

THE
VAISHNAVAS
OF GUJARAT

BEING A STUDY IN
METHODS OF INVESTIGATION
OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA

by
N. A. THOOTHY,
B.A. (BOMBAY), D.PHIL. (OXON.)
UNIVERSITY READER IN SOCIOLOGY, BOMBAY

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

THIS series of monographs embodies the results of researches conducted by students working under my direction in the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology, and by myself. The studies bear upon problems of human life in its various aspects—regional, economic, institutional, cultural and philosophical—with a view to advance constructive suggestions concerning the complicated problems that confront us at the present day.

Such an undertaking necessitates the treatment of facts and ideas in a scientific spirit and manner. Only patient investigation can yield results that prove valuable for the guidance of life. Every problem has its practical bearings. Hence, to understand a problem we must study it with reference to its past as well as its present, in order that we may be enabled to estimate its future. Vague and unscientific endeavours and conclusions are worse than useless; for they not merely vitiate human effort but frustrate purpose and aspiration, and paralyse our hope to shape the future.

And, in our own days, there is an urgent need for the kind of inquiries that the present series proposes to undertake and pursue. We are in the midst of an 'omnipresent anarchy of values'; consequently, we are in a drift which bids fair to sweep the world to disaster. If equilibrium has to be regained and

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maintained, there must be a clear and adequate understanding of the fundamental facts, purposes, values and difficulties of human life. The humble aim of this series is to study and understand the various aspects of the human problem, and discover and formulate, or may be, rediscover and reformulate, a scheme of values that may become the basis of a more equitable and stable human order. One of our objects is to prevent loose thinking which is at the root of so much disharmony in the world of human relationship. It is the hope of Science that a disinterested pursuit of truth will rally human beings round the banner of its eternal values; humanity might thus be brought together by recognising the common affinities and life-values underneath the seeming differences arising from regional and historical causes.

The problems of human life being various, the methods of approach are also many: philosophical, scientific and practical. In the series herewith presented, all these methods have been employed. There is a common purpose running through the labours of individual writers, however divided they may be on specific issues and details, however varied and even contradictory may be their conclusions. That purpose is to present the human problem in all its aspects carefully analysed and discussed.

Our ambition is to build up a body of systematic knowledge, at once scientific and of practical utility, which might help in the reconstruction of the future, and to organise a School of thought with an 'ethos'

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES ▼

and a 'quest' uniquely its own. However partially the ambition and hope may be realised, we feel sure that what we are doing is worth doing, and that it is high time it should be undertaken by some of us in India.

The great dream of the Editor's teacher, Sir Patrick Geddes, was to build the City Beautiful, the New Jerusalem, as he called it. He is no more amongst us to dream, to survey, to build and to rebuild. But it is our hope and purpose that the master's wishes should be fulfilled, however fragmentarily and inadequately, by these humble efforts of those who have inherited a little the light of his spirit, and felt the urge of his indomitable will to strive, to labour, to plan and to achieve.

N. A. THOOTHIL.

School of Economics & Sociology,
University of Bombay,
March, 1935.

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
with
LOVE, RESPECT AND GRATITUDE
to
MY TEACHERS:
SIR PATRICK GEDDES.
DR. R. R. MARETT.
REV. DR. J. MCKENZIE.
PROFESSOR J. L. MYRES.
KÁVASJI N. SABĀVĀLĀ, ESQ.
DR. F. C. S. SCHILLER.
REV. DR. R. SCOTT.
SIR J. ARTHUR THOMSON.
PROFESSOR P. A. WADIA.

PREFACE

This work was originally prepared for the Doctorate of Philosophy of the University of Oxford and was accepted for that Degree in November, 1924. Ten years have elapsed between its writing and its publication, and a word of explanation may be deemed necessary. It was possible for me to publish the work in 1928, and arrangements had been entered into with publishers at the time. But in order to bring the Thesis up-to-date it was deemed necessary to wait for the Reports of the Census of 1931, since vital statistics are one of the bases on which sociological investigation proceeds and sociological interpretation depends. Unfortunately, owing to the circumstances (especially in Gujarat) under which that Census was proceeded with, the results could not but have been defective; and therefore it has not been found possible to place much reliance, for the purposes of the present study, on the Reports of that Census.

