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DR. MULK RAJ ANAND - A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

ALZIRA HILDA SALES-PONTES

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology

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Preface

Among the Indian novelists writing in English, Mulk Raj Anand is pre-eminent for the seriousness and fulness of his commitment to bring about a new Indian society. He is a novelist with an idea of himself and a conception of life which have been evolved from many influences, mainly western European, but with Indian sanctions and traditions. His humanism, new termed Karuna Rasa or compassion, is the natural outcome of his searchings and sufferings arising from the crises in his life. According to Anand, he writes because there is this compulsion to express his feelings, his inner convictions and beliefs that have made him accept life. His autobiographical novels, Seven Summers, Morning Face and Confession of a Lover, and the novels that developed from his 'Confessional' of two thousand pages, are distinguished by this Indian personality, the people that touched his life, and the events that constitute the rich history of India in pre-Independence days.

Mulk Raj Anand has remained a controversial novelist. Many critical studies and scholarly analyses, especially of his fictional writings, have already been undertaken and more are in production. There have also been many research theses and more are in progress in particular in Indian Universities. Very few of the scholars, even these from India, have had access to Anand's numerous writings and the archives at his Bombay residence.

All these valuable sources have been made available to the candidate of this thesis, and have been incorporated into the annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources, forming the third section. It serves as a comprehensive documentation of the biography which in turn delineates the saga of Anand's life on a vast canvas revealing the close relationship between his experiences and his creative writings. The endeavour has been to describe the details of some aspects of his life, which are interesting in themselves, and which are important in so far as they help us to understand Anand. I have scrutinised Anand's numerous works, articles, letters and notes to literary figures, critics and scholars, and I have also made use of interviews and reports that have been traced and collated in the bibliography.

It is hoped that this biographical presentation supported by documentation will serve a useful purpose towards the further evaluation of Mulk
Raj Anand, a major novelist of India writing in English.

To Dr. Mulk Raj Anand I owe not only the privilege of free and extended examination and study of his vast, valuable and impossibly rich resources, but also for arranging a work space in his home and giving me occasions for serious conversations and social meetings. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to his wife, Shirin Vazifdar Anand who unfailingly encouraged my endeavours and exerted all efforts towards my comfort and well-being during my research in their home at Cuffe Parade, Bombay.

I deem myself fortunate to have had full, free and continued access to the extensive collections of the two University Libraries in the City of Bombay; viz. Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University Central Library, Churchgate Campus and University of Bombay Library, Bombay. The bibliography represents the resources of other major libraries in Bombay City; viz. American Cultural Centre Library, The Times of India Reference Library, the British Council Library and All-India P.E.N. Centre (Bombay). Besides private collections, all available published and unpublished bibliographies have been checked, and as well as published indexes and abstracting services.

My Director of Research, Professor John Lucas has been both understanding and helpful. But for his persistent encouragement and guidance, I would not have achieved the completion of my research effort. I extend many thanks to him. I also extend a grateful 'thank you' to Miss Vidyut K. Khandwala, University Librarian & Head, Shree Tarmal Memorial Women's University, University of Bombay for her suggestions about the writing part of the thesis. Dr. Andersen, retired Librarian, University of Bombay and my teacher in Library science studies, who has always shown keen interest in my research effort, Professor Nissim Ezekiel, India’s well-known poet and critic and Dr. (Mrs) Shirin Kudchekar, Head of the Department of English, SNDT Women's University, for reading through the manuscript of the biographical section and making valuable suggestions and corrections.

It was with the unfailing cooperation of Mrs. Daphne D’Silva who undertook the difficult task of typing that the whole thesis got its final form. She also assisted in getting the biographical section draft completed.
CONTENTS

Preface  
Introduction

Part I: BIOGRAPHY
Ch.I  A Young Rebel's Growing Up  
Ch.II  The Education of a Rebel  
Ch.III  Anand: Collegiate Education in India and England 1921-1929  
Ch.IV  Anand's Life of Imagination - 1925 onwards  
Ch.V  A Perception of Self, Others and Society  
Ch.VI  Anand's Vision of a New Society  
Ch.VII  Anand's Testament of Belief and Humanism  
Ch.VIII  The Struggle of a Writer  
Ch.IX  Mulk Raj Anand: Untouchable: His Confrontation with Reality  
Ch.X  The Greatness, the Glory and the Splendour

Part II: BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES
I  Chronologies  
II  Biographical Works  
III  Bio-data in Periodicals and Works  
IV  Chairmanship, Membership, etc. of Associations, Organizations, etc.  
V  The Times of India Reference Library, Bombay, Notices  
VI  Bibliographical Sources  
VIII  General References and Additional Reading List for Thesis
Part III: Bibliography

Part I: Dr. Mulk Raj Anand - the Novelist

Contents Page
Primary Sources - Literature and Language -
Works, Contributions, etc.
Secondary Sources - Literature and Language -
Works, Contributions, etc.

Part II: Mulk Raj Anand on Social Sciences and Humanities

Contents Page
I. History and Culture - Works, Contributions, etc.
II. Education - Works, Contributions, etc.
III. Government and Politics - Contributions, Addresses and Lectures
IV. Philosophy and Religion - Contributions in Monographs and Periodicals
V. General - Contributions, Addresses and Lectures
VI. Miscellaneous - Profiles, Conversations, Dialogues and Reminiscences

Part III: Mulk Raj Anand - the Art Critic and Journalist

Contents Page
Primary Sources
Secondary Sources
The thesis has three sections: Part I - Biography: consists of ten chapters which delineate Anand from boyhood to man, and his conception of life and his role as writer. Part II has Biographical sources traced from various works and collections; and Part III the annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources.

Biography Section.

Mulk Raj Anand was born on 12 December 1905, the third son of Lalla Chand Singh and Ishwar Kaur in the Newshera Cantonment, fifteen miles away from Peshawar, now in Pakistan. The strong influence of both father and mother moulded his character, thinking and attitude to life and the problems of living. For Anand, writing and life are inseparable; he has drawn extensively from personal experiences and from the experiences of these men and women close to him. Although he has written in a great variety of forms, his major achievement can be found in his series of autobiographical novels, Seven Summers (1951), Morning Face (1968), Confession of a Lover (1976) and most recently Bubble]. The other major autobiographical works are Apology for Heroism (1946) and Conversations in Bloomsbury (1981). Decidedly the most voluminous writer of the 'Big Three' of Indian fiction in English, the other two being Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan, all of whom commenced writing in the nineteen thirties, Mulk Raj Anand has to his credit a mass of prose-writing, all infused by intense experiences of life's significance and essence. Anand always applied his philosophical mind to current problems, social, political, economic; his autobiographical writings are stamped with the distinguishing quality found in his fictional work. More important for our study of Anand is that in the wide canvas of the autobiographical novels, and in his other novels, characters, incidents and dialogues figure which are very closely based on characters, incidents and even dialogues from Anand's own life.

Mulk Raj Anand has his roots in the Punjab, the land of the five rivers, although he spent twenty years in England, 1925-1945. It would be no exaggeration if one says that he has the distinction of being the only Indian writing in English whose themes are Indian, whose characters speak mostly as Indians do, especially Indians of the Punjab, and whose novels have a style and form that are characteristically Indian. This becomes easy to understand because Anand responded to the heart-beats of the ancient tales and stories of Hindu epics and sagas of the Punjabis, Persians and Muslims - a
mixture of mystery, magic and local tradition, told to him by his mother in these first seven years of consciousness encompassed in Seven Summers. There was also a maternal uncle, viz. Mama Dayal Singh, a rustic yogi mystic, whose discourses on love and compassion influenced Anand in his search for truth and an ideology to answer his perplexities and perpetual quest in search of the meaning of life.

Anand speaks vehemently against the pre-British, half-baked education he received in the schools of the cantonment towns of Nowshera and Jhelum, at Amritsar and Ludhiana, and later in Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1921-1925; it only strengthened his rebellion against the establishment of the Angrezi Sarkar. His strong nationalist attitude was inculcated in Anand as a young lad of seven by his mother and his maternal grandfather's family, who never ceased to oppose the British rulers because their farming lands had been confiscated and handed over to cousin Harbans Singh, a sycophant of the administrators. However, it was Anand's mentor-philosopher-tutor, Uncle Dev Chand, a failed M.A. of Amritsar, who introduced Anand to the atrocities of the political regime of the British Government in India, to the hardships of the underdogs of society, to economic poverty and the crippling of indigenous trades. Anand, the adolescent in school, came in the course of the next six years into contact with the Gandhian movement for India's freedom from imperialistic rule; all these felt-experiences are told extremely well in Morning Face.

The urge to write came to Anand from being a poetaster, the outcome of calf love for Yasmin, the sister-in-law of his college friend Neer Muhammad of Khalsa College. Anand had read a lot of poems by Dr. Iqbal, in particular The Secret of Self, often quoted in Confession of a Lover, in the novels and journalist writings. Anand as a novelist projects a conception of himself and a conception of life which shows how much he was influenced by the intellectuals and others, mainly western European. They influenced him whether by philosophical systems, political ideologies or literary styles. This period of his life came about when Anand left his home village in the Fall of 1925 on obtaining a B.A. (Hons) degree to pursue further studies in Philosophy at University College, London under the Kantian Scholar Professor G. Dawes Hicks. He was to live in England until 1945, making many friends among the famous Bloomsbury Group in particular, and other eminent English men of letters.

In England, Anand found he could not develop any roots because many great
thinkers of the West were foretelling the doom of Western civilization. The materialistic acceptance of life, current among the people, had no firm tenets that he could accept. It was at this stage that Anand had been welcomed by the Leftists of Britain of the 1930s, for he readily subscribed to the idea of a brotherhood of writers with a role to play in the liberation of people from political tyranny. He also joined the International Brigade for Peace and slipped into Spain in 1939—though he did not get to the War Front for he admits he cannot bear to see blood spilt. Although he came into contact with Marxism in 1926 and attended a Study Circle at the residence of Allen Hunt, the Trade Unionist, quite regularly, it was only in 1932 that he felt the full impact of Marx's philosophy. He accidentally came across Marx's 'Letters on India' in the New York Tribune Herald issue of 1853; and on reading these Anand resolved to fight for the freedom of his country from imperialist rule and from a society whose class barriers, philosophy and orthodoxy combined to trap and stifle an impressive will, aspirations and sensibility. Though his is a dominating creative intelligence, Anand deems himself an advocate of humanism, social realism, or poetic realism, later developed into a philosophy of Karuna Rasa or compassion for the downtrodden and oppressed of society, which has more relationship to the Indian folk tales and Vedantic philosophy than Western philosophical systems. In a letter to Sares Cewasjee, Anand wrote:

"The truth is that I had given up philosophical systems of all kinds to concentrate on writing from the heart—the wisdom of the heart—if I may call it such, though it was mere folly than wisdom. But, my sympathies with the 30's movement, my gains from Marx and my feeling of repugnance against alien rule, did certainly incline me to sympathy with the Russian Revolution, even as I had inclined earlier to the ideals of the French Revolution, via Rimbaud. And, of course, there was the Indian struggle. How much of all this get into the novels I don't know. Anyhow, I am not in the least apologetic about the Karuna Rasa. Though I did not know this word completely until 1934 when I had written about five novels. So in tackling the critics, I do not wish to deny the accusation of sympathy with the Left. Only a novel makes the sympathy flow and does not change people into leftists by falling on someone's head from a shelf.... I am not God. But I would say that I have tried to be
sincere in facing up to people and am trying to create higher consciousness and intensity by splattering the blood all over, as the Elizabethans did on the stage."

Over the years Anand entered into similar correspondence with scholar critics and research students, explaining and defending himself and his creative art, and also defining his reactions to criticism and to political and intellectual challenges. In a conversation with the candidate on 30 October 1979 in Bombay, Anand avers that his radical humanism is "the natural outcome of my searchings and sufferings; I had seen how the bureaucrats behaved during the General Strike of 1926 in England. My fight is against the bourgeoisie, their small-mindedness and petty beliefs that affect all social relations. Anand's work is a synthesis of many conflicting elements. His overriding concern is to preserve the best values of traditional India in contemporary society and to discard those which are redundant.

Anand has written down his 'confession' of over 2000 pages in his long-hand scrawl, mainly out of love for his Irish girl friend Irene Rhys whom he met in 1926 while walking on Snowdon, in North Wales. No publisher accepted it in the 1930s. At Irene's suggestion, Anand began to write novels and short stories about the people and personalities that had somehow and somewhere touched him in his Indian childhood and youth in the Punjab and elsewhere. This is how the first draft of Untouchable, Anand's first novel came to be written. It was after Anand had read Gandhi's article on Uka, a sweeper boy living in the Sabarmati Ashram, published in Young India, that he sailed to India in 1932 for discussions with Gandhi in an attempt to understand his Harijan philosophy. This meeting was to have a strong impact on Anand, as he himself has admitted in his writings. In Untouchable, Anand shows that though Bakha was impressed by Gandhi's talk, his exhortation to him to improve one's own life as a solution was not acceptable to Bakha, because it did not answer his real problem, namely, of finding an identity in a caste-ridden society. In The Sword and the Sickle Lalu the hero holds Gandhi up to ridicule because of his appearance and talk of self-purification and sarvodaya; Lalu wanted Gandhi to provide a solution to the dying and starving farmers. Gandhi's economic thought was to Anand's rational mind an impossible dream - the regeneration of the traditional village administration.

