belonging to the *Vaishnav-vania* caste, in 1669. To protest against this incident about 8000 Surat merchants left for Broach on 23rd November, 1669. Before they took this decision, these merchants, through the representation of the influential members of their guilds, persuaded *Gerald Aungier*, the president of the Surat factory, to allow them to migrate to Bombay. But as their plan did not materialise, they ultimately migrated to Broach. To compell the local authorities to renounce the policy of religious persecution, the mahajans now ordered all their members to stop business and close down their shops. Thus a peaceful and non-violent strike took place in Surat. This caused a crisis. The effects of this strike could

best be gleaned in the words of Aungier who informed the Company's directorate that:

"Ever since the flight of the Bannians, the trade of Surat both suffered great obstruction and it is the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatal consequences to the utter ruin of it. The people in Surat suffered great want, for the Bannians having found themselves under severe penalties not to open any of their shops without order from their mahajan, or general council, there was not any provisions to be got, the tanksall (mint) and custom house shut, no money to be procured so much as for house expenses much less for trade, which use wholly at a stand and so it will continue till their (Surat merchants who had left for Broach) return."

The mahajans continued their agitation till at last the government found no other alternative but to ask the 8,000 banias to return to Surat with a promise not to oppress them and the members of their fold.

These are some of the incidents which serve to show that the institution of mahajan in Gujarat did not merely regulate trade and commerce, but also safeguarded the religious rights of their members and exerted powerful influence on the ruling authorities on certain occasions. The mahajans were profession-based in as much as they cut across the caste and the community lines, and in this respect the mahajans differed from the artisan's pancha. If the religious and social matters were confined to the caste and the jati panchayats, these institutions would have been mentioned as playing the role of protesters when a Hindu was converted at Surat in 1669. But instead, it was the mahajans that stepped forward and made the ruling authorities submit, which shows that the mahajans were multi-functional in character.³⁰

This, of course, does not mean that the mahajans were as much powerful in exercising their influence on the government with regard to their business activities. In spite of their influence and wealth, medieval merchant princes of Gujarat, unlike their European counterparts, could not make much dent on the Mughal bureaucracy at a local or larger level. Though it is true, as Pearson has pointed out,³¹ that they could succeed through their mahajans to ventilate their grievances, this was but a defensive mechanism devised as an extreme remedy against the rigidly formal if not autocratic bureaucracy. The Gujarati mercantile community as a form of pressure group did not exist, and they cannot be compared with the medieval European trade guild.

FOOTNOTES

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PONDICHERRY : A CENTRE FOR THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SEDITIOUS LITERATURE

Ajit Neogy

At the beginning of this century Pondicherry was passing through a period of political turbulence. The turbulence was twofold in character : one centering round the election of a deputy to the French National Assembly in Paris and the other emerging out of a situation created by the anti-British group in Pondicherry by way of dissemination of seditious literature and pamphlets received from foreign countries in British Indian territories. The origins of the political excitement which the election of the deputy produced in Pondicherry may be harked back to the Third Republic in France which, under a decree of 1st February, 1871 conferred upon the male population of the French possessions in India the right to elect a deputy to the National Assembly in Paris; and since 1875 the inhabitants of the former French colonies were participating in the election of the deputy. But unfortunately the election of the deputy in French India, particularly in Pondicherry, never passed off peacefully and it was invariably attended by large scale violence, rioting, intimidation, false voting and capture of booths on the day of election. This violence which had been continuing for a long time and which had also taken place in 1906 reached its climax in the wake of the election in April-May 1910 in which both the Pierrists and the Lemairists participated. The election created so much panic that the people had to keep their "doors closed"! Beating, breaking of heads and cutting of arms were common sights. While Pondicherry was passing through this tumult, the French capital in India became a headache to the British Indian authorities for the other reason stated above.

Pondicherry had become in the last few years of the first decade of the present century, in the opinion of the Criminal Intelligence Department of the Government of India, a centre for the anti-British party for the distribution of seditious literature from outside India.² The main object of the anti-British party was the production and dissemination in British India of inflammatory literature. Revolutionary parties abroad attempted to utilise this French port as a fairly safe and reliable means of introducing seditious pamphlets into British India in order to assist the anarchical parties and inspire the people through them. The vigilance of the customs officials in British ports rendered such attempts very unsafe, while there was reason to believe that Pondicherry, by the nature of its situation and the presence of a friendly and sympathetic party there, could

serve as a launching pad. They believed that production and dissemination of seditious literature and pamphlets could be done in 'Pondicherry without fear of Prosecution'.

Pondicherry also attained notoriety for offering a safe retreat to those political and criminal offenders who had made British India too hot for themselves by their sayings, doings and writings, and this led the Director of Criminal Intelligence Branch to observe: 'Pondicherry is becoming an Altatia to which political and criminal offenders in trouble resort....'

The Director of Criminal Intelligence of the Government of India reported that they did not have any reliable and definite information that arms were being smuggled into Pondicherry by the revolutionary parties abroad with a view to their introduction in French India. But the D.I.G. Madras wrote in December 1908 that he did not rule out the probability of guns and revolvers being imported occasionally into Pondicherry in vessels coming from Singapore sometimes in passengers' luggage and sometimes by the crew of the vessels, but there was no evidence of any largescale importation of arms in Pondicherry.³ The Bengal Government had a different reading of the situation and it believed that it was in Pondicherry that Vanchi Aiyer had received lessons in revolver shooting and acquired there the Belgian revolver with which Ashe, Collector of Tinnevely district, was assassinated.⁴

The agency for this anti-British activities was taken by the "India Office" group which had its office at 58, rue de Mission Étrangères, Pondicherry, and it was this India Office group which was receiving literature from Paris and New York in packets marked "By French Steamer".⁵ The anti-British party was headed by M. M. Srinivasa Aiyengar, the registered editor of the *India* (Madras). The tone of the *India* had all along been violently anti-British and it had spread so much poison and disaffection that the Madras Government had to proscribe it under Section 12 (1) of the Indian Press Act and its editor was arrested in July 1908 for sedition and subsequently sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The Madras Government had been keeping a vigilant watch on the activities of other staff of the paper. These latter - Subramania Bharati, S. Srinivasa Achari, M. P. Tirumala Acharya and S. Nagaswami Aiyar etc., found Madras unsafe for them, and considering the French territory a safer refuge, transferred the whole of the press plant to Pondicherry and set it up there. In the middle of September they had applied to the French authorities of Pondicherry for permission to start the paper *India*. This was refused by the French authorities when their antecedents were known, but subsequently the paper was registered in the name of one Lakshminarayan Aiyar,

a French subject, and it made its appearance on 10th October, 1908.⁶ M.P. Tirumala Acharya, who was then in Paris and for whose arrest a warrant had been issued in connection with the *India*, transferred his ownership to S. Srinivasa Chari in November 1908.⁷ These people who shifted to Pondicherry after the Madras Government had cracked down on the *India* actually formed a nucleus known as the Indian Office group.

The *India* which continued to be printed and published in Pondicherry had an extensive circulation in the port town as well as in British India. In May 1909 it had a circulation of 1600 and in October of the same year it rose to 1830. With the increase of circulation and popularity as well, there took place a considerable addition to the staff employed. Besides *India*, there were other papers which had indulged bitterly in anti-British propaganda. They were:

- 1 the *Vijaya*, a Tamil daily printed in the same building and press as the *India*,
- 2 the *Balabharati*, an English monthly journal edited by Subramania Bharati,
- 3 the *Karmayogi*, a Tamil monthly,
- 4 the *Suryodayam* (or *L'Aurore*), a Tamil weekly. It was started in April 1908, but was later proscribed under Section 12(1) of the Indian Press Act.
- 5 The *Dharma*, a Tamil paper, edited by Nagaswami of Ettyapuram (Tinnevely District), was a seditious paper and published irregularly.

But the *India* could not maintain its circulation and popularity for long and, according to Intelligence Department Report, it ceased to appear from 30th April, 1910. Internal dissensions among the staff were rife and in June 1909 Subramania Bharati severed his connection with the India Office group and threw in his lot with the *Suryodayam*. In October of that year, however, he again joined the *India* as editor of the *Vijaya*.