There was also a lacuna in the original Thesis in as much as Vaishnavite Art had not been adequately discussed. No work of the kind that this one attempts to be can be complete without a fairly comprehensive section on Art. As explained in the book, art plays the same rôle in Vaishnavism as the flower to the tree: it not only adds grace to life, but without that grace life cannot continue. Art is not only a vital part of Dharma, but springs of necessity from Dharma, nourishes it and is nourished by it. I had not enough material ready for use in 1924. I had to set to work, with the help of a friend who wishes to remain anonymous, collecting the material and digesting it, there being little information available in India either from books or

from museums and collections. With regard to Vaishnavite music and dance there is an extensive tradition and folklore; but it has to be gathered and sifted. The fields of Hindu Art and Iconography and the theories of Hindu æsthetics present vast problems. The problem of Art cannot be isolated and studied by itself at least not so far as Vaishnavism or Vaishnavite art is concerned. For, art is vitally related to Dharma in all its myriad aspects. Art gives form to Vaishnavite religion and science, ethics, economics and politics, devotion, wisdom and prayer, ritual and magic, labour and industry, life and death. During the ten years, what leisure remained to me from my duties at the University of Bombay has been devoted to the problems of Hindu Art generally, and Vaishnavite art in particular. The field, nevertheless, has not been fully explored; nor has a detailed technical discussion of iconography, music and dance been found possible for the present study. But, what has been presented here will, I believe, give a sufficiently clear idea of Vaishnavite art and æsthetics. I very much regret that suitable materials not being available it has not been possible to include illustrations, so necessary in the discussion of art. Opportunity has also been taken to revise the work and to retouch it in minor details. In accordance with the advice of Dr. R. R. Marett, one of my examiners at Oxford, certain parts of the original Thesis have been amplified for the purposes of publication. But the work remains substantially—in method, treatment and conclusion—the same as it was originally written, except the now added chapter on Art¹.

The present study is primarily an attempt at applying and testing the Geddesian theory and

¹ Part of this chapter was read as a Paper on *The Rasotava* and its Survivals, at the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

method of the investigation and interpretation of social phenomena. The subject-matter of the study, also, is of peculiar importance; for the Vaishnavas of Gujarat seem to me to be a typical example of communities having thoroughly adapted themselves to a definite mode of life, and being then called upon, or forced, to readjust radically their habits and ideas to meet new conditions and circumstances arising from contact with strange peoples and strange civilizations and cultures. The Vaishnavas resisted this cultural invasion for a long time, and fought hard to preserve, and to continue to live in their ancient ways; but their resistance has got feebler and feebler, and signs are multiplying that revolutionary changes in their attitude towards, and outlook on, life are at hand. It seemed valuable, therefore, to make a sociological record of the transition period before it passed away and was forgotten, especially as no attempt at such a record had yet been made. Difficult as such a task must always be, it was rendered still more so for lack of predecessors in the field, and absence of documents of social, political and civic interest which could be used as original authorities. The volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer (Campbell Series), the Government Census Reports, and similar publications are valuable in themselves; and so are authorities like Manu, Yājñavalkya, Shodāś-granthas, etc., and studies like those of Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Durgāśankar Śāstri. But these latter are rather compilations dealing with religious beliefs and practices. Dr. Ketkar's stimulating works on caste are written from a secular standpoint, and deserve due consideration; but it must be remembered that he studies the general problem of caste in India with special reference to Mahārāshtra. So far as I am aware no full-length, scientific study of the Vaishnavite society of Gujarāt as a result of direct

observation has yet appeared. Consequently I have had to rely more than I could have wished on my own observation and investigation of the region, the folk and their mode of life. During my investigation I visited important cities and villages, and lived with all kinds of folks, Vaishnavite and others, in order to observe closely the threads that weave the fabric of their life.