Having come under the full influence of Marxism, Anand favoured mechanization

I. Author to Critic (Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1977) p.61
and industrialization as remedies to alleviate poverty and the exploitation by moneylenders and landlords of the villagers. The Big Heart is a portrayal of the use of the machine and its effect on the coppersmith community of Kucha Ballarama Lane, in Amritsar.

Anand was well qualified to interpret the social and political concerns prevalent in pre-Independence India and to interpret the tidal movements that marked these eventful years before the imperialist rule was thrown off and Indians became masters of their own destiny as a nation.

Anand's novels also portray his experiments in love and 'soul-search'. He avers that he has kept on writing because there is a compulsion within him to put on paper answers to his quest for some philosophies or tenets that are acceptable to him as the only way to live with his fellow men. There is also the compulsion to express his feelings, his inner convictions and beliefs that have made him accept life during the many crises he has gone through. Behind his humanistic philosophy, new termed Karuna Rasa, he can bear his sufferings and the many crises of his life as a man of letters.

His first novel, Untouchable, was one of the many novels and short stories that have come from the 'Confessional', which never passed the stage of a publisher's acceptance. As a novel, Untouchable is a microcosm of Anand's concerns and philosophy of life. It has been a success story from its publication in 1935, going into three editions in two months. Its publisher gave the struggling Anand an advance of £ 100 to write further, without considering whether the sales from the first edition would cover this amount.

To Anand, writing is not a profession; he asserts he does not write to earn a living and, in fact, does not make money out of writing. He once told Sures Cowasjee, in one of his letters addressed to this critic, about the problems he faced with foreign exchange on royalties, which are mainly from the translations of his works in many European languages, in particular, in East European countries. He is a writer with a prolific literary output in many literary genres. In his novels he experiments with theme, technique and style, on a scale never attempted by his equally well-known contemporaries, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan. Recognition has come his way in abundance. The Government of India awarded him the Padma Bhushan in 1968. And India's Academy of Letters, The Sahitya Akademi, made its prestigious award to Morning Face in 1971.

To supplement this biographical sketch, references to certain Biographical Sources contained in Part II will prove valuable, in particular the Chronology.
appended to the Special Anand issue of Contemporary Indian Literature, to which Anand himself contributed details.

Part III - Annotated Bibliography

Anand is the most prolific Indian writer in English. His creative output spans a greater part of his life, from 1929 to the present. His greatest works are in fiction and short story besides belles-lettres. However, Anand has written much and, sometimes eloquently so, on a variety of subjects. As a thinking Indian, he has found himself compelled to write on historical, cultural, political, educational, religious and philosophical aspects of Indian life and times. Besides Anand is well-known as an art critic and his works on Indian art and architecture in particular are considered landmarks in themselves. There is also MARG, the outstanding art journal of India which Anand founded and edited, and which contains his best writings on art.

Because of the multi-faceted nature of Anand's writing, it seemed advisable to break Part III into three sections, viz. Section I: Literature and Language, Section II: History and Culture and Section III: Art and Architecture. Within each Section there is a division of Primary Sources and Secondary Sources. Every effort has been made to examine personally the items listed; and in over eighty percent this has been achieved. Where scanning was not possible, the best source was relied upon. The task was made easier because of the vast, rich and well-indexed archives which Dr. Mulk Raj Anand made available to the candidate at his Bombay residence. Published bibliographies, indexes and abstracting services were consulted. It is hoped that the Contents Page to Section III and the individual contents pages to sub-sections 2 and 3 will help easy reference.
### Part I: BIOGRAPHY

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Ch.I. A YOUNG REBEL'S GROWING UP

Mulk Raj Anand belongs to a family of copper and silversmiths, a subgroup of the Kshatriya caste which had a lower middle-class status. They hailed from the Punjab, a former regional territory situated in Northern India which in pre-Independence days extended to the boundaries of Afghanistan, a neighbouring suzerainty ruled by a Sultan frequently at war with the British rulers of India. Anand's ancestral home town is Amritsar, where for ever 380 years around the Golden Temple his ancestors had made their living from their copper and silver smithing trade. Through hard labour they created many of the idols and objects of worship for the devotees coming to the Temple.

When Anand depicts the personal development of Krishna the village-boy here reaching manhood in his autobiographical novels, Seven Summers (1951), Morning Face (1968) and Confessions of a Lover (1976) many of the details have an impeccable authenticity, for they are taken from corresponding stages in the life of Anand, both physical and intellectual. Moreover, these works have a seminal relationship to the 'Confessional' completed by Anand in 1926 in over 2000 pages of long-hand scrawl. So interspersed in this biographical narrative, references are made, or adduced, to Krishna's thoughts, feelings, observations and words; they are to be considered as those of Anand the author intruding into the novels or making Krishna his mouthpiece. As Sudd, Krishna's mother tells him: "Your grandfather was a rich man. He had earned gold coins by working on the Darbar Sahib; and by making thrones for the Rajas and Narsinga bugles for the holy men, even as does your Uncle Partap ney." (1)

In such a thatiar (coppersmith) brotherhood, Anand's father Lalla Chand (like Lalla Raj Chand, father of Krishna, hero of the autobiographical novels) had his upbringing. There seems to be a legend woven around his birth by relatives just as Anand/Krishna's mother created a legend around his birth to her five-year-old son. According to this legend Lalla Chand "had come into the world as a gift from a Muhammadan sage (namely, Sain Lek)". (2) Apparently Anand's grandparents had not been blessed with an issue for some years. A fakir (a mendicant) of the Ismaili Community came to their thatiar colony and made a request for a resting place in a plot of land outside the town of Amritsar with a garden and a well. His wish was granted by Anand's grand-

1. Morning Face (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1968) p.44. Throughout the thesis references will be made to this edition.
2. Ibid, p.13
father Chet Chand who bought a plot of land on the Head of the Mughals, dug the well and planted a garden. One morning Anand's grandmother went to the well and saw in a vision her husband seated in the earthen pot dangling from the well pulley. The next year their son Lalla Chand was born and the year thereafter his brother P(ayuh Chand (Krishna's uncle in the autobiographical novels). The latter's birth brought ill-luck to the family, for Anand's grandfather died the same year.

By nature and temperament the two brothers were different. While P(ayuh continued the hereditary occupation, Lalla Chand drew away from his thatiar background, attended the P.B.N. High School and later the Church Mission High School, both schools in his hometown Amritsar, matriculated and joined the British Indian army. From the rank of a sepy he rose to be a Head Clerk in the 38th Degra Regiment which he joined from its foundation day. This regiment was set up at the recommendation of Prince Edward (later to become King Edward VIII of Britain). In this Regiment of Degra hillmen, Lalla Chand was the only literate man and as a person to whom the sepoys would bring their letters to be read and petitions to be drafted. He was also found useful by his British officers, who favoured him in many ways, so that in course of time he earned the title of 'shadow kernel'. He knew the English language well enough so that businessmen and traders also sought his help in obtaining licences or requisite orders from the Cantonment authorities.

In his pre-school days, Anand idolised his father, he was the epitome of masculinity, and possessed the godlike qualities of Raja Vikram and Arjun the mythological ideals of Kshatriya men.

"Already at the age of four or five, my father had come to be a legendary hero to me, the avatar (reincarnation) of Raja Vikram about whom mother told me stories, or of Arjun, the disciple and friend of God Krishna, who was said to have shot an arrow through the eye of a fish revolving on the tip of a pole, by looking at its reflection in the water below."

Lalla Chand was swarthy in appearance with a well-proportioned healthy body and sported a big military mustache, a rather fairer one, which as a child Anand loved to pull whenever his father sat him in his lap. By nature, Lalla Chand was "genial, hearty, flushed and round... almost like a child himself, a big boy in his frank naivete and spontaneous exuberance"

Anand recalls his rich, warm voice, which ... could (be) heard long before he entered the house,

4. Ibid, p.66
acknowledging the greetings of sepoys who passed that way; or the salaams of the gardener, joking with his colleagues or shouting at (Anand's) two brothers (Hans and Desh.) (5)

Hulk was fortunate to have had his childhood outside a joint family household, and also to have parents who were not inhibited in demonstrating their love for their little sons, surrounding them with affection, spending time with them and entering into their world of games and imagination; in particular, Anand's mother Ishwar Kaur, spoilt him hopelessly. He was the favourite son of both parents; when he was a small child his father would often carry him in his arms, shower kisses on him and tolerate his impudence and general mischievousness. His mother allowed him to be breast-fed up to the age of five, and kept him near her at bedtime or for the noon day siesta, ever watching over him protectively and even taking sides with him as against his own brother Desh, his elder by two years or so.

In her recent critical study of political consciousness in Indian novels, Suresht R. Bald considers this a significant factor which explains the difference between the outlook of Anand and that of his contemporary Premchand, well-known as a writer of Hindi novels and short stories. Premchand's father Ajab Rai kept an insurmountable distance from his son; "this contributed to Premchand's inability to rebel openly against parental authority; and his subsequent obsession with the theme of guilt arose in some measure from a repression of his desire to rebel. (6)

In Anand's case, "tides of love" were to be followed by "waves of hatred" towards his father. This however did not develop until his early life, in particular his teenage period, when Anand experienced a somewhat fractured home life, in fact no home life at all with a father away in military camp, which caused some of the confusion and hatred in Anand, the adolescent. Yet his earliest recollections are of spending days in a paradise of childhood in which his mother also plays a significant role.

Though an educated man, Lalla Chand continued to subscribe to the traditions and customs of his coppersmith brotherhood. He had married at the age of thirteen an illiterate peasant girl, Ishwar Kaur, the eldest daughter of Sardar Nihal Singh of the coppersmith caste, turned farmer because of economic con-

5. Ibid, p.111
straits. Ishwar Kaur had been brought up in a joint family household in her ancestral village of Daska in Sialkot District, Central Punjab. Of the close-knit relationships and loyalties, the shared happiness and sorrows he witnessed in village joint families, Anand wrote eloquently and persistently in his \textit{novels}, especially in \textit{The Village}. (7) During his childhood and teenage years, Anand often visited his maternal ancestral home, a fairly large flat-roofed mud house, not so dilapidated as those around Gujranwala Railway Station of the Punjab. Daska Village could be reached only by a journey in a \textit{yakka} (a horse drawn vehicle) along untarred kutch roads leading off the highway that ran through Gujranwala town. The village peasants came to this town to purchase essential commodities such as cooking oil, fuel oil for their house lamps (for there was no electricity in these days) and also to exchange village gossip.

Anand's maternal grandfather Nihal Singh, was a tall, stalwart Sikh peasant of fair complexion with a white flowing beard. He worked with his three sons, Sharan Singh, Dayal Singh and Sardar Singh in their fields of yellow mustard, behind hand ploughs drawn by buffaloes. They were men of simple tastes; their hearty appetites needed plentiful supplies of meat, vegetable dishes cooked in pure ghee or butter and sweets and sugar plums. In \textit{Seven Summers} Anand/Krishna recalls a visit to Daska Village homestead on the occasion of his eldest maternal Dayal Singh's wedding. With his grandfather Nihal, he and his brother went out into the fields for the morning ablutions, swimming in the village canal waters and brushing their teeth with \textit{datana} (slender strips of the neem tree, medicinally good for the gums) Grandfather was well-versed in Guru Nanak's teachings; his conversations with village folk, to whom he was a common adviser, were enriched by copious quotations from the Guru Granth Sahib (the holy book of the Sikhs), legends, folktales and folk songs.

In his younger days, Anand's maternal grandfather had fought in the Sikh-British war of 1879, waged to carve out Khalsa, a region exclusively for the Sikh community. The insurgents were cruelly treated; they lost their lives and land; most of Nihal's lands were given by the British rulers to his cousin, Harbans Singh, who remained a traitor to his community and kin. Nihal Singh exerted his grandsons, Anand and Desh, to follow in his patriotic footsteps and to resolve to be political adversaries against British dominance. "Fight your enemies and the enemies of Truth and keep alive the name of your ancestors."

Never let it be said of our family that we were cowards in the face of death. (8)

This was the father's blessing to Lal Singh, affectionately known as Lalu, the hero of the Trilogy *The Village*, (1939) *Across the Black Waters* (1940) and *The Sword and the Sickle* (1942). These three novels of Anand record in realistic detail the exploits of his "character's" life and in them there are also stray and biographical elements belonging to Anand's teenage years. Lalu's father, Nihal Singh, is modelled on Anand's maternal grandfather. In *The Village*, he is a proud Punjabi farmer of Nandpur who in his youth had fought the British at Aliwal and lest. He remains a rebellious Sikh all his seventy years, during much of which he opposed the British rule. He dies a proud, militant and colourful person, unwilling to be a burden to his family in his old age. The old man recalls his own military exploits and like all Sikhs, the martial tradition was of supreme importance to him. So the above parting blessing to his son Lalu is not strange despite the fact that this son of his had joined the British-Indian Army.

Ishwar Kaur inherited her revolutionary ardour against the British rulers from the members of her family. She often expressed her hatred of the presence of the British in India. This nationalist pride Anand inherited from her, and it later found expression in his active political involvement in the struggle for Freedom Movement in India, and thereafter up to Independence.