In the opinion of the Intelligence Department based on documentary evidence, the India Office group was in touch with the revolutionary parties in London, Paris and New York and for reasons stated above they used Pondicherry as a safe centre for disseminating seditious literature in British India. In fact, Pondicherry as centre for disseminating seditious literature and pamphlets from outside had caused considerable alarm to the British Indian authorities. Between March 1910 and February 1911 packets of seditious literature and prohibited periodicals received in Pondicherry included 456

copies of *Bande Mataram*,⁸ 162 copies of *Talvar*, 124 copies of *Gaelic American*,^{8a} 109 copies of the *Indian Sociologist*, 70 copies of the *Liberator* and 47 copies of *Free Hindustan* besides many seditious leaflets. Apart from newspapers Pondicherry was known to have received 417 copies of Savarkar's book on *The Indian War of Independence of 1857*, 100 copies of the *Social Conquest of the Hindu Race* by Har Dayal and 100 copies of *Pagans and Christians or the Black Spot in the East* by W.N. Strickland, the importation of which publication had been prohibited under section 19 of Sea Customs Act. At first these seditious papers and books were only locally distributed to a small extent - a large number was kept in stock by Nagaswami in the office of *Dharma* newspaper, but later copies of *Bande Mataram*, *Talvar* and *Free Hindustan* were sent by post from Pondicherry to other parts of India.⁹

The object of all this literature was primarily to make them available to anti-British militant group or groups working for the subversion of the British administration in India. It also aimed at challenging French rule in India which was no less odious to the India Office group than the British authorities. This is evident from a Tamil leaflet addressed to the 'Citizens of French India'¹⁰ which was pasted in different places of Pondicherry and distributed to the people after the violent deputy election of April-May referred to above. The translated version of the leaflet runs as follows:

It is a known fact that our success in the recent election of the deputy is due to our "Swadeshis" of British India. Therefore, we should gain an upper-hand over the French European party in French India and try to root them out as soon as possible just as our brethren in British India are working with a desire to see that the British do not govern them.... Truly, we should have been defeated by these Whites had it not been for the help we received from people from Palayamcottah, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely who worked for our cause with about 3,000 at Karikal, 1000 at Odayanarakkari village and 100 at Vamba Keerapolyam. All these outsiders being the real sons of our Bharat Mata worked and helped us without caring for their lives in the least and won success for us. We should be grateful to them for ever.... We should work with them and drive away the Whites of this place also...

It is difficult to ascertain how far the anti-British party in Pondicherry was influenced by the *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal. *Swadeshi* did not preach sedition. Probably being far away from Bengal, they could not distinguish one from the other and wrongly identified sedition with *Swadeshi*. But still the *Englishman* wrote:

Since the outbreak of sedition in Bengal the defeated party

in French India have openly professed the most advanced views of the Bengal extremists, and Pondicherry is now influenced from Chandernagore.¹¹

Chandernagore, between 1907 and 1909, was passing through a period of political excitement. Young men of the town under the leadership of Charu Chandra Roy was actively working for undermining the French authorities there. The situation in Chandernagore took a very unpleasant shape and attempts were made on the life of Tardival, the French Mayor of the town, and to derail the train of Lieutenant Governor (Sir Andrew Fraser) as he was proceeding to Ranchi.¹² An active secret society existed in Chandernagore at that time, and on 24th April, 1909 the Bengal Government wrote to the Government of India that Chandernagore was a source of greater trouble, actual and potential, to the British authorities....¹³

Between 1907 and 1910 some prominent nationalist leaders had taken refuge in Pondicherry and the most important among them were Aurobindo Ghosh, who had to flee from Chandernagore in order to escape an arrest of warrant, and Subramania Bharati. V. V. S. Aiyar, who was wanted in the Ashe murder case, was also staying in Pondicherry. Pondicherry also gave shelter to Pingala Lakshminarayan Rao of Bezwada who was wanted by the British Government for writing some articles published in a Telegu paper called *Swaraj*. Subramania Madaswami Pillai was believed to have taken shelter in the same town. He belonged to the body responsible for the murder of Ashe. Another rabid extremist who had taken shelter in Pondicherry and had close contact with Aurobindo Ghosh was Nagaswami Aiyar.

Aurobindo arrived in Pondicherry early in 1910, and men like V. V. S. Aiyar and Subramania Bharati and others paid him frequent visits. His presence in Pondicherry and his contact with these persons gave rise to many wild speculations in the British official circle. Some were of the opinion that the anti-British forces in Pondicherry were drawing inspiration from him and he was connected with the India Office group. Even Minto believed that Aurobindo during his stay in Pondicherry had developed some 'undesirable French connection' and he was eager to go to France in order to assist Swamiji Krishna Verma in his plan of assassination,¹⁴ and a member of Hardinge's Executive Council thought that the anarchist movement in Pondicherry had sprung up 'very probably from the recent advent to Pondicherry of Aurobindo Ghose'.¹⁵ Aurobindo tried to dispel their wrong impressions and wrote in the *Hindu*:

I left British India in order to pursue my practice of yoga undisturbed either by my old political connections or by harassment of me which seemed to have become a necessity of life to some police officials.¹⁶

He also wrote that he was 'in retirement' and 'see none but a few local friends and the few gentlemen of position who care to see me when they come to Pondicherry'. But inspite of this, in the opinion of the Intelligence Branch of the Government of India, V. V. S. Aiyar, Subramania Bharati against whom a warrant was out for complicity in the murder of Ashe, and few other revolutionaries met him frequently even in 1912. It is difficult to explain the reasons which impelled them to meet Aurobindo. But there was no doubt that the presence of the nationalist exiles in Pondicherry helped organise an anti-British party there.

The activity of the India Office group and the network of its contacts in and outside the country considerably unnerved the Government of India:

The continued activity of this gang in Pondicherry is as much a menace to the French as to the British Government. It would be to the advantage of the French Government to break up this organisation by seizing and destroying the seditious literature stored in the 'Dharmam' office and by preventing the further importation of this class of literature through the French Post Office at Pondicherry.¹⁷

However, the Government of India could 'not remain blind to the fact that the little parcels of French territory scattered through the Empire threaten to become breeding ground of discontent, if not of overt sedition....' And sensing that such seditious activities should not be allowed to continue in the French headquarters Hardinge wrote to Martineau, Governor of French Settlements in India, for his co-operation 'to break up this dangerous organisation'. He further added:

....I am sure that if you could see your way to seizing and destroying any seditious literature now stored in Dharmam office, and prevent the further importation of this class of literature through your post office, a valuable step would have been taken in this direction....¹⁸

The Pondicherry authorities were not unaware of the circulation of seditious literature to other parts of the British Indian empire through this port-town and between October 1910 and February 1911 they had, on their own, seized a large number of objectionable literature. The operation for the seizure of such seditious literature intensified after Hardinge had written to the Pondicherry Governor, and on 1st October, 1914 the latter wrote to the British Minister of Colonies assuring him:

.....my active desire to co-operate in our common task

by taking all necessary measures to prevent the political refugees from abusing the hospitality which they received in our territory, and I immediately ordered the Commandant of Police to depute an European officer to assist at the opening of mail bags at the French post Office, to take note very discreetly of all communications from outside addressed to the refugees in question or to their friends, and to take back all newspapers published in foreign languages.¹⁹

Actually a thorough examination of foreign papers was made in concert with deputed British officers before their entry into the French territory of Pondicherry could take place. On 29th October, 1915 the French Governor again wrote to the British Minister of Colonies that the French Police had intercepted a packet of newspapers from San Francisco addressed to Swaminathan Mudaliar and Chinnaraja Mudaliar, sons of a retired Police Inspector in British India, then residing in pondicherry.²⁰

While these measures had the effect of largely restricting the ingress of seditious literature and newspapers into Pondicherry, the local papers which had once preached and propagated sedition against the European powers in India either discontinued or were in a low profile. Already the *India* and the *Suryodayam* had sunk into a moribund condition - rather they were on the verge of extinction. This also led to the break-up of the India Office group. There were other factors too. Aurobindo was on his way to embracing the life of a recluse and some of the suspects in the Ashe murder case were arrested. Meanwhile the outbreak of World War I brought England and France closer together and as a member of the Entente powers the French authorities at Pondicherry extended their co-operation in foiling the Germans and their Indian revolutionaries to carry on propaganda campaign by the circulation of the *Ghadr* in pondicherry and Madagascar.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30th April, 1910.
- 2 Home Political (Deposit), 12th March, 1911, No. 12. (The official documents have been collected from the National Archives of India, New Delhi).
- 3 *Ibid.*, Note prepared by the Director of Criminal Intelligence Dept.
- 4 Foreign & Political, Confidential B (Genl.), 1914, No. 2
- 5 Home Political (Deposit), 12th March, 1911, No. 12.

- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 & 8a The usual stock of seditious literature - *Bande Mataram* and the Indian Sociologist etc., was imported partly from Europe and partly from America through the agency of George Freeman of the *Gaelic American* in New York.
- 9 Home Political (Deposit), 12th March, 1911, No. 12.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Circulated around 5th June, 1905.
- 11 *The Englishman*, 16th May, 1910.
- 12 Home Political A, May 1908, Nos. 112-150.
- 13 Home Judicial B, August 1910, No. 154
- 14 Minto Papers, 26th May, 1910.
- 15 Foreign General (Confidential A), 1910, Nos. 31-41, Office Note by A. Earle, 20th June, 1910.
- 16 *Aurita Bazar Patrika*, 25th July, 1911.
- 17 Home Political (Deposit), 12th March, 1911, No. 12, Hardinge's letter dated 17th March, 1911.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Home Political (Deposit), January 1915, No. 45, French Governor's letter dated 1st October, 1914.
- 20 *Ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ETHOS OF INDIAN LITERATURE : A STUDY OF ITS ROMANTIC TRADITION. By K. S. Srinivasan, Delhi : Chanakya Publications, 1985, 244 pp., Rs. 170.

A landscape of many linguistic streams where the run-off channels are not only nourished by the mainstream but often flow back to nourish it, both in the early phase when they are just rivulets and in the later phase when they become rivers on their own, can confront us with great complexities if we venture on a study of the transmission of cultural impulses, and the evolution of the formal categories in which they get embodied in the course of cultural evolution, in the total network. India presents such a pattern, and with further complications. For the great Aryan-Sanskritic river system of the north later linked up with a system of the south held almost universally to be one of independent and as ancient origin.

Srinivasan's book concentrates on the *Gatha Sattasai* (Seven Hundred Songs), a Prakrit anthology got compiled by the Satavahana ruler, Hala, as a crucial text for possible clues regarding the north-south interaction. He makes an important contribution by revealing that poets with identical names figure in the *Sattasai* as well as in the early anthologies of Tamil poetry of what is known as the Sangam literary tradition. The Tamil names seem to be the same as either the Sanskrit or Prakrit names appearing in the *Sattasai*. Many Sangam poets have non-Tamil names clearly derivable from Sanskrit names. Srinivasan provides his own translations from both *Sattasai* and Sangam poetry to show that the ethos is identical.

Before we examine these revelations further to study the direction of flow of cultural impulses, I would like to make a quantal leap to a major suggestion of Srinivasan's which too seems to be a discontinuous, quantal leap for which no data presented in the book itself can provide a strong enough springboard. He makes the plea for "a study of the Tamil language informed by the outlook that it was at one time definable as a Prakrit - like Maharashtri, Sauraseni or Magadhi". He generally expresses himself so guardedly that this need not mean anything more than that the culture reflected in the medium is common to the Prakrits, to Tamil and of course to Sanskrit. But he adds: "It should then be easy to perceive that structurally (*italics added*) Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada are no different from Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati in certain essentials which are discussed in Chapter 13." That chapter has important material, but it is titled and discusses "Structural Affinities", not structural identity. While rightly resenting the stereotype of the alleged north-south, Aryan-Dravidian polarity, Srinivasan

seems to gravitate unconsciously towards the northern, Aryan-Sanskritic pole.

Early in this century, in Kerala, Nedungadi summed up the linguistic evolution of Malayalam in a Sanskrit *sutra* which can be translated thus: "Originating in the Himalaya of Sanskrit, mingling later with the Dravidian stream." Subsequent research has shown that the actual situation is the exact reverse. Sanskrit's influence on the southern languages is undeniable. But if one sees this as acculturation, a relation of subordination and superordination looms up in the back of the mind and those who try to solve the consequent identity crisis and anxiety neurosis by rejecting the influence or by obliterating the distinction seem alike misguided. Unless we choose to talk in terms of Chomsky's deep structure which may link all languages, Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages are different in structure and origin. Sanskrit was always the language of the elite, not the masses. Once it had the role of the language of higher education just as Latin had that role not too long ago in European universities. But the spoken languages in the north were Prakrits first and the Prakrit-derived modern languages later; in the south they were the Dravidian languages which later enriched themselves with Sanskrit vocabulary. And the bilingual elite in both the earlier and the later phases in the north and the later phase in the south contributed to the legacy, transforming the corpus of Sanskrit literature as a common Indian heritage from a specifically northern bequest. But structurally, grammatically, Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages are totally different. This is seen with striking clarity in that tradition of the early poetry of Kerala analysed by Lila-Tilakam, the very important treatise of the fourteenth century. Sanskrit substantives are smoothly assimilated. But when their declensional forms for various cases are also used and, further, Malayalam words too are declined according to Sanskrit grammar, the result is so odd that Manipravalam can be regarded only as an artificial language-blend created by a bilingual elite that rated the Sanskrit connection rather inordinately. Srinivasan dislikes the concept and expression, 'unity in diversity', and in his devotion to unity, wants to reject the diversity as unreal. But why not regard diversity as an ampler fare for assimilation to yield a richer unity? Rejection of such a perspective may make India shrink in her cultural identity which has been enriched by Persian and Arabic languages, literature and thought too.

To return now to the focal text, the *Sattasai*. The many similarities between it and early Sangam poetry strongly point to the derivation of one from the other. Srinivasan feels that the direction of influence was from Prakrit to Tamil poetry. The thrust of Jain proselytisation had brought Prakrit-speaking Jains to the Tamil

country as early as in the second century B.C.; the first century A.D. had witnessed the establishment of the Jain Mulasangha in Cuddalore, followed by a Nandi Sangha; in 604 Vajranandi moved from the Kannada region to Madurai to set up a Dravida Sangha. Early Sangam poetry, according to Srinivasan, could very well have been the contribution of these migrants who were Prakrit-speaking, but bilingual too, and wrote in Tamil in the thematic-stylistic tradition of Prakrit poetry.

This is an original suggestion and the world of Tamil scholarship should seriously react to it; as yet I have seen no reaction which is a great pity. But these thoughts which occur to me may not be naive. Even while rejecting the fanciful claims made about three Sangam periods, the first going as far back as 5000 B.C. in the uninhibited conjectures of some people, we have to concede the possibility that the first four or five centuries A.D. saw the first efflorescence of Sangam poetry. Hala's date is still controversial. Srinivasan dates the compilation of his anthology to the mid-first century. Jacobi has suggested 467 as the date, while Keith and Woolner suggest the third century. Chronology may not rule out the possibility of Tamil poetry influencing Prakrit poetry, the assumption of the presence of bilingual literati in the peninsular south being wholly justifiable. Further, the ideal man (cannon) of classical Sangam poetry is a man who lives a full-blooded life as both hero and lover. Murukan's absorption into the Aryan-Sanskrit pantheon as Kartikeya was a much later development. He is the Tamil god par excellence; the etymology itself suggests that he embodies youth and beauty. Thus, factors favouring the efflorescence of romantic poetry were all there in early Tamil culture; no impulse was needed from outside.

The vitality of the indigenous tradition can also be seen in the later elaboration of classical or at least neoclassical canons by which the ambience of the romantic episode, which is the setting of lyrical poetry, is painted with amplitude in terms of differentiated landscapes, flora, fauna, season, vocational typology of protagonists (the *aintimai-akattimai* paradigm). Mayon first emerges as a god of the *mullai* landscape (forests and pastures), later absorbs those episodes of the Krishna myth that relate to the romance with the cowherd maidens in *Vraja*. The *Alvars* fall in love with him, identify love and devotion. And this greatly influences the *Bhagavata Purana* as Friedhelm Hardy has shown with a Germanically exhaustive (and exhausting) thoroughness of research in his *Vira-Saivism* (Oxford University Press, 1983). Prakrit poetry stands relatively isolated while Tamil poetry shows all signs of autonomous evolution with an intrinsic elan. In the interaction, both beginning and end may be symmetrical. That is, just as *Alvar* poetry influenced the *Bhagavata*,

If there is one underlying theme in this work, it is the paradox of continuity and change in India's socio-economic life. Thus while again and again it is stressed that "despite the dominant continuities" India's economic and social relations were undergoing many changes, albeit slowly, and that in the 17th and 18th centuries there was a gradual price rise, data from Abul Fazl are juxtaposed with mid- and late 17th century figures, emphasizing, implicitly if not explicitly, the strength of the continuities rather than the dynamics of change.