It would have hardly been possible to carry on an inquiry and study of this nature single-handed. I have received valuable help from many, many friends. But I should like to make special mention of the following: Mr. Tricumdas Premji's deep knowledge of Vallabhite religious organization and art has saved me from many an error. Mr. Thakore Choksi has given untiring and enthusiastic help in regard to the domestic and fine arts of Gujarāt, and Vallabhite religious life and literature. I am indebted to Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva and Professor J. H. Dave for going through the chapter on Literature in proof. My friends Mr. C. C. Mehta and Mr. M. R. Majumdār have been good enough to do the same. I am very thankful also to my friend Dr. K. B. Bharucha for help in preparing the manuscript. Mr. G. D. E. Bunyan has helped in the preparation of the Index; and so has Mr. C. L. Gheewālā, who moreover looked through the proofs. Most of all, Mr. P. R. Bharucha has all along assisted me with valuable help and advice in the writing, revision and correction of the manuscript and the proofs.

I gratefully remember here those friends who made it possible for me, year after year, to go and live in their midst and help me lay the material foundation of this study. Professor C. N. Vakil, Mr. C. N. Bhat of Rander, Mr. M. K. Saraya, Mr. S. M. Dalal, Mr. M. D. Sankalia, Mr. T. K. Gajjar and the late Mr. V. C. Mehta deserve special mention for the

many kind ways in which they helped me in my field-work, and extended to me the most generous of hospitality and assistance. Nor must I forget the help which the late Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai Udayram's lively talks on Gujarāti drama gave me. And for the invaluable material help and encouragement received from my uncles Mr. Hiraji R. Kapadia, Mr. Manchershah R. Kapadia and from my friend Mr. D. K. Petigara I shall ever remain grateful to them.

I acknowledge with deep gratitude the courtesy and friendly interest of the authorities of New College, Oxford, for extending to me every facility both during the time I worked and studied under its sacred portals and thereafter. I am deeply grateful to the Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Trust for their generous grant of a scholarship loan which made it possible for me to pursue my studies in Europe and write this Thesis. I cannot thank them too much for their kindness. The University of Bombay also has extended both moral and material support to my present undertaking by granting a sum of Rs. 2,500 towards its publication, and by patiently bearing with the long delay in the appearance of this book. Without the generous help of the University a large part of this work would have remained unpublished for a long time. And to Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., the publishers of this book, I am sincerely thankful for the courtesy, help and advice they have ever readily extended to me.

What I owe in gratitude to my teachers, the late Professor Sir Patrick Geddes, Professor J. L. Myres, Dr. F. C. S. Schiller, Dr. R. R. Marett and the late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson for their ever-ready help, guidance and encouragement I cannot adequately express. I have derived the fundamental viewpoint from which this study was undertaken and pursued from my *guru* Patrick

Geddes; but I am indebted to him for far more than it is possible for me to say here. Dr. Marett guided me in anthropology; those who have heard his lectures at Oxford are not likely easily to forget them; they were an inspiration to me as to many a generation of Oxford students. Professor Myres' weekly discussions with me on the geographical, ethnological and anthropological sides of sociology cleared many an obstacle, as regards principles and details, from my path; in our talks on Hindu culture he always took care to point out wherein it resembled and wherein differed from the culture of ancient Greece, and thus threw novel and interesting light on both; his almost paternal interest and solicitude, his friendliness and intellectual generosity I shall always remember. And Dr. Schiller, the supervisor of my studies at Oxford, has more than one claim on my remembrance and gratitude: not only for his illuminating lectures and discussions on Scientific Method, not only for his kindly zeal and brotherly care in guiding a novice in a difficult task, but also for his friendship.

N. A. THOOTHIL

Note.—The bibliography on the literature, both of Vaishnavism and the principles and methods of sociology, given at the end of this work has been made exhaustive and up-to-date so as to represent all shades of opinion, and to make it useful for research workers in this field.

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Maps.

1. Gujarat : Land Elevation.
2. „ : Geological.
3. „ : Vegetation.
4. „ : Rainfall.
5. „ : Rivers.
6. „ : Railways.
7. „ : Population.

The maps that accompany this study are drawn purposely on transparent paper so that two or more may be conveniently superimposed in order to notice at a glance the relation between two or more sets of facts. The latest available material has been used; but they are only outline maps, meant primarily to bring out certain sets of facts, and do not claim to have been drawn with absolute precision.