Ishwar Kaur brought along with her political loyalties, the religious beliefs, superstitious practices and a robust common sense from her peasant family home. She was eight when she was married to Lalla Chand, and soon found herself transported into urban community life with military regimental trappings. However, a sense of responsibility in running her home had been strongly instilled into her youthful mind.

"Be a Savitri", had been her father's blessing; "Be like a suttee of the gurus, loyal to your husband unto death." (9)

Her husband was able to give her a better standard of life. His rank of a N.C.O., earned him a Havildar's pay of Rs.18/- plus rations of flour, lentils, salt, clarified butter and sugar from the regimental stores. Ishwar's thrifty housekeeping made it possible for her growing sons always to have a

8. *The Village* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939)
9. *Seven Summers* p.69
substantial meal, besides the sweets and sugar plums and other goodies she stored in the sweetmeat box.

She was proud of herself for her children were all sens, five of them. Hans was the eldest; he did his schooling in Amritsar where he stayed with his uncle Pūši and his wife Devakī. As they had no son it was considered proper for Hans to stay with them in Amritsar and enjoy some of the ancestral wealth inherited by Partap. He completed his matriculation and enrolled as a student of medicine. Lalla Chand, however, got him married at 14 to a girl of a coppersmith family swing allegiance to the Ismaili Faith, an uneducated, unattractive and cruel girl. In 1911, the Aga Khan had pronounced that his followers should either become Muslims or leave the Ismaili Community which now would not accept Hindus. Lalla Chand as a member of the thatjīr community had practised the Ismaili tenets. His relatives looked upon the Aga Khan as an incarnation of the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad. During his army career, Lalla Chand joined the Arya Samaj (Society of Noble Men), a theistic organisation founded in 1875 by Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883). All Aryas were permitted to read the Vedas (Sacred Books of the Hindus), whereas orthodox Hindus restricted this to certain castes; the Samaj accepted the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but refused to believe in the ultimate union of man with God. (In Apology for Heresym (Londen, Lindsay Drummond, 1946) Anand claims that the Arya Samaj was a reaction against orthodox Hinduism). The parents of Hans's bride, Draupadi, ruled that because of Lalla Chand's Arya Samaj leanings, their daughter could not stay with her husband's family. So Hans had to give up his medical studies and stay separately with his wife.

Hans had always been so much away from his father's home that Anand really did not have much of his company; yet Hans was his hero and beloved brother. Through his father Hans managed to obtain a job as Assistant Jailer in the Ludhiana Central Jail with quarters. Once Mulk in his school days had to stay with Hans, and his wife Draupadi treated him cruelly, like a pariah, making him sleep and eat outside the house. They had no children, and Anand's hatred for his sister-in-law really stems from her lack of maternal love. Mulk saw how his eldest brother stayed away from home to seek comfort in the company of prostitutes, his mistress Muntas, and nurses of a Christian hospital in Ludhiana. This hospital was run by a Miss Mary Brown, a good Christian, who befriended Mulk, gave him sweets, and talked to him about the Christian religion, so that
he learnt quite a lot about the Faith; he was even persuaded to read the Bible. (IO)  

Desh was the second son of Lalla Chand and Ishwar Kaur. He was perhaps two years older than Anand and at least four years younger than Hans. In Anand's childhood recollections, Desh appeared to be a flat-faced youth, very reticent, sly and vindictive by nature. He was not a favourite son during his school days and most probably showed his displeasure at the pampered treatment his younger brother Anand received from both his parents by meting out cruelty towards Anand in play and elsewhere. Desh was often thrashed with a belt by Lalla Chand for minor wrongs and mischief, while to his mother Anand remained her favourite son, causing much injustice and heart ache to this unfortunate youngster. When Anand was around five years old, Lalla Chand decided to allow Desh to be officially adopted by his brother Pi[alpha] and sister-in-law Devaki and Desh stayed in Amritsar with them and henceforth considered Devaki as his "second mother". This decision in later years made Anand realise the power of money over filial relations and love. His parents hoped that a portion of Uncle Pi[alpha]'s wealth would be given to Desh on the latter's marriage to an uneducated girl of thatiar parents. This struck Anand as both cynical and mercenary.  

The young Anand's mischievous exploits and tantrums made Lalla Chand call back Desh from Amritsar, and he decided to send Anand to the school in the military camp of Newshera. Desh was entrusted with the task of getting Anand to school, of including him in games with his own friends, so much elder boys than his six-year old brother. A close reading of Seven Summers brings out the hostility and rivalry between Anand and Desh, which simmered all through the pre-school period, then burst into a violent hatred between the two brothers by the time Anand was in his teens as one can see on reading morning Face. Desh completed his matriculation at the same time as Anand and then went on to de medicine. In a conversation with the αουτραβαντ, Anand says that his father married off Desh at 13 to an illiterate girl of the coppersmith community of village Layten, Punjab, and so ruined his life, all because of his community loyalties. His father followed all the marriage customs of his clan including the demanding of dowry. His mother, though of peasant background, had objected to this marriage, but was helpless to prevent it from taking place. Desh sought comfort from his frustrations by going to brothels, and one day, needing money, he sold two hundred bags of cement from the regimental store. He would have been sent to jail, but his father saved him by getting him into the army.

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The ruining of the lives of his brothers, particularly Deen, gave Mulk a motivation for protest in his novels - "a protest against religion, leading to a metaphysical protest - a total protest." (II)

There was much in Anand's upbringing that contributed to a 'total protest' and turned him into a young rebel. In 1921 he openly opposed against his father's authority and, much against his wishes, he sailed away to England to pursue further studies. As earlier stated, his attitude and relationship with his father took a drastically opposite direction as Anand reached his teens, so that 'tides of love' became insurmountable 'waves of hatred'. How this change came about needs more treatment and belongs properly to Anand's teenage years, and as it is merely introduced here. In Seven Summers and Morning Face (covering his teenage years) in Alastair Niven's words, "can be seen the genesis of the themes and emotions which have stirred Mulk Raj Anand throughout his writing career." (12)

Anand was the third son of Lalla Chand and Ishwar Kaur. He was born on 12 December 1905 in a barrack home in the Newshera Camp of the British Indian Army 15 miles from Peshawar, now in Pakistan. (Anand was not born in Peshawar as is stated in biographical sources and by Anand himself.) Newshera Cantonment lay in the shadows of the Bunner Hills, rugged, dry and bare of trees, that formed part of the Hind Khus Range of mountains that stretched across the North-Western Frontier Region and constituted a common boundary between pre-Independence India and Afghanistan. The Grand Trunk Road was the main highway and caravan route that went through the Khyber Pass between the two countries. The almost dry river Khyber, also known as Lunda, flowed alongside it. There was a Railway bridge across the river and beyond was no man's land.

In answer to Anand/Krishna's question 'Where was I born?' his mother weave legends to the delight of her young son. She told him that a fairy gadd-mother from Vilayat (England) had brought him and placed him in a alcove in their home in Newshera camp. Anand recalls that in his teenage, his parents brought him to this Newshera Camp when he was around three or four years old and his father made a nostalgic visit along with his wife and the two young sons to their former barrack home. Though strangers occupied it, Lalla Chand requested them to allow his family to look around. In this inspection of rooms, the alcove where Anand the babe was left as a gift from the Gods was shown to him.

II. Information obtained in conversation with Anand on 26-5-83 at Bombay.

As a boy Anand had a small, round body; he was not tall enough to reach the horizontal bars or parallel bars, the horses and jumping boards in the Regimental gymnasium. When he looked into the barber's mirror, he saw his face covered with dry spots, his peddy hands and shapeless legs. He longed to be fair, and so washed himself with Pears soap. He had read of its magical power in the Pears Encyclopaedia his father possessed. He much desired to be a tall self-assured boy and to win the admiration of elder boys, but he was incapable of running fast and could not keep up with the pranks of brother Desh's friends. He lacked the guts to stand up for his own rights; as a child he was always running to his father or mother begging them to sort out his problems and escapades, even when he was on the wrong. Often by crying, screaming and whining, or throwing tantrums he got his way in these early years as a favourite son of both parents. His quick wit, shrewd judgement of the situation and latent intelligence, often helped him to get the better of his elder brother Desh. His father detested him because of his fascinating and remarkable memory, so that he was often called upon to read aloud verses, and passages of Shakespeare to the delight of his father's guests. In fact, Mulk up to five or six years was spoilt and much pampered as compared to his brother Desh.

Mulk's health was never robust; he was always running a high fever. His father was frugal to a miserly extent, depriving his family of a vitaminised diet. The additional measures of flour or sweets, sugar plums or fruits were all secured free from shepkeepers and traders of Sardar Bazar, the main town shopping centre, crowded with tanga carts, dirty with horse dung and confusion and the bustle of peasants. These shepkeepers and traders were often indebted to Lalla Chand for obtaining licences or for having their petitions forwarded to the Cantonment authorities. Lalla Chand did not believe in spending for such luxuries; he expected his family to subsist on the daily army rations allowed to him as Havildar. Yet he was not averse to enjoying all by himself a whole basket of eggs which had been gifted to him. Somehow Mulk's mother would surreptitiously make an omelette of an egg or two and give her sons a treat on one afternoon in his absence from home. In his childhood days when his father was at home, Anand took pride in his father's dubious qualities.

"My father had a sure enough sense of the fruit and sat sounding melen after melen with the knuckles of his right hand as if he were testing clay pitches to see if they were pukka or kutchha. And he conducted the bargain with such a flair for bargaining that he got it at half the quoted price and contrived to obtain not only one little melen for Bitti (the youngest child) but
three little melons as huckster’s profit, so that each of us could have a play-
thing. I felt the proudest and happiest child to be the son of such a
father. (13)

In the matter of clothes, Lalla Chand’s thriftiness and notions of
’simplicity’ were but a ruse to save money. Desh and Anand had no new clothes
made for them after Han’s wedding about three years back. Their daily wear,
shabbily stitched by an army tailor, was made from Khaki drill or serge that
came surreptitiously from the regiment store through the favour of a Subedar
who perhaps was paying off a debt of gratitude to Lalla Chand for some official
favour done.

Mulk and Desh were not only shabbily dressed but they often walked around
barefoot because of their father’s miserliness. Their feet were blistered and
cracked walking on stony paths as were Bhikkus in Anand’s novel The Road.
Anand/Krishna recalls that a pair of shoes presented to both sons (after
continuous pestering of their father) by an old regimental cobbler in
return for
the permission to carry on his trade in the village, obtained through Lalla Chand’s
good office. The shoes were too tight, adding to their misery of painful
blistered feet, yet their father insisted on their wearing. In his own personal
dress, Lalla Chand was western oriented. He looked quite regal in his official
uniform as a Havildar – a red jacket and blue breeches and puttees and a wondere-
ful turban with the blue and yellow colours of the 38th Deogars. At home, he
dressed respectfully in Khaki trousers. In habits too he followed the Sahibs,
sat on chairs with feet rests, and worked at a desk where he did his writing of
letters, petitions, etc., for sepoys and others. He slept on a separate charpoy,
taking a siesta under a shady tree. He kept up his reading of English by
going through the Weekly Civil and Military Gazette.

Anand’s fourth brother Prithvi lived little more than two years for he was
a sickly child from birth. He was born when Anand was perhaps a little more
than two years old and the family were living in the Newshera Cantonment. One
of Anand’s first recollections of his childhood is of this ailing brother
feeding at his mother’s breast, expressing his resentment against brother Anand
who shamelessly demanded to be breast fed at the same time.

"Occasionally, he (Prithvi) would open his eyes and stare at me while he
sucked at my mother’s breasts, as though he were saying to me: ‘Hands off my
Mother’s breasts!’ (14) Anand equally claimed the right to sit on his

13. Seven Summers p.164-165
mother's lap and to sleep alongside her, although Prithvi was slowly dying from his illness. To save the youngsters Desh and Mulk from the mournful scenes that surround death, Lalla Chand took them to 'second mother' Gurudevi, the wife of Babu Chatter Singh, the Quarter-master's Clerk in his regiment; they returned home after the funeral had taken place. Anand however recalls his mother grieving and aunt Devaki beating her breasts, as was customlary, until Anand's father rebuked her for such unnecessary show of mourning.

The women present at the house also sought to console Ishwar Kaur, by reminding her that the child already conceived would be born within a year.

That child was the fifth son of Lalla Chand and Ishwar Kaur.

Besides Prithvi, they had lost a daughter, a beautiful 'peacock child' when she was still-born. Nothing is known about this girl, the only one born to them. Anyhow Anand had a little brother, but with so many years difference, remained a baby brother and he was treated as such by both Desh and Anand, who played with his childish games and later cricket or hockey as pleased. During Anand's schooling years remained often in the company of his parents in the camping sites wherein Lalla Chand's regimental depot were situated. As a result, grew up away from Anand except for two short spells, in Amritsar in 1914 – 1915 when his father had gone to the war front in Europe and Ishwar Kaur and her three sons spent that year together there, and again in Jhelum Cantonment four years later. At Amritsar then nearly four, was not sent to school as his father considered him too young to go, but rather he was considered fit company of Kaushalaya, the seven year old child of Uncle and Aunt Devaki. When Kaushalaya died a year or so later, was apprenticed under Uncle in his coppersmithy in Amritsar. His father Lalla Chand ordained that was to follow the coppersmith trade while studying up to Matriculation. In his scheming ways, Lalla Chand wanted to see that the ancestral business would not again pass into the hands of relations who denied his family any inheritance.