The topics in the volume are generally arranged under agriculture and agrarian relations, and non-agricultural production, trade and prices, chronologically divided into two periods: c.1200-1500 (pre-Mughal), and 1500-1750 (Mughal). There is a further sub-classification for the two main regions, North and South India. A major and instantly noticeable inadequacy of the book lies in the fact that vast regions are left completely untouched in this general coverage. Modern Kerala, except for a passing mention under South India, is not discussed at all. Similarly, in spite of many references to Benaras, Jaunpur, Patna etc., the discussions of upper India are virtually restricted to the Delhi-Agra region, and U.P., Bihar, Punjab, Sind, Rajasthan and much of Central India are not studied at all. While accepting the constraints in terms of lack of availability of sufficient source materials, surely some contributions, similar to Amalendu Guha's study of Assam, could have been included for a wider coverage of all regions of India.

The volume begins with a Preface by the editors. While acknowledging that the periodization of Indian economic history into the Delhi Sultanate period and the Mughal period may be overstressing the relevance of dates and periods, the editors also point out that such major exogenous political changes naturally caused much greater changes in economic and social relations than were to be found in the relatively slow endogenous social evolution in the country, and as such, are to be viewed as watersheds in history. They also point out that on several issues there is no consensus or a uniformity of viewpoint among the contributors. Thus no definitive conclusions are offered on all questions, and the different assessments of contributors reflect the current state of the debate, though there is a surprisingly large area of agreement in the conclusions reached independently by the scholars.

In the first chapter in the Introductory section, Habib deals briefly with the geographical background, covering basically the Indo-Gangetic region, its natural features (Rivers and Forests), distribution of population, towns, routes and ports, Habib stresses

the stability of the settlement pattern and the towns in India over long periods, contrary to the earlier, generally accepted idea that Indian towns were highly unstable. The second chapter, on south India, by Burton Stein breaks fresh ground. Essentially confined to the centre of early civilization in the region -- the Tamil plains -- the chapter delineates the changing role of the sea in the history of the region, the changes in the structure of trade and social organization. The distinct feature of Tamil society and polity was the nature of the central state and the local authorities. Stein points out that while the authority of the King or Emperor was acknowledged throughout the territory which he claimed to control, there is no evidence that revenue, which was collected by the local authorities, was ever transferred to the "state" or a central exchequer, and resources for royal or state expenditures were drawn from the King's own centre of power. Stein calls this dual authority of an imperial state and localized assemblies (nadus) the "segmentary state". While the notion of a "segmentary" state is still under debate, the term serves to highlight the fact that socio-political organization differed considerably in the South from the North.

Part I of the book (chs. III, IV & V) covers the earlier period of 1200-1500. Chapter III, in four parts, covers North India under the Sultanate. Simon Digby begins with a brief outline of the economic decline of the region following political fragmentation after Harsha. Habib follows with an account of the agrarian economy and society -- the crops under cultivation, taxation, distribution of revenue resources among the ruling classes. The noteworthy feature of the agrarian economy was the abundance of land, so that the peasants were concerned not with rights in land, but about claims on crops and their persons. In the section on non-agricultural production Habib, in addition to giving an account of the crafts and products, also raises questions on technological aspects -- the existing state of technology and the migration and adaptation of new technology from other countries. This was also a period of considerable expansion of the money economy, which is corroborated by the numismatic evidence, as Digby points out in the concluding section. Digby also raises the issue of hoarding, the ramifications of which have still not been explored. How much gold and silver was hoarded? What were the cumulative effects of such hoarding on the value of money, on prices and wages, on consumptions and production? -- are questions which are probably not answerable in the absence of statistical data. But this is a recurrent question in the background in several chapters.

Burton Stein discusses the society and economy in Vijayanagar Empire in Chapter IV. This was a military state, monopolizing the resources of the macro region for military purposes, and in this

period the "heartland of the macroregion", the Chola country, was transformed in a subordinate base for support for the warriors from the North. The segmentary state, with autonomous local assemblies, also began to disappear, and was replaced by a war state, with many local military chiefs or nayaks, and the village as the unit in which land rights were distributed. Part I concludes with an account of maritime trade by Digby, with references to the importance of China in Asian shipping and trade.

Habib begins Part II of the book (1500-1750) with a chapter on Population, addressing himself to four main questions. The size of the population, which, after evaluating various methods of estimation, Habib fixes at about 140 to 150 million, against Moreland's 100 million; the annual growth rate of population was probably .1%, compounded; the size of the urban population was probably about 15% of the total; and, lastly, the sizes of various cities.

There are three contributions to the discussion on the State and the Economy (ch. VII). Turning first to the Mughal empire Raychaudhuri points out that the central characteristic of the Mughal state was that it was a conquest state, held together by a vast machinery of coercion, which needed adequate resources to sustain it. This characteristic naturally shaped the functioning of the state in the economy, creating a contradiction between the state as the protector of the peasants and commerce, and the rapacity of the military state. Though the more negative aspects of the Mughal empire are more frequently stressed, among the more positive aspects were general peace and prosperity, the integration of the market, hitherto fragmented, and a general expansion of trade. On the state and the economy in Deccan and Maharashtra, Fukazawa discusses the administration of internal security, the land revenue system in the Sultanates and under the Marathas, and the decentralization of administration after Shivaji. In the South, Burton Stein points out, this was the period of the gradual disintegration of the Vijayanagar empire, and the emergence of the three Nayak kingdoms and the reversion of the Tamil country to the centre of political life of the region. Though this was a period of frequent warfare and plundering with all the attendant disruptiveness, there was clearly an increase in monetization and cash transactions, and commercial or agricultural growth was not seriously affected.

In Chapter VIII on systems of agricultural production, Habib discusses the crops, irrigation systems, yields and cropping patterns in Mughal India, while Alaev discusses the agricultural system of South India. Turning to agrarian relations (Ch. IX) Habib initiates the discussion on Mughal India with an account of various tenurial

arrangements. The village community showed considerable differentiation among the various classes of peasants, while village officialdom offered a framework of sub-exploitation which supported and subsisted upon the Mughal land revenue system. Fukazawa explains in detail the agrarian system in the Deccan and Maharashtra, starting with the basic terminology used in the organization of land and services in a village. Such a description is extremely useful since there is, in general, not much knowledge about the economy and society of these regions. The general structure of the village remained fairly stable throughout this period, but within this stable framework considerable differentiation arose among the peasants. The section ends with a discussion of land assignments and revenue systems. It is rather disappointing that the section on agriculture should be so brief. Though it is laudable that infinite repetitions of the theme of exploitation of the peasants have been avoided, more details on rural-based non-agricultural production and organization of production would have been very useful.

The next two chapters on non-agricultural production and internal trade take up almost 20% of the book and a multitude of subjects are covered under these headings. In the section on non-agricultural production in Mughal India, Raychaudhuri begins by presenting two contradictory views on the Mughal economy, one contending that the industrial sector was highly buoyant and developed (in a pre-industrial framework), and the other that India, because of internal structural constraints was even then far behind contemporary Europe. Raychaudhuri points out that while statistical evidence is not available to resolve the dispute, qualitative evidence can be used to arrive at some "tentative answers". Part of the problem in a highly stratified society with a high level of poverty is the lack of effective demand, especially for manufactured products. While conceding this, Raychaudhuri argues that the gradual growth of the population, and the conspicuous consumption indulged in by the upper classes resulted in an upward trend in demand and that, in general, private and public demand for manufactures in Mughal India was "large, varied and expanding." After a discussion of the commodities produced in India, Raychaudhuri turns to the organization of production, with its strong social, rather than economic, framework. Productive activity ranged from subsistence production to highly specialized commercial production for a distant market, from the rural village artisan to a wage worker in the city karkhanas of the Mughal nobility, staddling and overlapping each other. But within this complex system, the artisan was firmly held down in the social and economic stratum, with little scope for upward mobility or differentiation. While the country had a wide variety and range of manufactured goods and exports, technologically she was unquestionably behind Europe and China, and part

of this resistance to change Raychaudhuri ascribes to the inadequacy of market demand, which would seem to negate his earlier comment on the general level of demand. For, the fact remains that however large the level of demand in India, it was obviously much exceeded by productive capacity, even under existing low levels of technology and productivity. Fukazawa follows with a brief account of rural and urban industries and large-scale production in Maharashtra and the Deccan. Alaeu concludes the chapter with an account of non-agricultural production in South India, which runs closely parallel to Raychaudhuri's analysis.