's schooling was mainly in Jhelum Cantonment town and later at Ferozepur and Amritsar in Government-run schools open to army children. In Morning Face there are stray details of taking sides with brother Anand, whom he looked up to as a hero just as Anand had done at his age towards Hans. Anand used to be loving and considerate towards this brother. finished his Matriculation after Anand completed his college studies in Khalsa College in 1925. He was saddened that Anand departed from home for studies in England and a prolonged stay there. What did become in later life does not seem to be mentioned by Anand in his three autobiographical novels. The first two of the
nevels are closely connected to form a continuous narrative and yet have a bearing on Anand's other novels. The reader becomes aware, says Niven, "As the author himself is always aware, that the experiences and sentiments of childhood were constantly forming the adult mind. (15)
At the time of Anand's birth the Punjab provincial territory was part of British India. When India was under the East India Company, the British rulers had taken the first steps for the education of the people. In 1781 Warren Hastings founded the Mohammadan College at Calcutta. This was followed in 1871 by the establishment of a college in Benares for the encouragement of Sanskrit learning among the Hindus. Christian educators and missionaries also played an important role in the historical process of westernized education in India. In the Bengal Presidency, the renowned British missionaries Ward, Marshman and Carey, not only set up a printing press in the Danish settlement at Serampore near Howrah, but distributed "vernacular" literature (including Biblical and Vedic classics). By 1815 they had established over 20 schools in the vicinity of Calcutta with an enrollment of 800 native children.

The British Government took over the Company territories in India by the Charter Act of 1813. Thereafter the Governor-General was empowered "to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, ... a sum not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." The Bengal Government set up a General Committee of Public Instruction which utilized the lask of rupees net in measures to improve instructions or introduce new knowledge and strengthen moral character but in encouraging Eastern learning by founding Oriental Colleges at Agra and Delhi.

This was the fund referred to by Sir Thomas Babington Macaulay in his famous Minute on Education (I). He sought to use this fund to support an English system of education for Indians through the English language.

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† The Government deprived the East India Company of their territories after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857; the Company ceased to exist in 1873.
"... we are free to employ the funds as we choose, that we ought to employ them in teaching what is worth knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that neither as the language of law nor as the language of religion have Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed." (2)

The Despatch of Sir Charles Weed in 1854 laid down the principle that English was to be the medium of instruction only in the higher branches of learning, and the vernacular was to be employed in the lower grades of schools. Under the terms of this Despatch, the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857, of the Punjab at Lahore in 1882 and of the North-Western Provinces at Allahabad in 1887, were set up for examining pupils and granting degrees in arts, law, medicine and engineering on the lines of the University of London. English education, however, remained largely confined to secondary school education for there were very few colleges set up after the establishment of the universities.

The British education ushered in by Macaulay's Minute brought in its wake the bifurcation of Indian society. The Western educational system was imposed without any consideration for the needs of India's indigenous culture and rural economy. "Instead of development of human personality, the chief aim of education became the attainment of linguistic proficiency in English." (3). This emphasis on linguistic efficiency naturally brought about lower educational ideals since there was no organized system of technical education, and education was divorced from agriculture and economy; there resulted increasing poverty and hardship among the unlettered in rural and urban societies. The greatest danger in the long run has been the dangerous division among Indians on communal and provisional grounds which has turned into a widening gulf that today is serious. In one respect the British system of education differed from the indigenous systems of education of Hindus and Muslims. While the latter had a religious emphasis, being closely associated with the temple and the mosque, the new education

2. Ibid., p. 116
was secular, especially after the Mutiny, when educational institutions were not only set up by missionaries but by many private organizations. They too were supported by government grants.

The new literates derived their ideas from the West. They derived their mode of living from the British connexion. The educational revolution brought about by Macaulay served the needs of the Indian administration and of the British government. Indians of the middle class in particular, and upper classes, were content to secure employment in the government civil service where security and sustenance were assured; they had jobs which allowed them to enjoy relative comfort if not luxury. Their promotion depended more on their superior linguistic skill rather than on innate ability or character. When administrative jobs could not keep pace with the increase in the numbers of the lettered, the British Indian Army was the next largely recruiting agency.

Lalla Ram Chand was himself a product of the British system of education. He grew up in Amritsar in the coppersmith colony not far from the Golden Temple. His father died when he was still a toddler; this event led to a severe period of hardship and personal deprivations. His father's lands were taken away by paternal relatives; so his widowed mother found it very hard to make ends meet. The impoverished coppersmith brotherhood could offer little monetary assistance for the bringing up of Ram Chand and his younger brother Pāsyū. So realizing that schooling, becoming literate and acquiring proficiency in the English language were necessary to enjoy a comfortable life, Ram Chand was determined to join the Church Missionary High School after completing his primary education in the Pandit Bala Nath High School, both in Amritsar city. Through hard work and private study, he completed his Matriculation. Although he went through hard times, seldom being able to afford new clothes and paying his way through giving tuitions, he considered it well worthwhile, for he came in course of time to enjoy the enviable position of a 'Shadow Colonel' in the British Indian Army. He held a position equal to a Head Clerk because of his proficiency in English which enabled him to become an intermediary in the 38th Dehra Regiment. However once he became one of the lettered, and lived in army barracks Ram Chand gradually drifted away from his coppersmith relatives in Amritsar. Later on, his event subserviency to the British army officers in matters of religious and political attitudes was to make his son Anand hate his father and all that he represented; in his son's eyes he was a westernized 'brown balm'.

The influence of Lalla Ram Chand in shaping the mind of his sensitive
and precocious child, Anand was profound. In particular, we see his influence on his education. Anand's father could not be deterred from his ambition to turn his two sons Desh and Anand into brown babus like himself. And so we find that Anand is educated in Cantonment schools of Newshera and Jhelum, with a spell in the Pandit Bala Nath High School, Amritsar and the Government High School of Ludhiana. In his own words, Anand was 'badly educated' in these institutions which taught him the liberal arts in the English language. Anand has written much, and in strong language besides, of the sort of education he obtained in Indian educational institutions. Realisation of this was all the more after he lived and studied in England and was exposed to world learning and culture in his early twenties. For example, in his essay *Prelegomena to a New Humanism*, he writes:

"The education I received at school and college was a spurious, initiatory, fruitless grounding, mainly through a foreign language, in useless and completely uncoupled arts of history, geography, mathematics and the elements of science. I got not an iota of knowledge of India's past culture through all this schooling, and very little genuine appreciation of European culture. And up to the time that I issued out of the University, no teacher had even seriously asked me to face up to the question: "Who am I? What does this or that subject, economics or logic, really mean to me? And how do I really feel about this big bread Universe into which I am graduating?" (4)

From early childhood Anand has exhibited high intellectual capabilities; the evidence is there in the autobiographical strands woven in the *Seven Summers*, the first volume, on his childhood, of his magnum opus *Seven Ages of Man*. The hero Krishna (that is, Anand) had an all-consuming curiosity about everything happening to him and around him. His father, and sometimes his mother, were hard pressed to answer probing questions asked by their four-year-old child in the Newshera Cantonment house. During his father's absence at work, little Krishna would go rummaging into brother Ganesh's satchel, and read his written work on the slate or pull out his first or second primer and lisp away through the lessons which he had heard Ganesh prepare with his father's help. There would be times when Krishna could recite by rote what Ganesh found so difficult to remember. Krishna would turn the pages of his father's *Civil and Military Gazette* copy, amazed at the headlines of news and photographs of happenings around his little world.

4. In his *Lines Written to an Indian Air* (Bombay: Nalanda Publications, 1949) p. 3
To be sent to school with Ganesh and be able to participate in the adventurous pranks of his brother and friends, was Krishna's greatest ambitions. So he clamoured for this opportunity, so persistently and with such tearful tantrums, that his father gave him permission when he was but four years old to start schooling. And so at last dawned Krishna/Anand's first day in the Government Primary School, Newshera Cantonment, where the medium of instruction was in the vernacular Urdu. His elder brother Desh resentfully took Anand to school; for this duty imposed on him by his father would limit his freedom and fricic. Sly Desh obediently allowed little brother to hold on to his hand (while the other hand's thumb was stuck in Krishna/Anand's mouth, a habit developed after he had been weaned from breast sucking) but only up to the end of the lane visible to the parents. And then pulling away his hand from his brother's grasp and with abuses thrown in, Desh would get away and rush to join a friend. This was Ali, the son of a Muslim regiment bandsman who hailed from Lahore, who spoke Hindustani, was non-vegetarian and lived with parents and brothers in a one-room tenement. Desh and Anand were constrained to accede to Ali's mother's request to come in and await for Ali to get ready for school, for all this the preparation took a long time including participation in a breakfast of mutton curry and chappati, much against his mother's peremptory injunction. Collecting Ali and so reaching school late was indeed a bad start to Anand's first day in school.

But mere was to follow, for we are introduced to one of the brutal, cane-wielding school masters who plagued Anand's early years. The troubles, tribulations and trials of that morning were nothing compared to what happened in the "First Primary" into which Anand was admitted. When he arrived at the class, Master Din Gul was engaged in caning Ali and some other boys presumably for arriving late. This Master's appearance would have aroused terror in any child.

"Din Gul was a ferocious looking Afidi, shaven-headed except for two curly whiskers, eagle-eyed though net hawked-nosed like most of his tribe, and clad in a tunic of rough homespun cloth and a pair of salwars of the same material. His thick cow-hide shoes, with turned up toes, and with crude steel nails on their soles, were lying by the side of a small blue carpet where he sat, wrapped in a blanket of coarse sheep-wool, wielding the rough branch of a tree for a cane, and striking the boys before him mercilessly on their palms." (5)

5. Seven Summers: (Bombay: Kutub-Popular, n.d.) p. 97
Ali received such a hard cruel beating on his tender hands, legs and body; and little Anand must have been terribly-struck, but his beldness helped him when Masterji caught sight of him with the headmaster's peen standing at the class entrance. Seated at the Masterji's side Krishna/anand became a witness, and later a participant of the gross humiliation meted out to the class. All the boys, except one who had got through some lines of a peem, were made to hold their ears denkey-style, i.e. "steeping, each boy passed his arms from behind his legs and caught his ears with his hands." (6)

Krishna's wonderful memory saved him from such humiliating punishment. The peem about a mother and child had been his show-piece before guests at home; after an initial tongue-tiedness, mere out of fear, Krishna rushed through the lines when it was his turn to recite. His reward: Masterji called upon him to slap five times the faces of all the class boys, including Ali and they had to be really hard, stinging slaps as Masterji demonstrated on Krishna himself. After school on the way home Ali and his friends gave Krishna equally sharp blows, with kicks thrown in, and all this retribution was done in the presence of brother Ganesh. This first day of school had ended disastrously.

The physical description of Master Din Gul and the details of his wanton cruelty and abusive language to his class boys complement each other. In fact, Anand seems to repeat such delineation of the other cruel masters of the other schools he attended at Amritsar and the cantonment towns of Ludhiana and Jhelum. At Amritsar, there was Drillmaster Lehna Singh and the 'black demon' Master Bhisan Singh, who employed the cane throughout the lesson in the Fourth Primary Class of the Pandit Bala Nath High School. The reason for his cruelty was that he was so poorly paid. He wanted to get rich by giving private tuitions. At Ludhiana, Master Bundh Singh was an even greater terror for little boys in the Government High School. The very sound of this mighty tall and bread-chested Singh master's gruff throaty voice evoked fear into the boys of the Sixth Primary Class. His small eyes, behind the thick glasses, were hard like two little stones. He caned them mercilessly, kicked them with his heavy army boots, and slapped them with his large hands with the ferocity of a raging bull. (7) Though an English teacher, his heavy pronunciation of English words and phrases were "natu" causing an inferiority complex, especially as Krishna, here of Morning Face could 'nibble away at English

6. Ibid, p.100
speech prettily.' Like Anand's father here was a school master who upheld the Englishman's way of living and thinking. He brazenly told his class: "I am an obedient servant of the Angrezi Sarkar. I don't hold with all these rascals who are defying the Government - Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, Rash Behari Ghosh and others. In fact, I would like any of you who hear your elders talk at home against the Government to tell us what they say ... realize the good which the White Sahibs have done to us. They have taught us to wear clean clothes. They have given us canals, roads, railways, hospitals, schools - this is the Government High School in which you are studying!" (8)

This Master Bundh Singh was indeed a spy and although the Inspector of Schools, Mr. Marsden, had ordered his dismissal from the School for subjecting his pupils to merciless treatment, on British police orders he was reinstated.

In his many statements on education, Anand has brought out the fact that schools of his days in Northern India (and equally so elsewhere) were "literal prison houses" where children were subjected to frequent floggings. The latent potentialities of the young ones were ruthlessly, trampled upon.

As a son of an army man, Anand had often to change schools. He passed the Third Class at the Government Primary School, Newshera Cantonment, where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught in Urdu. In 1914, when World War I broke out Anand's father Lalla Ram Chand joined a battalion of the 38th Degrees at the front in Europe. He therefore brought his family to reside in Amritsar in his ancestral house in Kucha Fakir Khana, where his brother F. N. and Devaki lived next door and also to his relatives and coppersmith and silversmith brotherhood. That is how Anand and brother Desh attended the P.B.N. High School, Amritsar. They were both admitted into the Fourth Primary Class, where English language became a compulsory subject; Desh had passed the Fourth Primary Class but he had not studied English at Newshera Cantonment school. However, the Manager Pandit Ram Nath knew Lalla Ram Chand as captain of the Church Mission High School cricket team, while Anand's eldest brother Harish had been a school companion of Ram Nath's younger brother, both of whom had earlier studied in this same school, the P.B.N. High. And there was an understanding that Uncle Dev Dutt, a failed M.A., would coach Desh to catch up on his proficiency in English. Anand had no such problem. Under his father's coaching and encouragement Anand had gone through the second primary class primer in English and could glibly recite poems and declaim speeches at will. That his younger brother Anand was in the same Fourth Primary Class as

8. Ibid, p.210
himself added fuel to the growing hostility between the two brothers; but Desh showed his superiority by excelling in Arithmetic, always Anand's weak subject, despite his father's tuition and that of Uncle Dev Dutt, who lived a short distance away from Anand's ancestral residence.

The transfer to Ludhiana Government School came about because Anand's mother along with little brother Shiv, then not yet five, went to Malakhand Fort depot of the 38th Deogarh Regiment, since Anand's father had been posted there on his return from the warfront in 1916. So Anand and Desh were sent to brother Han's home in Ludhiana Central Jail compound, where Hans was acting Assistant Jailer. After a little less than two years, Anand and Desh were admitted into the Jhelum Cantement High School and into the eighth class. The 38th Deogarh depot had been shifted to kutcha mud barracks at the farthest end of the cantement, and Lalla Ram Chand had his privileged Indian officer's quarter, though his military rank of a Havildar really did not entitle him to one. This was his reward for proficiency in English that had served him well in his position of a Clerk in the Depot's 'A' Company.

What did his education in these schools consist of? Why does Mulk Raj Anand say he was badly educated?

In the first three primary classes at the Newshera Government Primary School he learnt reading, writing and 'sing-sing' poetry recitation all in Urdu. Arithmetic was also a subject which kept Anand busy much of the evening during the study time enforced by his father, Lalla Ram Chand. Anand certainly acquired sound learning habits from his father, who encouraged him as a tiny tet to read school primers and recite English poems from the collection of books stereed on a shelf, books belonging to him and his son Hans. Here was a father who was much concerned with Hans' progress in school. He taught them their lessons after a day's heavy office duties. At Amritsar, Anand continued his elementary education and the learning of English nursery rhymes. 'Twinkle Twinkle, little star' was part of his repertoire. Master Bishen Singh, notwithstanding his brutal treatment and heavy-handedness, encouraged Anand to develop his histrionic abilities. It was Anand's vivid declamation in good English diction that helped in some way to get all his fellow classmates promoted to the fifth primary class by the Inspector of Schools, Mr. Marsden, a real person who is also a character in Anand's novel. It is worth noting how examinations and promotions were conducted in Anand's schooling period. In Morning Face we have such an account. The full class was assembled in rows into the inner courtyard of
the school. Mr. Marsden, Inspector of Schools took a series of tests of the various classes. The fourth primary class was to be tested first. A fat boy called Mekham Chand, the son of a grain merchant, lagged behind. This caused Mr. Marsden, 'a burly, red-faced Sahib' in a blue suit and heavy boots, to advance and kick Mekham Chand, who thus sprawled headlong on the ground. Crying and sobbing only caused him to get shouted at by Mr. Marsden. As other boys got out of their rows, they were likewise slapped or kicked by the Inspector. The testing consisted of solving a sum on the slate. Masters Bishen Singh and Khushi Ram, left to supervise, assisted the boys in solving an easy sum.

Mr. Marsden, on his return from a visit to the fifth primary class, called for the English primer and asked for a boy to read it. Alert Master Bishen Singh called upon Anand to read the poem which was done by him in the "usual parrot style". Gyan Chand, equally fluent, was the second boy selected to read another poem, chosen by Mr. Marsden. And so Pandit Ram Nath, the Manager of the School, announced in English: "The whole class is promcted, except for that fat boy." (9)

It was the same Mr. Marsden who held a similar examination in the Government High School, Ludhiana when Anand was promoted to the seventh class. In his second year at the Ludhiana School, Anand suffered from a bout of typhoid fever. Hans had brought Anand burning with fever to his parents' home in Amritsar. This severe attack defied all his pious mother's offerings and gifts to her religious gods and goddess, and even the prayerful incantations of the Muhammadan fakir who was called in. Anand's father very sensibly called in the new military doctor Colonel Douglas, who recommended day and night nursing by a qualified nurse. All these days of high fever kept Anand away from school. As he was convalescing, his father began to coach him on the neglected courses of study so that Anand should not miss "a year in fulfilling his ambition for me to pass the Matric in the prescribed period." (10)

It was from the Jhelum School that Anand finally passed the Matric in 1921. Only three boys of his class had passed that year; Desh, his brother did pass but had secured less marks than Anand, whose performance far excelled that of Desh.

Anand's education owes very little to his schooling. It was his

9. Ibid, pp. 111-113
10. Ibid, p. 311
mentors, his father and Uncle Dev Dutt, who widened his horizons and encouraged him in his desire to learn about everything that touched him as a person. As already accounted, Anand's childhood questioning of about the facts of life in Newshera was always patiently accepted by Lalla Ram Chand, who was really very proud of his son gifted with such intelligence and a retentive memory. During his teenage years especially in Amritsar Uncle Dev Dutt became his mentor. Anand was fortunate in having such a mentor. Dev Dutt and his brother Bhagwan Dutt were educated Arya Samajists. They lived in the large house at the head of the main lane Kucha Pakir Khanna. (The street get its name from the house; it had been built by Fakir Shahub-ud-din, the Diwan of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of this territory of India before the British rule.) Uncle Dev Dutt remained a failed M.A. of the Punjab University, despite three attempts at passing the examination at the Government College, Lahore. His explanation to Anand was that his Arya Samaj leanings went against him. An English professor of Mathematics at the Lahore college, Professor Heming, was against Arya Samajists, especially after Lalla Lajpat Rai had joined the agitation for Home Rule. Dev Dutt had no high opinion of the British administration and educational system. His teaching in English and Mathematics to Anand and Desh helped them tremendously to secure a good standard in the Amritsar P.E.N. High School. Anand certainly owes his fluency in English to Dev Dutt who encouraged his pasticcizing, charade staging and histrionic gifts. It was Dev Dutt who also exposed the maladies of the British educational system to Anand. Later in his writings on education, Anand reiterates his opinions; to the ten-year-old Anand it was a strange theory about education which he expounded:

"The schools in our country", he said "are run on the English system where teaching means beating. But there are some people like Bertrand Russell, the English philosopher, who believes that children learn more if they are allowed to do what they like at school. For instance, if they want to play hockey or cricket, when the teacher is teaching arithmetic, then Russell says they ought to be allowed to play; and they are sure to make up for what they did not learn in class later on if they are interested. Something like this system prevailed in the school of Aryavarta in ancient times; and still prevails in a broken form, in our village schools where the teacher is maintained
by the peasants. But as the town teacher is after money, and mere money, he beats, even as Bishan Singh beats you, because his pay is meagre and he wants to coerce you into taking private tuitions from him! ... And there is no reason why you should be equally good in all subjects. You may like reading poetry, but may not at a particular time, be interested in science; again you may like listening to a history lesson but not want to attend a geography lesson - there is no reason why you should not be free to imbibe your wisdom in your own way! And you may wish to draw pictures all day. Look at Sushila - she is taking Matric privately, after three years' private study only, because she was not strong enough to physically be sent to school, while her brother Dev is still in the eighth class, though he has been to school regularly. Examinations, I say, are no test of knowledge. So you must not be afraid of feels like Bishan Singh! ...

Of course, you must go to school regularly, because your father and mother will be angry if they thought that I have put you off this habit, but don't be frightened of school. Always be ahead of the class, with your private study, and play when you like, and work when you like. You will yourself want to knew everything ...." (II)

In Anand's autobiographical novels, Morning Face and Confession of a Lever we find warm appreciation of the lessons taught by Master Shah Nawas (Government High School, Ludhiana), by the "old nearly dry" and bearded Master Rati Ram, Urdu teacher and Master Hari Chand (a failed B.A.) both of the Jhelum school who taught through fables and showed the relevance of learning to every day existence and personal development. It was in this school, besides, that Anand's education could be considered more balanced and relevant. Here the all-pervading English bias was not possible. Besides English, Urdu study was encouraged as a second language and History was taught by an Indian teacher who could show the lacunae and angle-bias) in the prescribed textbooks of history written in Urdu by G.A. Watten (an Englishman) and Lalla Maah Mohan, M.A. (perhaps the actual writer). This textbook had ignored the Vedic gods, prophet Mohammad, Guru Nanak and the village administrative system. Master Hari Chand understood the value of teaching past history to young Indian minds, particularly as India was going through the stormy years of struggle for Home Rule. His way of teaching history aroused in the young Anand-Krishna a desire to read all world history.

II. Ibid, pp. 71-72
In his writings and lecturing, Anand has advocated an enlightenment in methods of education, whether of belles-lettres or art appreciation. In 1947 his full length publication *On Education* (Bombay: Hind Kitab) attracted critical attention:

"No thinking parent or teacher should omit to read Mulk Raj Anand's book. He will rise wiser after going through it. Notes on child art by Mr. Pulimohan Dutt and the beautiful reproduction of children's work have further added to the book's value." *Leader* (Allahabad)

"A knowledgeable pungently written little hand book which all these interested in the welfare of the new Demiurges will find of vivid and sustained interest." *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay)

In congruence with his ideas of teaching, Anand has retold stories of man’s achievements in various spheres, in *The Story of Man* (Illustrated by S. Chavda) (Amritsar, Sikh Publishing House, 1952).

In the Dedicatory Letter to Balwant Garg, Anand says "From these (stories) we may derive the faith to go on towards the future. It is important in our country today that our children especially should learn of the great things done by mankind."

Anand retold Indian folk tales and folk legends, which have been his source material and inspiration to write, in richly illustrated, low-priced publications. The few titles of these works are:


Mulk Raj Anand was appointed Tagore Professor of Fine Art and Literature in the University of Punjab in 1960. His publication *Seven Little Known Birds of the Inner Eye* (Rutland, Vermont; Tokyo, Charles Tuttle Company, 1978) contained his lectures to the students. As stated therein "He altered the teaching of art appreciation emphasising dynamic participation of the whole man."

The buildings, furniture and equipment of the Government-run schools Anand had attended were most probably constructed from the fund of one lakh collected as surplus from land revenues, taxes and licence charges by the administrators and government bodies of British India. Since the avowed aim of the British rulers was to provide the Government with a lettered team of clerks and supervisors to help run the administration of their terri-
terial acquisitions, we find that admission to these schools was to children of the upper classes of Hindus and Muslims and of the middle-class gentry in the employment of Government or of the British Indian army personnel of ranks above havildars. Thus this system of education produced an elite and new caste of educated citizens who treated superciliously the humble village folk or the unlettered members of the trades, such as the coppersmith brotherhood condemned to eke out their living by continuous toil at their anvils in the dark and dirty lanes in the city of Amritsar. And there were no opportunities for education to the children of the lowly classes including children of bandmen, Muslims or Angle-Indians. They were all treated as equal to the untouchables of the Hindu caste system. These unfortunates of society had the wisdom of experience and of their community passed down from generation to generation. They had no pretensions about being superior citizens and offered loyalty to their masters despite cruelty and hardships meted out to them.

In the case of Anand, the teenager, we also find the failings of false pride. He was always conscious throughout his school days that he was clever, educated and a member of a superior class whose proficiency in English was remarkable.

It took the persistent demand for education of Bakha, the sweeper boy and here of Untouchable, Anand's first yet universally acclaimed novel (published in 1935), and his fellow caste boys Chetta and Rama to awaken Anand's conscience to the injustice and futility of schooling such as his. This realization, at first in stray flashes of insights during his childhood years at Newshera, later became a strong impulse in his revolt against caste restrictions, imperialistic high-handedness and social injustice against the humble, the downtrodden and the outcasts of Indian society. Anand told his college friend Neer Mohammad, that he learnt more from his association and work with his coppersmith brotherhood of Amritsar, and especially from fun-loving, big-hearted Uncle Piav and his friends Hariah, the gambler, and Ullan, than from his schooling. Did Anand, the intrepid rebel, do anything about this blatant injustice in denying education to the low and the needy? Yes. Anand not only wrote much against the educational system prevalent in his days throughout his writing career, but acted courageously as a budding reformer setting an example to all educated persons.

While Anand was in the Newshera Cantemement, as a little boy, he devoted some time to tutoring Bakha, for untouchables like him were debarred from attending the Government Primary School. Moreover in this school, the
medium of instruction was Urdu; Bakha was a Punjabi who spoke only Punjabi at home; but he was gifted with a wonderful memory. He could recite cantoes of the epic *Heer Panjha* heard from the lips of his mother and other women-folk living with him in the dirt and equaler of the sweeper colony on the outskirts of the regimental barracks. Apparently in these days, the Christian missionaries alone ran schools open to untouchables; this was so in the schools set up by the Serampur missionaries in the outskirts of Calcutta.