In his lengthy account of internal trade (Ch. XI) Raychaudhuri presents an integrated account of trade, markets, transportation and trade routes, mercantile activity and commercial organization. Trade in India was highly complex, as Raychaudhuri explains at the end of the chapter. "There was an ascending scale in the overlapping circuits of exchange from the village through empire to the world of international commerce. Fragmented markets co-existed and interacted with integrated systems of exchange encompassing the subcontinent as did pedlars with merchants." (p. 359) Chapter XIII on the monetary system and prices by Habib is a succinct account of Mughal currency, and the exchange rates of gold and copper for silver, prices and price movements, of individual commodities as well as general trends, which Habib concludes, rose at an average annual rate of 1.93% between 1600 and 1750. But ultimately, the effects of a general price rise were not felt by the ruling classes or merchants, and the burden must have fallen more on the poor, as the tentative data on wages suggest.

Chapter XIII on foreign trade has an account of European trade by K. N. Chaudhuri, and of Indian merchants and the Indian Ocean by Ashin Dasgupta. Beginning with a routine account of the activities of the Portuguese, and later the Dutch and the English in Indian and Asian trade, Chaudhuri goes on to discuss the commodity structure of trade. He presents an interesting discussion of the Mercantilist controversy over the flow of bullion to India, though this trade, financed by the expansion in the money supply, brought the previously unutilized productive capacities of the European economies. He also points out that not all Mercantilists were bullionists, and many understood that trade between Europe and India was a function of price differentials. Chaudhuri's assessment of the impact of European trade on the Indian economy is more positive than that of Raychaudhuri, and he argues that especially in the early 18th century, its effects were beginning to be felt on the Indian economy. Dasgupta traces the role of Indian merchants in Asian shipping and trade since the 15th century, when Gujarati Muslim merchants dominated the carrying trade between Malacca

and Cambay, while Arab shipping dominated in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. In the 16th century, however, Gujarati shipping and trade began to turn to the Red Sea, caused for the most part by the Portuguese presence in Malacca. In the 17th century there was a further rearrangement of India's maritime trade because of the emergence of the Dutch and English Companies in the Indian Ocean, which pushed Indian trade even more firmly to the West. Against this background Dasgupta also weaves in an account of mercantile organization, stressing (as does Raychaudhuri) that the term "merchant" embraced a wide range of trading activities. His analysis of the commodities of trade shows that the main exports were coarser and bulk goods, quite unlike the small volume peddling trade in luxury articles, as van Leur described Asian trade. The 17th century was the golden age of Indian maritime trade, and its subsequent collapse in the 18th century, Dasgupta ascribes primarily to the political collapse in India and Persia, and civil war in Yemen.

The discussion of urbanization (Ch. XIV) is again hampered by the lack of statistics, though Gavin Hambly argues, inferentially, that regardless of the size of the urban sector in Mughal India, it possessed a significance far exceeding its size. His main conclusion is that the Mughal period was the golden age of urbanization, with an increase in the size of existing towns and the emergence of new settlements. Peace and internal security, and the consequent expansion of trade under Mughal rule was the primary reason for this expansion. There was also a shift in urbanization from West to East in Upper India. Hambly follows up with an interesting discussion of the 'Muslim' cities (while admitting that there were no truly Islamic or Hindu cities because of the pluralist nature of Indian society) and the organization of urban administration. Burton Stein also says that urbanism was a distinctive feature of the economic history of South India, especially after the 13th century. While the distinctions between rural and urban were unclear in the Chola period, the ambiguities are much less after the 13th century, and urban centres exhibited the composite character of 3 elements - temples, administrative functions, and commerce and production.

The last chapter deals with the standard of living. Satish Chandra's contribution on the standards of living and patterns of consumption in the Mughal empire to some extent repeats the information to be found in Raychaudhuri's discussion in Ch. X. Satish Chandra argues (as does Raychaudhuri) that, contrary to the earlier held theories, there existed a substantial middle class in India, and Indian society was not polarized into a numerically few, extravagant upper class, and a miserable, poverty-stricken mass of peasants.

Much differentiation existed even within rural society, and between the two extremes of social classes many levels existed. Fakazawa's study on the Maharashtra and the Deccan echoes the same conclusions. Both Satish Chandra (using Shireen Moosvi's figures) and Fukazawa try to establish the purchasing power in the 17th century. Using prices in Maharashtra in 1719, Fukazawa calculates that "... wages of 3 annas a day could possibly provide the recipient with 3 sers of flour, grain or pulses and a bit of milk and vegetables; probably enough to maintain a small family." (p. 474) So once again there is consensus that the poorest of the urban poor had at least more nutritious standards of food consumption then than now. The volume ends with an excellent study of the mediaeval economy of Assam by Amalendu Guha.

A few final critical comments: It is to be expected that there should be some overlapping and conflicting opinions in a book with contributions by several authors on closely related subjects. But there is also some avoidable confusion over some basic conceptual issues. For instance, both Raychaudhuri (p. 279) and Aliev (p. 317) wrongly identify the system of village servants/artisans who received a share of the village produce in return for their services to the village with the *jajmāni* system, while Fukazawa correctly points out (p. 309) that the *jajmāni* system was the system of mutual obligations and rights between the landlord/employer (*jajmān*) and the peasants/employees. A more important shortcoming of the book is the omission of a separate chapter on merchants and mercantile organization, surely a very important aspect of India's economy in the 17th century. While Raychaudhuri and Dasgupta do have lengthy discussions on merchants, a separate consolidated and comprehensive chapter would have been better. On the positive side it is evident that the so-called Euro-centric bias has been eased out of Indian historiography, so that we get a much better perspective on the place and importance of European trade in India's economic history.

Kanakalatha Mukund

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN THE PUNJAB : 1849-1901.
By Inderjit Sharma, New Delhi : Atlantic Publishers, 1985.

Last of the major territories to be conquered by the erstwhile John Company, the Punjab was from the outset not an easy province to administer. No wonder the British began by putting their best foot forward - the 4-member board to supervise the administration set up on the morrow of the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) comprised the top brains Dalhousie could muster - and the tradition was to continue for a long time to come. Indeed the Punjab under

the Raj was to become a bye-word for an efficiently-governed, well-administered province.

An important measuring rod for good administration then - though not as of date - was the health of its land revenue system. Being a predominantly agricultural country, a very large part of the population in India had - and still has - a lot to do with land, directly or indirectly. A good land revenue settlement, a fair assessment and not too rigorous a collection not only meant more money in the state coffers; it also meant a reasonably satisfied and prosperous peasantry. And in so far as a large number of land holdings in the Punjab were of individual peasant proprietors, revenue officials came in personal contact with a fairly representative cross-section of people at the grass-roots level. It followed that all that happened in terms of land revenue administration in the Punjab was of great moment which only underlines the importance, and relevance, of the work under review.

The burden of Inderjit Sharma's song is that the Punjab peasant had been used to a policy of state protection and to the extent the British administrators had been fed on a staple of *laissez-faire*, their mental make up came into serious conflict with the milieu in which they had to function. Creditably, most of them adjusted remarkably well to the Punjabi élan. Its visible results were an impressive network of irrigation canals which brought no small measure of prosperity to large areas and a system of agricultural loans which mitigated against the evils of peasant indebtedness leading to all kinds of social and economic ills.

Two factors helped the British. To start with, under Ranjit Singh a great change had come over the rural scene in terms of a virtual elimination of a number of zamindars who owing to variety of factors disappeared - and were not replaced. This was deliberate as well as fortuitous - zamindars posed problems to the stability of the state and the bigger they were, the greater the threat. What was more, the Sikh ruler made sure that his revenue officials did not stay long in a place as to throw roots in the soil. Their mobility ensured that there was no time for them to develop any vested interests in land.

Another factor that helped was the string of British administrators from the North-Western Provinces (later United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and now Uttar Pradesh) who moved to the Punjab with a healthy respect for the tiller of the soil and a near-disgust for the innumerable intermediaries who sponged on him. In the result the Punjab peasant emerged relatively free from the stranglehold

of zamindars and with a measure of respect for an administration that assiduously cultivated direct dealings with him. His rights were further shored up by the (Punjab) Tenancy Acts of 1868 and 1887, while the Land Alienation Act of 1901 made sure that his holding was not frittered away in terms of transfer of land to alien, non-agricultural, hands. The resulting social and economic change was healthy - the peasant was by and large free from the dread hold of tradition and somewhat more outgoing in his outlook. An unanswered question remains: to what extent did this help to give the province its sobriquets as the Ulster of India and, of course, its sword-arm?