In North India, and in the Punjab in particular, the Christian missionary schools offered education along with conversion to Christianity. (Anand seems to hint at such a state of affairs in *Morning Face.*) In his Amritsar stage of schooling he openly associates with Gugh, a sweeper of latrines, and his friends, all of equal social status with Bakha. On the day of the examinations at the close of the fourth primary class, Anand had been all tension and fear ever passing in Arithmetic. These fears had an adverse effect on his health. He waited first to get the news of his promotion and rushed out not to the sweetshop as some of his classmates had done, but for Gugh to take him to a latrine on the outskirts of his school, the P.B.N. High School.

Gugh greets him: "Se you have passed the examination" ... "Will you teach me what you knew? Because I can never be admitted to school."

This plea causes Anand to resolve:

"As with Bakha in the Cantonment, so with Gugh here, from this day, I vowed in my secret heart to live in lifelong friendship with him. And I promised to teach him one hour a week, in order to appease the whole burden of the guilt. I had been feeling about him at my various betrayals of him, through my high caste and learned Babu class status, improved upon by my all-knowing manner and the false sophistication." (12)

And as in the case of Bakha, Anand suggests to Gugh that he become a Christian and attend the Christian missionary schools, but to keep his conversion a secret from his community otherwise he would be estracized.

The other glaring defect of the educational system imposed by the British rulers was its complete divorce from Indian conditions, Indian history and cultural values. There were school teachers, like Master Shah Nawaz of the E.B.N. High School, Amritsar who taught through fables sprinkled with quotations from Muslim religious texts, solutions to everyday problems of life, in one instance by the less of a she-goat to a poor peasant who

12. *Morning Face*, p. 113
never lost his gift of laughter. Master Hari Chand of the Government High School, Jhelum, also taught his class Indian history without the British bias which history textbooks of Anand's days and later did contain. This was a common occurrence in Christian missionary schools even up to the time of Nayantara Sahgal's schooling in Allahabad. She tells us that she hated in particular the history lessons in the Convent she attended for a short period; the history of India was coloured with British prejudices by the teacher.

However, the British system of education was wholeheartedly accepted by the Princely denizens of the States that existed around the British territories in India. The sons of these affluent rulers clamoured to be privately tutored by Englishmen. "The independent chiefs of the Punjab made so many requests to the Political Agent on the frontier to arrange for English education for their children that Government deputed a schoolmaster to serve on his staff." (13)

The here Vicky of Anand's The Private Life of an Indian Prince is a scion of one such princely household. According to Margaret Berry:

"Anand clearly blames the prince's tragedy on faulty education; his restlessness was induced largely by the education system. Schooled in British Indian academies, exposed to liberal Western ideals at home and abroad challenged in their basic world views by science and technology, they have cut themselves off from the basic traditions of their forefathers, from fundamental religious and social beliefs, and have no community in which to sink their roots." (14)

Vicky or Victor to his friends, was the Maharaja Ashek Kumar of Shampur State on the North Western Frontier Region. Anand modelled him on a prince he had taught in Simla in the twenties. Dr. Hari Shanker, the personal physician of Vicky is Anand's narrator in the novel, and he knows that Vicky's case is really one needing psychological treatment.

"For his intelligence seemed to have run riot through the large gaps in his education and experience. And this had made him pick up many things

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with which he was trying to form a single thing but which made him a bundle of ill-asserted fantasies and facts, whose incongruous collection into one personality made him a strange, wild creature... The spirits of his old dead ancestors were pulling him towards the old virtues, prowess, splendour, firmness, dexterity, generosity, heroism in battle and the other duties of a high-caste, superior, kshatriya prince, while a number of new demons, the fashions of the hour, were pulling him into another direction, on account of the shameless schooling through which his childhood in his father's zenana, and his boyhood and youth in the hands of the Angrezi Sarkar, had put him." (I5)

I5. Anand, The Private Life of an Indian Prince (1953) p. 46
The year 1921 is an eventful year in the life of Mulk Raj Anand. He enters into a stage of open rebellion against his upbringing, family affiliations, religious beliefs and social conventions and political attitudes of his generation. It eventually led to a sojourn in different climes. From 1925 to 1945, he was in England and Western Europe, attempting to frame for himself a philosophy of life which resulted in a commitment to serve the deprived and oppressed members of society.

In June 1921 Mulk passed the Matriculation Examination of the Punjab University. His excellent performance in languages convinced his father, Lalla Chand that this third son of his would fulfil his ambition after the completion of the Bachelor of Arts course with perhaps a law degree added. Such degrees would give Anand great opportunities to enter the Administrative Service of the rulers of India. There was a lurking hope in Lalla Chand, that since he himself had been awarded the Meritorious Service Medal for his year's service at the front in World War I, that Anand, as a son of an army man, might be considered for a king's commission and then be sent to Sandhurst, England. So Principal Walters of Khalsa College, Amritsar told Mulk at the admission interview, and advised him to take the application form for the Silver Wedding Fund Scholarship for which he was eligible as a British Indian army man's son. It was really none of these ambitious schemes of his father that persuaded Anand to join college. He got himself enrolled at Khalsa College because of his love for knowledge. So he registered himself for the B.A. Course Programme in "Philosophy which was (his) passion, in English Literature which (he) adored, and in Economics which (he) wanted to master," because the Mahatma had said that "One must be a Bania if one wants to win freedom for India." (I)

To add to Anand's joy, brother Desh would no longer be studying with him in the same class and institution. In accordance with his father's plans for his second son's education, Desh was enrolled in the medical college, where eldest brother Hans had earlier registered himself, his studies were discontinued because of his wife Draupadi's parental objection. Desh did complete his medical studies and become the doctor in Anand's family.

At present he resides in Manchester, England, carrying on his medical practice.

The novel Confession of a Lover contains many vignettes of the stormy eventful college years 1921-1925 in India. The Khalsa College was a Sikh College, aided by the Maharaja of Patiala. The college had "the grandeur of palace-like structures... with its big domes, small domes and minarets lifting the red Mughal style refulgence above the vast playing fields." (2)

The college offered arts and science course programmes. On the staff were scholars, both English and Indian—Professor Harvey (a Cambridge don), Principal Walters, Professor Stone, Professor Bhatia, Professor Harbinda Singh and Professor Teja Singh, the only Sikh who had mastered the English language enough to translate the Sikh Jagji prayer book (though he spoke English with a heavy accent).

College life opened up a whole new world of freedom for Mulk at least from his father's stringent code of behaviour. What must have filled his cup of joy was that at last he could live in Amritsar with his beloved "milk and honey" aunt Devaki in her part of the family house and knew that he would be affectionately treated by her, besides having all his needs attended to with love. Anand was aware of his father's scheming ways of assuring that his children would benefit from some of the ancestral wealth which had passed on to his brother Patial and also from Patial's own earnings from the ancestral trade of coppersmithing. Aunt Devaki was now a widow; Uncle Patial had died when Mulk was studying at Ludhiana, that is in 1916. His only daughter Kanshalaya, whom Mulk had worshipped because of her ethereal beauty and goodness of heart, had died the year before of consumption. On Patial's death, aunt Devaki sought to win merit by good deeds; she poured thousands of rupees into the sinking of a well in the Mahamat Sandgiri temple at Kanowar in Gurdaspur District, Punjab. She had been persuaded to do so by her cousin and lover Ananta. This extravagant gesture of piety left her almost penniless; she eked out a living by selling the milk of a buffalo which she hired from a relative. With such constraints, aunt Devaki could not understand how Mulk's father expected her to feed and care for Mulk with the fifteen rupees a month he sent her. She felt it was

2. Ibid, p.12
an affront to her, for aunt Devaki had spent much on Desh's betrothal and wedding already. Desh had got married while he was still studying in the Government High School, Jhelum.

All this talk of money and miserliness did not interfere with the blissful days Mulk spent with aunt Devaki in Amritsar, away from his father, for Lalla Chand who with mother Ishwar and brother lived in Ferozepore Cantenment, where the 38th Dehra Regiment was then posted. However, these blissful days were short lived. Mulk was still in his first year of college when his beloved aunt Devaki committed suicide in her room. She had been excommunicated along with Anand by the Thathiar Community priests for having become so friendly with a Muslim woman (a "beef-eating" woman) Nargis, the stepmother of Anand's close college friend Neer Mohammad, that she not only ate and drank with her but arranged for Nargis to conduct a seance in her home, where the oracle Mian Mir was invoked amidst prayers and incantations. Mulk had also participated in this seance, enjoying the good customarily offered on such occasions. Unfortunately the news of the seance had spread among the bigotted Thathiar community of Kuchi Fakir Khanna, resulting in the Panchayat's decision to excommunicate Devaki and Anand.

This news brought Anand's father and mother to Amritsar to take all the necessary measures such as sacrifices and monetary offerings to have the excommunication order rescinded at least against their son Anand, for they depended on the goodwill of the Hindu community of their brethren. Their efforts to rescind the excommunication of aunt Devaki proved of no avail with the community priests; this depressed Devaki so much that she took an overdose of cyanide at night. Her dead body was discovered by Mulk's mother who went up to her room to investigate why Devaki had not come down for the morning meal.

Mulk always reiterates that one of the three experiences of his youth that changed his life was the suicide of aunt Devaki. What disturbed him and shocked his complacency was the perfidy on the part of the Thathiar community and in particular on the part of his father Lalla Chand, who did eat and drink with Muslims and Christians in the cantenment, although it was without the knowledge of the vegetarian Thathiar community. Anand's mother too was fully aware of his perfidy but it was her foolish belief that by giving her husband Ganga water from Hardwar to drink on his return from such transgressions, she purified him. Aunt Devaki's suicide has been one of the reasons why Mulk has made virulent attacks on all religions and
...estracizations on grounds of religious beliefs in his novels, short stories and other writings.

Though death took aunt Devaki out of his life, Anand continued to stay in the family house, now alone, and continued his college studies at Khalsa College up to the final awarding of the B.A. degree in 1925. There were to be other traumatic experiences during this period. He became an active nationalist for India's freedom from foreign domination which caused him to suffer a period of court trial and jail, and an escape from his father's control to Bombay at the close of his third year in College. Mulk's participation in Gandhi's non-cooperation and non-violence movement of 1920-1921 and the protest actions against British rule needs much fuller treatment than is possible here. What is worth recording is that much to Mulk's consternation, his father Lalla Chand was persuaded to treat Mulk less harshly and more sympathetically through the counsel of Englishmen, in particular Mr. B.O. Hermiman, Editor of the Bombay Chronicle for whom Anand had done some journalistic writings during that flight to Bombay after the Lahore court trial and jailing for a bomb burst in the Hindu Temple, in which Anand was really an innocent participant. His father took him back to Amritsar and Mulk settled down to serious college study for his final examination.

What has Anand to say about his college studies at Khalsa College, Amritsar? He would unhesitatingly repeat Mr. B.O. Hermiman's indictment: "You are free to go or not to go ... But perhaps you knew the worthless education at college will be an experience." (3) Very early in his first year of college Anand, like Krishna, the hero of Confession of a Lover, must have asked his teacher of philosophy about the ultimate nature of things, and the meaning of life and death, the essence of conscience and sanctions involved in doing good. And like Professor Hukam Singh Sedhi of Confession of a Lover, the answer must come from a textbook.

"Who am I? Well, I am not my physical body. Nor am I the five organs of external activity, the voice that speaks, and produces sound, the hands and feet which I move at will, the genitals which give pleasure... Nor am I the vital forces which excrete every morning ... Nor am I the thinking mind ... Nor am I the unconscious state of consciousness which retains merely the latencies of the mind, and which is not the centre of the sense organs,

3. Ibid. p. 221
of the mind, and, therefore, unaware of the existence of the objects of 
sense perception ... (4) And like Krishna, Anand knew that this was a 
quotation which the Hindu Brahmins repeat all the time with no conviction 
and commitment.

Anand has come across many Indian professors and college teachers 
who like Professor Sedhi of Khalsa College had no thoughtful analytical 
minds, and whose teaching consisted of passing \( O_{P} \), the kind of knowledge 
they received from their teachers - nothing but quotations from prescribed 
textbooks as a result of which they could not entertain discussions in 
their classrooms. And much to Mulk's chagrin, this state of teaching was 
also prevalent in the science stream of college education in India. Neer 
Mohammad, his close college friend, was studying for the B.Sc. degree, yet 
he never questioned the teaching of his religious teacher Master Ishaq, 
and the stringent precepts of behaviour demanded by his father, a con-
fectioner by trade, who saw that his son was married and became the 
father of a child before he entered his college studies. It was through 
his association with Anand that Neer realized the 'poetry' of living, the 
appreciation of literature and the need to defy enough to change the 
course of things happening to him and to his wife's sister Yasmin, Anand's 
college sweetheart. To Mulk, college teachers such as Professor Sedhi 
only deserve contempt; even today, he speaks very strongly about college 
education, for he sees so little change in the state of teaching since 
his own college days at Khalsa College. His contempt is expressed in 
strong language.

"Because I hate these feels, all taking degrees to get jobs! ... I 
loathe all who sit in judgement. Priests, Chandris, Sahibs, Police-
officers and Professors; they who lie all the time!" (5)

Fortunately for Mulk, during his college days at Khalsa College, he 
came to know his ideal among professors, namely Professor Harvey, who 
taught him English Literature \( J_{L} \) was also a professor of History. He 
was a most unrepresentative Englishman. Though a Cambridge don, he had 
joined the Indian Education Service and got this posting at Khalsa College. 
He was a Theosophist who read the Vedas, the epics, the Gita and followed 
Mahatma Gandhi as did Annie Besant. He was all "for the wisdom of the 
Rishis of the Vedas and the Upanishad", and "against imperialism and

4. Ibid, p. 110
5. Ibid, p. 121
Western Civilization which has just staged a giant world war." So he told his student Mulk, who went frequently to his bungalow residence within the college precincts. It was Professor Harvey who gave the questing Anand a mere "consoling" answer:

"Understanding does not mean arguments ... All our efforts fail, perhaps", he said. "We cannot yield our nationality. We go on worrying and digging into our minds and seek to unravel our mysteries. But the spirit above witnesses the Cosmic dance, like Shiva dancing and looking at himself dancing... It is our ego, you know", he continued noticing the banter in my voice. 'Our "I" does not subside. The devil of self-enchantment is inside us. The great work of conquering myriads of whistling thoughts and words goes on inside ... The peer are saved by their natural humility. And they rise through their faith in God. Like the weaver saint Kabir. But the materialists are full of disrespect for the Divine..." (6)

It was Professor Harvey who passed on to Mulk his appreciation of English Literature. He gave Mulk the run of his vast collection of works by English authors, and held discussions on topics relating to poetry and philosophy, religion and life. In fact, when in England, Anand's fluency and command of the English language and acquaintance with literature amazed the Bloomsbury literati who accepted him into their circle. So from 1927 to 1945 he became part of the Bloomsbury Group. When Virginia Woolf queried Anand about his linguistic proficiency, he told her he learnt English from "an Irish theosophist Professor" (Harvey) who lent his books. (7)

The other menter of Mulk's college years was Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, B.A., B.L., a Kashmiri Hindu convert to Islam, who is a well-known Urdu poet and author of beautiful Persian poetry such as Secrets of the Self, often quoted by Anand, his circle of friends and acquaintances, as well as by the characters in his novels. It was through his friend Neer Mohammad that Anand was able to visit Dr. Iqbal at his Lahore home during the college summer vacation of 1923. The two friends had a stimulating conversation and discussed poetry, Urdu, Persian and Punjabi with him. They both carried away with them a profound admiration for Dr. Iqbal's eloquence and exposition of so much that is fundamental about religion, philosophy and poetry writing: 'As the poet has said; 'There are mere things in heaven and on earth ... than are dreamt of in our philosophy.' The making of the individual is difficult. The Keran contains much wisdom

about the self. And the Sufis, Rumi, Tabriq, Jami, guessed many things. Some Westerns also. My Professor in Cambridge, MacTaggart, and Bergson in France, believes in God as dynamic creative actions, as against our mystics who believe in God as silence. In my paper, I have asked for the growth of man, of the individual — do you read Persian? A little later in this conversation, the poet admonishes Mulk: "Knowledge ... experience of that knowledge and reverence for all who gave knowledge, even if you don't agree with them. These things are important. Read, read, everything that comes your way. Read the Sufis, Rumi, Attar, Kabir, Nanak, read Nietzsche ... You can grow. Everyone can. There is no special tribe of Brahmins. Every man can become Superman. Man is God. Only life, life and more life. Taste it and see — it is bitter sweet." (8)

Anand's deep appreciation of Iqbal's poetry comes through over and over again in his writings. The novel, Confession of a Lover, is full of quotations from Iqbal's poems. His friend Neer quotes:

"Iqbal, your love has smoothened out all my twists and turns, I had wished for a long time that someone might straighten my crooked soul."

Yasmin, his sweetheart quotes:

"Paradise is not meant for the pure and the righteous, Paradise is meant for those who dare; But ask the Muslims of Hindustan to cheer up. Paradise is to be dealt out in charity seen."

And Krishna/Anand is always quoting, comparing and discussing Iqbal's poetry especially Secrets of the Self, which he read both in the original Persian and the English translation by Professor Nichelsen. In his Bombay sejourn and his meeting with Marmaduke Pickthall, an English convert to Islam, and the Ali brothers who were Sufis, Anand waxes eloquently about the glories and beauty of his mentor's poetic creations.

Dr. Iqbal was to use his legal acumen to obtain the release on bail of Mulk in the bomb burst trial at Lahore court where along with Mulk's political mentor, Lalla Kedar Nath and his friends, he faced a charge of treason. He was really an innocent victim of this experiment of making a
bom. Whilst in Lahore, he had gone to meet his political mentor Lalla Kedar Nath, who then held the post of a hostel warden in D.A.V. High School, Lahore. The same evening Kedar Nath and his colleagues, all Arya Samajist terrorists, were working at the making of a bomb in a basement room of the Hindu Temple. At his insistence Mulk was allowed to enter the Temple and sleep in the Hall. Unfortunately the bomb burst during the experimentation. And so Kedar Nath, his colleagues and Mulk were arrested, jailed and sent up for trial. Anand's friend Neer not only called for Lalla Chand to come from Ferozepore, but also approached Dr. Iqbal to plead for Anand's release on bail which was granted. At the conclusion of this trial, we knew that Anand took the Frontier-Mail train as a ticketless traveller on its journey to Bombay and tried his hand at journalism and book reviewing for the Bombay Chronicle. This first visit to Bombay, its mill area and crowded filthy lanes full of suffering and oppressed humanity, has become immortalized in his second novel Coolie which won him great recognition as a novelist of 'protest literature'.

Dr. Iqbal proved a benefactor again when Mulk completed his college education and secured the B.A. degree (Honours) in Philosophy in 1925. It was his gift of Rs. 500 together with a similar amount from the Principal Neer Mehan, of Khalsa College, and the pawning of his mother's jewellery that provided Anand with the money for the boat ticket to England in September 1925, ostensibly to pursue his further studying of Philosophy, but really to escape the tyranny of his father Lalla Chand and from the "tedium of an empty banal life, bound and constricted on every side where growth and self-awareness were thwarted from the start and the vast bulk of the people condemned to ignorance and a sub-human life, while the few privileged persons preyed upon others like strong birds on the weaker members of the flock." (9)

Mulk has modelled the poet of The Big Heart (1945) on Dr. Iqbal and also, to some extent, the poet of Untouchable (1935).

Through his associations with Dr. Iqbal and Professor Harvey, Mulk did find some answers to his questing for the truth of the fundamentals of existence, questings that had occupied him from his early days in the Nowshera Cantonment. It became an all-pervasive concern during his college life in Amritsar. All this resulted in what he called his 'Ghaoon Maoon', a state of confusion, discord and unrest.

It required his contact with English professors of philosophy and his research into European philosophical systems, to give Mulk some rational explanation and basis to his life's mission.

Mulk sailed for England in September 1925. In the Fall of 1925, he registered himself as a doctoral student in University College, London. The insufficient background in European philosophical systems which Anand had acquired through his college studies in philosophy, soon made him realise that he would have an uphill task in his research work on The Thought of Locke, Burke and Russell. And so he approached Dr. Hicks with his problem and suggested he be permitted to change over to English Literature on which he was surer grounds. Dr. Hicks counselled the perplexed Mulk, and informed him that this diffidence and lacunae in knowledge was common among students from abroad. The remedy lay in doing wide reading to fill up gaps of knowledge. And so he invited Anand to his Cambridge residence the following Sunday.

This first visit to an English Professor's home was revealing to Anand. Dr. Hicks was instrumental in inculcating in Anand the etiquette of drinking red wine and eating in the Western style. However, Anand came away with a box full of books and an admonition to get away from London and commence reading philosophy with Adamsen's The Development of Philosophy. This is how he found accommodation in Dolgelly, North Wales in a friendly home, a stay which brought him the contact with Irene (his first English sweetheart) and her Professor father, who lectured on Botany and held interesting and long conversations with Mulk on these evenings when he called at their home, hoping to get into a conversation with Irene. Well, it was Irene who got Mulk to pen his long 'Confessional' of 2000 pages in a free-hand scrawl and to communicate the thoughts, hopes and aspirations arising out of his life in India with parents and relations and friends against his Punjabi background.

Other eventful experiences were his meetings with many literary figures during his visits to the British Museum and elsewhere which all helped to make him the thinker, the writer, the man. And there was his involvement with the coal miners' strike of 1926 which made him a sworn enemy of imperialist England. So far as his studies go, Mulk recalled his attendance of seminars and discussions in philosophy at Cambridge University. At one such seminar he met Dr. S. Radhakrishnan who was then a Professor in the Philosophy Department. Of the latter's influence, Anand writes:
"I had occasion to hear Dr. Radhakrishnan and for sometime, out of patriotic reasons, and the spell of his oratory, I lugged the idealistic Vedanta theory; with its reduction of the world to a series of Mayas, illusions. But I also wished to live on the plane of hedonism, the here and the now, in the concrete world. And the contradictions were my soul, reading philosophy in the British Museum by day and waltzing with whores in Sohá during the nights." (IO)

Anand continued his research and in 1929 was awarded his Ph.D by the University of London.

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"What portion in the world can the artist have who has awakened from the common dream— but dissipation and despair." Yeats

It is true that Anand has made derogative remarks about the Indian education system and in his novels has shown all the educated heroes as failures. In her recent critical appreciation (1) Premila Paul considers the theme of education as among the outstanding themes that underlie Anand's fictional structures. In her opinion the inadequacy of Indian education and its incapacity to fit its principles to the reality of living is dramatized by Anand in his novellette or long short story _Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts_ (Amritsar: Sikh Sansar, 1942; later the title story of a collection of stories published by Hind Pocket Book, New Delhi, 1967). Its educated hero Nur Muhammad, spends a life of trial and tribulation, disappointment and sadness. Although holding academic merit certificates, none of these guarantee him employment nor do they serve as a passport to a position of respectability. Nur secures a clerk's post after much cringing and fawning but sadly realizes that his social status remains the hereditary one—the educated son of a confectioner, despite his M.A. degree. Anand shows how social status of birth is a stigma through life. In an earlier novel of his, _The Sword and the Sickle_, Anand depicts the similar fate of Professor Verma; this son of a clerk finds his life ruined because his humble beginning prevents him from securing any position in prestigious educational institutions. Premila Paul substantiates her thesis through quotations from _The Lament_ to show Anand's exposition of the deplorable conditions of schools, the kind of life of drudgery a young student spends in school, studying ten hours with the help of kerosene-lights, and the teaching carried out by strict and ignorant school masters. All of this appears in _Seven Summers, Morning Face and Confession of a Lever_. Anand has summarized his denunciation in his work _On Education: "Suppression and regression and cane driven sense are not education at all."_

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To Anand, real education is a liberal education that goes beyond educational institutions. Premila Paul only comments on the narrow aspect of Anand's conception of education, confining education to the process of institutional teaching. This is certainly not conceivable as a recurring theme of Anand. Dr. M.K. Naik posits that such a view has limited seriously her comprehensive treatment of Anand's themes. "But it is possible to suggest that the larger dimension of 'education' as the growth of the mind of a young man has always been an important theme in Anand. In fact, this theme is so persistent in modern fiction that it has given rise to an independent genre - viz, the Bildungsroman. Anand's Confession of a Lover is a fine example of this type of a novel; but predictably, it remains neglected in this study." (2)

The main theme of the novel Confession of a Lover is Anand's love of freedom in its myriad hues - his love of social and political freedom (inspired by Gandhi) his love of poetry (inspired by Dr. Iqbal) and his adolescent love of Yasmin, sister-in-law of his college friend Neer Muhammad. But above all the novel is a testimony of self-glorification by an "exuberant naive poet of love" and an erudite college student, self-educated.

Always a voracious reader, we knew from Morning Face that Krishna/Anand had read Shakespeare's Julius Caesar "several times" and once declaimed Mark Antony's speech on the death of Caesar at Khalsa College when requested by the Principal. Earlier, during his fourth primary class examination at the P.B.N. High School, Amritsar, Mulk had been called upon to recite 'Twinkle, Twinkle, little star' before the Inspector of Schools, Mr. Marsden. By the age of fourteen, he had read Shakespeare, Dickens, Thackeray, leaned by the friendly Captain O'Sullivan (i.e. Captain Schneider) of his father's regiment at Jhelum. Besides his father kept up his reading habit by bringing home the Civil and Military Gazette, the Tatler and the Bystander, with all their pictures of beautifully dressed society belles at sebirdy concerts etc., and the serialization of George W.M. Reynolds's The Mysteries of the Court of Lenden a 22-volume book.


2A His College texts were Thackeray's Henry Esmond and Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. Professor Harvey had inspired him to make Palgrave's Golden Treasury his constant companion to appreciate poetry and, in particular, to acquire a taste for reading English poetry. (See further details in M.R. Anand's "The Changeling": An Inde-Anglian Noveltists Creed, Indian & Foreign Review (15 Sept. 1972) I9-2I
(which in Anand's opinion affected his style of writing, as he told Virginia Woolf during his Bloomsbury days in London.) In fact, while he was still in his teens Anand began reading the epic novel Pasana-i-Azad, by Ratan Nath Sanchan and he learnt cantos from Heer Ranjha, a classic Punjabi poem. Many of these works he took from his father's shelf in the ancestral home at Amritsar. From the Khalsa College library, Anand could satiate his reading habit; he read the Urdu poetry of Ghalib and Hali, the Persian poetry of Saudi Hafiz and Iqbal and a wide range of western writers and philosophers. He also made his acquaintance with Marx. Such wide reading helped him to engage in "long discourses", especially with Professor Harvey on the Vedas, the Gita and Karma, consciousness, the universe, man-woman relationships, body-soul, Gandhi, self, the nature of reality and so on. In Sares Cewasjee's opinion all this account makes "tedious reading" in Confession of a Lover and rightly so. It is mere self-glorification.