Inderjit's book is well-researched, its exposition lucid if a trifle heavy and repetitious. How one wishes she had taken pains to make her laboured, heavily padded, doctoral thesis into a viable, readable book! She is a little less than fair in her opening pages to the contributions of Van Dungen (*The Punjab Tradition*) as well as Metcalf (*The Aftermath of Revolt*) and yet draws heavily upon them, and the work of Tom Kessinger (*Vilayatpur, 1848-1968*) whom, oddly, she fails to list in her bibliography, in the text. To be fair, she makes as useful a contribution as the three of them in fields which though distinct do overlap a great bit.

One runs into some annoying misprints. To pinpoint a few as fairly representative: peasant (p. viii) for present writer; laissez-faire (p. 247) for laissez-faire; responsible (p. 350) for responsible. If only our publishers as well as authors made a big effort to make our books look as well as read better!

Parshotam Mehra

KNOWLEDGE BEFORE PRINTING AND AFTER : THE INDIAN TRADITION IN CHANGING KERALA. By Ananda E. Wood, Delhi: Oxford University Press, x + 199 pp., Rs. 120.

"We tend to forget that our physical technology and science are no more than successfully established traditions, and therefore we often look narrowly backwards in a quite inappropriate medieval way that would limit all knowledge to our established traditions of technology and science. Should we not also look forward, in a more appropriate modern way, and broaden our minds to make room for the knowledge that Indian and Oriental traditions have just begun to contribute to our world?" (pp. 185-86)

That is how Ananda Wood concludes this monograph. Not a very original plea, perhaps, but nonetheless one made from a rather unusual perspective. For it is not the familiar yoga-mysticism-tantra mix that Wood is talking about, but he is actually concerned with the totality of the Indian (Oriental) tradition - a culture which, in Wood's view often gets "identified with traditional attitudes like hierarchy, holism, fatalism, asceticism and mysticism, where Western culture is identified with opposing modern attitudes like democracy, individualism, self-reliance, acceptance of the world and independent-minded reason." (p. 178)

It is not, of course, the contention of Wood that the former set of attitudes were not present in traditional Indian society, nor that modern Western culture cannot be identified in terms of the latter. In other words, he is not joining issue with sociologists like Max Weber and Louis Dumont, nor is he totally rejecting the rather idyllic picture of India as the land of mysticism and asceticism originally propounded by indologists like Max Muller but which today survives as the standard currency of what may be called the 'guru industry.'

The above, and other similar, categorisations tell us, in Wood's view, more about a traditional manner of expression which belongs to the past, than about the perennial knowledge which survives in the Indian tradition. The philosophical centre of that tradition, though often taken to be mystical and religious, as opposed to the empiricism and rationalism of the West, was never in conflict with reason as such. As Ananda Wood rightly points out, even the Upanishadic *mantras*, apart from their being allegorical illustrations, were used for exercises in mental concentration and meditation (*upāsana*). And in the medieval period, the advaita vedānta of Śaṅkara emphasised knowledge (*jñāna*) above mysticism and religious devotion (*bhakti*), the only additional caveat put in being to the effect that, since reasoning is a symbolic process, the truth of experience that is so symbolised can only be realised by transcending those symbols. (Rather in the manner of Wittgenstein's 'kicking the ladder once you have climbed the wall').

From this point of view Ananda Wood's theme appears quite simple. It is that in their historical development the cultural traditions of India and the West have a great deal in common. In the first place three main layers can be distinguished in both the traditions, roughly corresponding to the 'classical', 'medieval', and 'modern' phases of civilization. During the first period both India and the West reached a peak of expansion and development; the medieval period, Wood notes, though marked in both cases by political disintegration and instability, also gave rise to several regional

or 'vernacular' traditions, as for instance English and French in Europe, and Malayalam and Hindi in India. (It may be questioned whether Hindi belongs to this level or to the next, the modern one).

In spite of several divergencies, the prevalence of an overarching cultural continuity in India and its comparative absence in the West being the most important, the development of these civilizations could be seen to have followed a fundamentally similar path. Most of the 'vernacular' traditions originating during this phase laid great emphasis on the hierarchical values, in the feudal system and the Christian Church in Europe, and in the ritualistic order of caste in India. Other similarities could be seen in the religious or metaphysical holism, the fatalism of providence and predestination, the determinism of karma and reincarnation, in the harsh asceticism of the Christian monastic orders and in the self-inflicted ritual tortures of certain sanyasin sects in India.

Moreover, Wood goes on to argue, in both civilizations the transition from the medieval to the modern was marked by a singular event: the invention of printing and the consequent revolution in the different realms of human communication. In Europe this coincided with the Italian renaissance; and over the subsequent centuries different regional groupings, taking advantage of the newly developed technologies of communication and organisation, transformed themselves into powerful nations exercising sway over a large part of the world. In the meanwhile India still remained in the medieval phase, its culture decadent and society distressed. What it badly needed to come out of this phase, apart from the rediscovery of the forgotten past that is the hall-mark of every renaissance, was the new technology of communication.

Ananda Wood points out that before printing "a developed system of learning was dependent on an intensive study of the relatively few texts and cultural forms that could personally be handed down from teacher to pupil and hence from generation from generation." (p. 176) This is well exemplified in the following passage taken from the autobiography of Sri K.V. Mussatu (more widely known as K.V.M., the pen name he used) where the author explains how he began learning verse by verse the famous Sanskrit kavya *Māgham* (*Sisupālavadam*) from his teacher.

"The order in which a verse lesson proceeds is, of course *śloka* (reciting the verse itself), *padacchedam* (the splitting of the continuous line of verse into words), *vibhakti* (identifying the inflection of each word), *ślokaśloka* (identifying the relations between the inflected words), *anvayam* (putting the words

of the verse into a standard prose order...), *anvayārthem* (reciting the reordered sentence with Malayalam terminations of grammar...), *paribhāṣa* (substituting Malayalam equivalents for the Sanskrit words and hence arriving at a formal Malayalam translation of the verse), and *śāstram* (an informal explanation and commentary by the teacher on the meaning and significance of the verse." (pp. 66-67)

Because traditional learning was so formal and intensive, it could spread only slowly and within a small elite; and hence it "could not extend very far without breaking up into regional disparity."

"Traditional empires and civilizations simply did not have the communications technology required to hold together beyond a certain point of expansion, and when they split up into conflict and instability they left behind in each region a relatively small, classically educated elite of rulers and teachers who continued the classical traditions of learning and helped develop regional, vernacular culture among a much more numerous, uneducated populace." (pp. 176-77).

Leaving aside the introduction and conclusion, the bulk of the present work is devoted to a portrayal of "the somewhat closed and overformalised state from which the Indian tradition has had to open up and revive to meet the challenges of the modern world." The scene is restricted to Kerala, but is still representative of the contemporary Indian situation not only because it was among the first to adopt the modern pattern of education and has today the highest rate of literacy among Indian states, but it formed till recently one of the last strongholds of medieval Hindu culture. As such, the reminiscences and historical records quoted or summarised in this book present us with a picture of India on the threshold of a renaissance. Wood conveys this picture through extended quotations from the writings of or reminiscences about some of the outstanding scholars and men of letters who lived in mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century Kerala: Kanippayyur Sankaran Namputirippad, Punnasseri Nilakanthan Nampi, K. V. Mussatu (K.V.M.), Attur Krishna Pisharoty, the Kotungallur princes, Brahmananda Svami Sivayogi and Cattampi Svamikal.

I would argue that the millennium preceding the nineteenth century was largely a period of political and social decadence for India... In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the overall sovereignty of the British had resulted in a period of relative peace and political stability, social conditions began to improve... Thus, the combination of improved social

conditions, more positive cultural attitudes and the stimulation of new learning and technology from the West enabled the Indian tradition to open up and unbend in a cultural renaissance that has marked the start of the modernization, as an analogous renaissance did in fourteenth to sixteenth century in Europe. (p. 29)

This would appear to be a not very inappropriate perspective from which to watch the cultural transition in question in so far as modernisation itself is understood by Wood to mean "the profound process of cultural transformation which starts with the introduction of printing and goes on to develop the use of printing and subsequent communications media into a major way of organising knowledge and culture." (pp. 1-2) India has been going through this process for a little over a hundred years and trying to accomplish during that time what took Europe five hundred years. Hence any appreciation of how India has been faring in this mighty task, and what lessons she might be transmitting thereby to the West necessarily presupposes an acute awareness of the features that go to make up the medieval tradition that she is attempting to emerge out from. And that is what Ananda Wood seeks to provide through this well-documented volume.

Like most patterns of unilinear analysis Wood's attempt, too, cannot be faulted in what it achieves, but only in what it did not set out to in the first place. The transformation of a traditional society into a modern one implies indeed a revolution in communications technology. It can also be argued, as Wood has done remarkably well, that but for the acquisition of a new technology the old order would not have been forsaken. But to view this historic process as a mere by-product of an 'invention', which in spite of its tremendous influence was still an 'accident', is to miss the dialectical processes inherent in historic upheavals. New communication systems emerge because societies come to need them. Why and how they come to do so can yet be known only by unravelling the mighty societal forces - means of production being only one among them - at work within every social and cultural transformation. History, like politics, may be no exact science; but neither can it be a mere catalogue of inventions.

C. P. M. Nambodiri

RIGHTEOUS RAMA : THE EVOLUTION OF AN EPIC. By J. L. Brockington. Oxford University Press, Rs. 180.

It was out of bardic poetry and a floating mass of legendry that Valmiki shaped his tale of Rama which has become immortal and thereby conferred the same status on the author as well. The manner in which this came about has fascinated the world of scholarship in this century, if only because it is without parallel anywhere in the world.

A recent study comes from Edinburgh. J. L. Brockington, the author, teaches Sanskrit at the University; like many a Western scholar before him, he brings to bear modern methodology to Oriental studies. But what makes this book unlike any other is that it dares to tread difficult ground in search of new insight.

Critical study of Valmiki's classic has ever remained a baffling experience, thanks to the many centuries during which eager and well-meaning votaries have contributed to the text by way of emendations, interpolations and even 'modifications' so as to make the work more closely relevant to contemporary audiences. And all this happened long before the era of print culture dawned on this soil. The result has been to vitiate any valid comment on the basis of existing texts, either in regard to characterisation and dramatic points or in respect of social and other aspects of the polity in Ayodhya or Lanka. The critical edition of Valmiki Ramayanam, brought out by the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, some thirty years ago, has been a bench-mark for scholars to test their viewpoints; quite a few of the prevailing notions have undergone change, if not extinction. Commentators who have been hard put to 'explain' certain contradictions or incongruities have found the critical edition a great relief.

Brockington moves beyond, to undertake what he calls 'rigorous examination', which is not content with criteria of relevance or otherwise of the subject matter followed by predecessors such as Jacobi, for instance. The method, detailed in pages 45 ff, is based on the postulate, widely accepted, that 'the original Ramayana was composed in basically simple and fluent style, from which may be distinguished those passages which show marked divergence in linguistic and stylistic features'.

The technique which the author employs is to divide the work as consisting of material produced in two or three stages; 'the method

is designed ... to show what was the type of poetic technique he used'. With confidence that is characteristic of intense study, Brockington declares that minus the episodes and elaboration of the second stage and 'without the interruption of the tag-verses in long metres, the work at the first stage exhibits a continuous narrative flow'.

And he proceeds to establish his thesis with admirable skill and painstaking analysis, aspect by aspect -- linguistic, cultural, social and even religious. The chapter on the composition of the epic is a masterly prelude to what follows. Those who have been content with the recognition that the Balakanda and Uttarakanda are later accretions will find in this book deeper thought and matter for review, although the writer seems to go too far in dismissing Sita's fire-ordeal as 'expansion for the sake of ethical justification' (p 49.)

The second stage, beginning with 3rd cent. BC, is also shown as the period when inter-relationship and borrowings with the Mahabharata begins.

Much of what is said in areas like this can be disputed. What makes the task of the challenger difficult is the author's tightness of logic and the mass of evidence he is able to marshal. This reviewer, familiar with the vexed problems of critical study in regard to Valmiki, has not come across a more serious and, in many ways, a more original approach to India's greatest epic. The panoramic survey of the adaptations of Valmiki, in languages Indian as well as Asian, lends perspective.

If one might divine where Brockington draws his inspiration from, the answer stands out on the last page of the book. He sums up: 'throughout its evolution and not just in the original epic, the key to the story lies in dharma and in Rama as an ideal example of it'. 'Righteous Rama' thus becomes the fitting title of his book.

K. S. Srinivasan

NOTES AND QUERIES

Development and Population Migration in the Konkani Region, Western India

The Konkani region consists of the coastal districts of Thane, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg, and the metropolitan city of Greater Bombay. Thane is to the north of Bombay, and Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg are to its south. (For the purposes of the present discussion, Sindhudurg is included in 'Ratnagiri').

The economy of many parts of Konkani being very backward (in fact, Konkani is known proverbially for its poverty), there has been, within the region, an exodus of population, mainly of male population, from the southern districts of Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg towards Greater Bombay and Thane district. Northern and north-eastern parts of Thane district too are economically backward. But the local people residing there are mostly Adivasi tribal people, and they are not generally inclined to leave their forest villages for economic betterment.

Sex Ratio

The migration of male population of the Raigad and Ratnagiri districts is reflected in the sex ratio in these districts as compared to the situation in the State of Maharashtra, Greater Bombay and Thane district as shown in the following table.

Table I : Population by sex, Konkani and Maharashtra (1981)

		Number	Per Cent
Maharashtra	T	62784171	100
	M	32415126	51.6
	F	30369045	48.4
Greater Bombay	T	8243405	100
	M	4652646	56.4
	F	3590759	43.6
Thane	T	3351562	100
	M	1779645	53.0
	F	1571917	47.0
Raigad	T	1486452	100
	M	726512	48.8
	F	759940	51.2

Ratnagiri		Number	Per Cent
	T	2111311	100
	M	943395	44.7
	F	1167916	55.3

T = Total, M = Male, F = Female.

A noteworthy feature especially of Ratnagiri district is the ever increasing numerical superiority of female over male population (which migrates outside in greater number for seeking livelihood). The feature has continued to prevail even after the inauguration of national planning in India in 1950. This is evidenced from the data available in the census reports. Percentage sexwise distribution of population of Ratnagiri district for the years 1881, 1951 and 1981 was as follows:

	Male	Female
1881	47.44	52.56
1951	44.96	55.04
1981	44.70	55.30

The fact that the sex ratio is very much higher in the adult age group in Raigad and Ratnagiri districts, is an indication of the higher rate of migration of adult males from these districts. Opposite is the case of Greater Bombay and Thane district which are at the receiving end of the migration movement.

The 1981 census statistics for labour participation indicates that in agricultural operations women, as cultivators and agricultural labourers, have greater share in Ratnagiri (47.62%) and Raigad (45.36%) districts as compared to Thane district (44.66%), to which the menfolk migrate for seeking employment.

Out of 1000 population in each of these three Konkan districts, the number of cultivators and agricultural labourers is, according to 1981 census, as follows : Thane - 309, Raigad - 496, Ratnagiri - 504. It may be observed that in Thane district less than one-third of the total population is engaged as agricultural workers, whereas in Raigad and Ratnagiri as much as one-half of their populations have to work in the fields. Although agriculture is not sufficiently remunerative, the percentage of agricultural population is greater in Raigad and Ratnagiri districts due to the paucity there of other avenues of employment.

Thane District

In Thane district, several new industrial towns and cities like Dombivli, Kalyan, Ulhasnagar, Ambarnath, Bhiwandi are fast growing in population, thanks to the constant immigration from outside. A large portion of this immigrant population, besides the early Gujaratis and Sindhis, comes from other states of India, especially from Uttar Pradesh and four southern states of Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, generally in that order. The districts of Maharashtra mostly from which people migrate to Thane district are Raigad and Ratnagiri, and also Nasik, Jalgaon, Dhule, Pune and Ahmednagar.

Almost all the immigrant population that settles in the Thane district, settles in the southern talukas of Thane, Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Ulhasnagar - the growing industrialised talukas of the district. This is evidenced by the talukawise data of population by mother-tongue available for 1971. By way of example, figures for Thane, the industrialised taluka, and Murbad, the economically backward Adivasi taluka are given below. They can serve as the extreme but typical examples in this regard. (The predominant language of the Thane district is Marathi).

Table 2 : Population by mother-tongue and sex of Thane and Murbad talukas, Thane District, 1971

	Thane Taluka		Murbad Taluka	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Marathi	123301	108837	49657	47875
Hindi	20797	8373	163	158
Gujarati	9423	7687	207	155
Urdu	8524	6673	489	432
Sindhi	3788	3541	24	28
Kannada	3585	2361	Nil	Nil
Malayalam	4041	1842	Nil	Nil
Telugu	2644	1882	Nil	Nil
Tamil	1887	1355	Nil	Nil

Mother-tongue-wise, Sindhi-speaking population is more concentrated in Ulhasnagar taluka (it is almost equal to the Marathi population of that taluka), Urdu-speaking population in Bhiwandi, Hindi-speaking in Thane, Gujarati in Dahanu, Kannada in Ulhasnagar, Malayalam equally in Thane and Ulhasnagar, Tamil in Kalyan and

Ulhasnagar, and Telugu in Bhiwandi and Ulhasnagar. The mother-tonguewise population data thus indicates the immigration and settling pattern of different language groups from India in different talukas of the Thane district. The high proportion of male population in respect of certain languages is also noteworthy, as it indicates the temporary or fresh nature of immigration.

The outstanding development feature of Ulhasnagar is its small-scale industry, and of Bhiwandi is its weaving industry. Of course, there is also a commuting population living in these areas, which works outside the respective talukas.

K. S. Murty and K. R. Murty, in their article, 'The patterns of internal migration in Maharashtra : An analysis of 1971, census data', have studied different aspects of migration in the State of Maharashtra with reference to the 1971 census data. (*Artha Vijnana* 22 : 3 Sept. 1980 pp. 383-407). According to their findings the gaining and losing districts in Maharashtra, from the migration point of view, in 1971, were as follows:

<u>Gaining Districts</u> (rank order)	<u>Losing Districts</u> (rank order)
1. Greater Bombay	1. Ratnagiri
2. Thane	2. Bhandara
3. Pune	3. Satara
4. Nagpur	4. Jalgaon
5. Chandrapur	5. Raigad
6. Nanded	6. Sholapur
7. Akola	7. Sangli
8. Ahmednagar	8. Bhir
	9. Buldhana
	10. Kolhapur
	11. Amaravati
	12. Osmanabad
	13. Aurangabad
	14. Parbhani
	15. Dhule
	16. Yeotmal
	17. Nasik

Although, the districts of Chandrapur, Nanded, Akola and Ahmednagar fall under the category of gaining districts, the gaining there is mostly due to predominant streams of rural-ward and seasonal migrants. Some indicators of development like the percentage of urban population, number of factories located, percentage of

literacy are lower in these districts as compared to some losing districts. In the case of Greater Bombay, Thane, Pune and Nagpur, it is the development which is the cause for gaining by migration - as the urban-ward-migration streams are predominant in these districts.

It may be noted that Greater Bombay and Thane district top successively the list of gaining districts, and Ratnagiri tops the list of losing districts, and that Raigad is among the first five of the losing districts out of seventeen.

It is further observed by Murty and Murty that short distance migrants (intra-district) are more in the categories of cultivators and agricultural labourers as compared to long distance migrants. Long distance migrants are more educated and skilled, and are engaged in work categories like, 'Manufacturing other than the Household Industry', 'Trade and Commerce', and 'Transportation'. About 50 per cent of the long distance migrants are workers engaged in some industrial category, and work participation rates therein among migrants gradually decrease as the distance decreases.

It is observed that, generally, rural-rural is the largest form of internal migration in Maharashtra, followed by rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural forms. Moreover about 57 per cent of the total migrants in Maharashtra (1971 figures) are non-workers and most of them are females.

In Thane district, the internal migration within the district is greatly influenced by geographical and socio-cultural barriers. Very small number of tribal population from the hilly forested interior, known locally as *jungle-patti*, migrates to the urbanising region of the coastal lowlands or *bandar-patti*. Thus, the process of urbanisation in the Thane district is hardly shared by the local native population.

Developing Centres

In the western coastal region of Maharashtra, the immigrant population tend to settle in the towns along the Western Railway line Agashi, Tarapur, Dahanu, etc., and especially towards Bombay to the south, in Vasai taluka, as commuting towards Bombay becomes easier by residing there. Consequently, such villages and towns along the railway line are becoming larger in size. In these coastal talukas the predominant population is that of tribals - mostly Varlis and Kolis. And very gradually, part of this tribal population,

which is engaged in economic activities like fishing, gardening, fruit-selling, working in saw-mills, etc., is coming into contact with the urbanised life. The process is, of course, slow but may prove to be significant. It involves both social and economic change of which urbanisation forms an important part.

Dahanu may possibly grow as a production and entrepot centre for fish, fruit and timber. Palghar and Vasai are vegetable and fruit centres. Due to the location of nuclear power generating station at Tarapur, the twin villages of Chinchani-Tarapur are also likely to grow. Bhayandar may possibly grow in size as a salt production centre. Creeks and wide estuaries are, in fact, hampering the growth of such places, since the perishable goods are required to be transported to Bombay, and some other places, in quickest possible way. Most of the growing villages and towns on the sea coast, however, are linked by road to some railway station, and there are also ferry points across the creeks near the open sea.

The situation in Raigad and Ratnagiri districts relating to the immigration of population is in total contrast to that in Thane. In fact, as mentioned above, Ratnagiri ranks first in the list of districts in Maharashtra which lose population by way of migration.

Large scale emigration from Ratnagiri district to Greater Bombay is a continuing phenomenon. Compared to the total population of the Ratnagiri district, about 25 per cent of that number is enumerated in the city of Greater Bombay, and shown as born in Ratnagiri district.

The rate of growth of population of the towns in Ratnagiri district, as known for years from 1881 onwards, shows that towns like Chiplun, Malvan, Savantwadi are growing very slowly. Towns like Rajapur are almost stagnant in population size. Only the district town of Ratnagiri has some higher rate of growth as compared to other towns in the district.

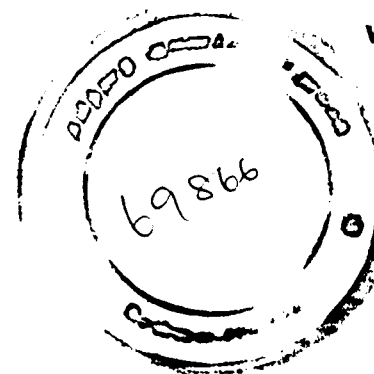
The tribal people do not generally leave their places and migrate. It is the movement of non-tribal population which mostly determines the composition of tribal and non-tribal populations in the district. While the percentage of tribal population of district has decreased in the 1971-81 decade in the case of Thane (from 25.40 to 21.76), it has increased in the case of Raigad (from 8.99 to 12.80) and Ratnagiri (from 0.51 to 1.50). This suggests that the proportion of tribal population in Thane district has become less due to the greater inflow of outsiders into that district, and their

proportion has become more in Raigad and Ratnagiri districts because of the increased out-migration of non-tribal local population.

The population growth of Bombay and Thane regions by immigration from other states has an important political aspect to it. There has been a general feeling among Maharashtrians, the 'sons of the soil' of the state, that development in Maharashtra is mostly concentrated in Bombay-Thane region and that this region is being deluged by the constant influx of outsiders who come here and get, through nepotism etc., employment at the cost of the local people. The inspiration and strength of a regional political party like the Shiv Sena comes from such a feeling of being wronged. The native educated population and the skilled and unskilled labour who face the hard fact of unemployment, are naturally sore over this phenomenon.

Thane is developing faster as compared to any other district in Maharashtra. Also, it surpasses any other district in the population growth by immigration. However, it is a great irony of the situation, which is of historical nature, having socio-cultural aspect to it, that inspite of the rapid process of industrialisation of the Thane district, and consequent immigration and urbanisation there, the local labour force of Konkan region, - a substantial portion of which consists of coastal fishermen and rural and tribal populations - has remained socially and economically almost where it has been during the last many centuries. Most of the native population of Konkan is still stuck to its ferries, fields and forests, and the benefits of industrialisation of even the Thane district with its various new avenues of employment go to the immigrants coming from near and far off places in the country. Thane, in Konkan, is only a typical example in India of a developing regional economy and concomitant employment seeking immigration and capital inflow, side by side with continued low economic activity, bordering on abject poverty, of the local populace. And this type of situation continues to prevail in India, even after thirty-five years of economic planning at the national level.

V. D. Divekar



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