In his school days in Jhelum, Anand had read issues of Gandhi's Hind Swaraj. But it was really in England in the twenties that he indulged in his love of reading, enjoying this life of imagination which Iqbal had encouraged. As he puts it, when he came to England he found himself "removed suddenly from the realities of the freedom struggle into the world of Bloomsbury where the pleasures of literature and art were considered much in themselves." (5) His professor in Philosophy, Dr. Hicks, had enjoined on Anand the need to read philosophical systems in depth. And so we find him spending half a day in the pursuit of learning for most of the week at the British Museum reading room where he had table no. NN9 - reserved.

5. Conversations in Bloomsbury, p.5
Through his association of the Bloomsbury Group, Anand reflects:

"I realise(d) that all of them being older than me, and part of a metropolitan world, had been privileged to take part in a living culture, whereas apart from the Shakespeare's plays, and Thackeray's 'Henry Esmond', I had read only the books of poetry which Professor Harvey used to lend me in Khalsa College, Amritsar. I came from a world where everyone was hampered, where desires were frustrated, and happiness was thwarted by the elders, who were all important. And inside me there was a longing to be free, to expand my consciousness, to live and to be on equal terms with men of learning like these Professor Benamy Debree was familiar with." (6)

Benamy Debree was one of the first of the eminent literary men and women Anand came to know in London after his arrival in 1925. It was his fellow-student Nikhil Sen, studying literature at University College, London, also a young poet, who introduced them at a poetry bookshop of the American poet Harold Munro, who gave Anand a job. Through Nikhil, Anand had a part-time job in Jacob Schwartz's bookshop next door to the Pre-Raphaelite Orientl Bookshop, Great Russell, near the British Museum. It was in these bookshops that he came to read James Joyce's 'Ulysses' and 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man', and D.H. Lawrence's 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'.

It was at a Harold Munro bookshop tea party that he met T.S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley, D.H. Lawrence, Edith Sitwell, Leonard Woolf, who was to become a close understanding friend, David Herbert Moore, to name just a few.

Conversations in Bloomsbury recounts with easy familiarity the memories of the formative years of 1925 and beyond of Anand's life in London when still a student of philosophy. It is narrated through conversations and arguments that he had with the avant garde writers of the twenties. These exchanges took place in the bookshops, coffee houses, Museum Tavern, the pubs and club houses, such as the Etoile ('where it was customary for T.S. Eliot, Benamy Debree and other literary luminaries to lunch together occasionally'), and at seireses and tea parties at the homes of some great English writers of the century. There are rich anecdotal details and vignettes of E.M. Forster, Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Virginia Woolf, Eric Gill, many of whom had influenced, helped, corrected Anand in

6. Ibid, p. 18
his-writing of works, and remained friends of Anand, the writer.

Anand was able to benefit from comments and assistance to a large extent from these liberal and leftist British authors and poets. The contrast in the publications of Anand's works in India and those published in England until 1945 is enough to make Sares Cewasjee affirm Anand's indebtedness to his British literary friends. This was especially so in Ceele..."Herbert Reed went through it, Philip Henderson with a red pencil and Marian Evans with a blue pencil, the last angel sat patiently going through Ceele, line by line with me to cut out everything redundant, verbose and inessential. And then Celia Strachey as well as Annabel Williams Ellis read the proofs and also William Ellis, who was also a writer." (7) In the low-priced student edition of Ceele (published as an Orient paperback by Hind Pocket Books New Delhi, 1972 by arrangement with the Bedley Head reprint, containing an Introduction by Sares Cewasjee), Anand's dedicatory note reads: "The first edition (i.e. 1936) of this novel was dedicated to Philip Henderson who thought it was "not too bad". I would like to add to this new edition the names of other friends: MARIAN EVANS who read to me during revisions, and ERIC GILL who heard it from me and warmed to it."

Eric Gill, the craftsman and artist and author of Art Nonsense and other Essays and a friend of Ananda Coomaraswamy, played an important part in Anand's literary career and in his mental development. He who had been an agnostic, on reading Cardinal Newman's Apologia became a convert to Catholicism. Anand read this work and he says it "cured (him) of ... distrust of religion, especially Christianity, to keep an open mind." (8) It was Eric Gill who in 1932 composed and printed a special edition of 200 copies of The Lest Child and Other Stories, Anand's first literary work, and thus helped to obtain recognition for him as novelist of no mean merit. (8A)

8. Conversation in Bloomsbury p. 109
8A Eric Gill made an engraving of an Ex-Libris design for Anand of some lovely books, because both of them at lunchtime would wander into second-hand bookshops in Charing Cross Road looking for rare books. Anand acknowledges himself a 'bookworm'. While in London he boasted that he collected a library of nearly 300 rare and beautiful books; one-third of them he had read; the remaining two-thirds he had hoped to go through "until someone, who needed money, stole the bulk of my collection and sold them for knock-down prices." (Reflections of a Bookworm, Indian Publisher & Bookseller IX, no I (January 1959) pp. 13-14.
E.M. Forster's 'Introduction' to Anand's first published novel, *Untouchable* saved his life, for in desperation Anand had contemplated suicide after this novel had been rejected by nineteen publishers. When *Untouchable* was reissued by Bedley Head with an Introduction by Sares Cewasjee, E.M. Forster wrote to the latter:

"I learn with great pleasure that *Untouchable* is to be reprinted, and I hope it will repeat its original success." (letter dated 11 Oct. 1968)

And again a little later,

"Thank you for your letter and I am delighted to add a line to my previous praise of Anand's *Untouchable*. It is an excellent work and I am delighted it is being reprinted. I hope it will again be favourably received." (Letter dated 5 December 1968) (9)

Anand never forgot how especially during these years of struggle as a writer in England the friendship of the Bloomsbury group of literary men and women helped him to forge his own concept of the novel, especially the autobiographical novel, and to discover himself before seeking to redress the social injustice and wrongs of his Indian background and community.

What can be acknowledged is that Anand's mind had always been sceptical, agile and enterprising from early life. It accounts for his reading freely and discovering whatever came his way. It was this reading, these discussions and arguments with the intelligentsia of the Twenties and Thirties in England which opened up for Anand new horizons of life and behaviour, and new insights into his environment, helped and sustained him through the loneliness he suffered through his youth. His love of reading opened up a new world to his imagination - the world of poetry.

In an article contribution, Marlene Fisher sets out to substantiate her thesis "that compulsion for emotional honesty as well as the poetic imagination and its sources, which for Krishnan Chand are largely in learning and in love, comprise the major motif of *Confession of a Lover*." (10)

These college years 1925 - 1929 and thereafter that Anand spent in England influenced him profoundly. In her review of *Conversations in Bloomsbury* Meenakshi Mukerjee highlights it:

"Apart from such literary gossip the book also offers a vivid portrait

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9. Author to Critic 1973, Appendix A, p. (2)

Mulk Raj Anand as an earnest but gauche young man, trying out new ideas, asking uncomfortable questions, discovering his own roots. The image Anand deliberately projects in this book is of an eager young man, shy and garrulous by turns, "wanting always to be earthy and spontaneous" and flaunting his warm Punjabi gregariousness in the face of cold British reserve. When in a restaurant, Anand loudly proclaims that he responds to Chalib immediately with tears in his eyes but can't really feel English poetry, an embarrassed T.S. Eliot looks around to see if they are being overheard." (II)

This review has a photograph portraying Anand presumably belonging to these Bloomsbury days. Seated at a table with books around him, Anand is concentrated on writing, for his right hand has a pen in action. This frontal view of Anand shows him to be a young man very English in dress; his glaring striped tie (he says he always wore \( \tilde{\text{N}} \) these days) stands out against the light-coloured shirt and perhaps a cardigan, long-sleeved woollen, loosely worn. What strikes one is his well-groomed appearance, his curly hair parted in the centre, his physique still maintaining the slimness of his youth.

Anand was always a puny lad from childhood; it earned him the nickname "Cheeshia" in his Newshera, Amritsar and Ludhiana schools. His health was never robust in those days; he was always falling ill running a fever. Once he caught typhoid, and having a delicate constitution he really could not participate in hectic school games like cricket, hockey, football or the rough-and-tumble of school-boy's pranks. This made him fall back on his own companionship and the loneliness he experienced increased through his school and college life. It was in England that he gained self-confidence, of which he could leave us a self-portrait in Conversations in Bloomsbury.

"Not long ago I was a child, asking questions, then a young Kabadi playing boy, a would-be Temmy aspiring to wear a sela hat on my head, wishing to get to Lenden, a college student pretending to be non-violent, lover of the poetess Yasmin, and now a pilgrim in quest of myself, going through various incarnations, Iqbal's poetaster, persuasive lover like my uncle Dayal Singh, Hegelian rationalist, partaker of Christian grace, human, sceptic, Irene's lover, would-be rationalist, Surrealist ignited by the fire of the French Revolution, clever college student, suave on the surface, and yet a noble savage, untameable, anti-bourgeois, murderous egotist beneath and unable to reconcile all these selves." (I2)

II. "We Might Gain from India if it remains in the Empire" Times of India Sunday Review, 29 Nov. 1931, p. 8.
I2. Ibid, p. 77
These days in Bloomsbury were not all sunshine. Anand was to experience British prejudice against his colonial upbringing. On arrival in England, it was difficult for him to find digs to live in, for landladies would immediately shut their doors on seeing his dark complexion. As a scholarship student at University College, London, he found it difficult to make ends meet on £300 per annum; that is why he took part-time jobs working in the afternoons in bookshops and restaurants, washing glasses and helping in the kitchen; this experience made him write Curries and Indian dishes (1933). Since then he has always shown himself as a connoisseur of good food. Today his eating habits are westernized, he enjoys fish at lunch even today and his sweet teeth, cultivated by his mother always offering her young sons something from her 'oh kuch' box, is Anand's weakness even today. He cannot resist chocolates, foreign ones in particular, after his afternoon meal, before he smokes his pipe.

It was from his Bloomsbury period that Anand emerges "as an electric, miscellaneous and unconventional romantic, in my concentration on the human predicament, the Hamletian 'to be or not to be'". And the talks he has recorded in Conversations in Bloomsbury, "evoke some of these lovable, liberal Englishmen and women, who compensated... for Rudyard Kipling's contempt for the 'lesser breeds', with inspiration for free thinking." As Anand affirms, "Not only did I learn to indulge in dangerous thoughts in Bloomsbury, but I began a love affair with life which has lasted till today." (13)

13. Preface of Conversations in Bloomsbury, p.6
"The World Gets into My Novels" - Anand -

To Anand this means the inner world of himself and the world of his readers, i.e. the private world of the author for "which any novel exists to explore, and the real world of politics, religion, education, science and domesticity which we all occupy." (I)

In his autobiographical novels, Seven Summers, Morning Face and Confession of a Lover Anand has depicted both these worlds as Krishna moves towards a personal understanding of them. It is established society-family, village, the Angrezi Sarkar and the traditions of the Punjab - that Anand depicts in the first two novels, with Krishna rebellious against standards and assumptions of his community; in Confession of a Lover Krishna's college life and growing involvement in the nationalist movement only increases the loneliness of an adolescent which was extenuated by the influences on his life derived from a western educational system and cultural traditions. Like his creator, he had to go through the Bloomsbury period of his life to develop a philosophy that had sustained him thereafter.

Anand was able to systematise into his novels the intellectual stimulation he gained from his sojourn in England during the Nineteen-thirties along with the gradual fulfilment through self-knowledge of his journey through life. It is this ability which gives vitality to Anand's creations, the variegated richness of his total comprehension and the purposive energy of his narratives. And this is his achievement from the first novel Untouchable (1935) to Private Life of an Indian Prince (1953). E.M. Forster in his Preface to Untouchable says: "Untouchable could only have been written by an Indian, and by an Indian who observed from the outside." So too Saros Cowasjee observed in his Introduction to the Bodley Head edition of Private Life (London 1970). "In his novels, for the first time, the Indian people have been clearly and intimately described with unflinching realism and deep understanding, and the exploiters, whether imperialists or feudalists, exposed with uncompromising truthfulness."

- Anand is a product of two cultures - Eastern and Western. Born in 1905.

I. Alastair Niven, The Yoke of Pity (1977), p. 44
i.e. into the twentieth century, he grew up in the period of revolutionary changes taking place in Indian society and human living. The Indian educational system had affected the Indian cultural, religious and literary traditions in such a way that there was a great awakening transforming Indian ways and traditions. In the post-World War II India, there came the breakdown of the caste system, the breakdown of the joint family system encouraged by the emergent urban societies and the migration from villages to cities and towns for more prosperous job opportunities, the new work habits and housing conditions and faster communication systems. Above all there was the change in the attitudes of the creative intelligentsia towards the moral values of the past and a recognition of individual psychological life influenced not by hereditary but by educational and environmental changes.

When in school, Anand came into contact with Gandhian thought and as a college student in Khalsa College, Amritsar, he had become an active nationalist, participating in Gandhi's non-cooperative movement. Apart from Gandhi's life-long crusade against colonial exploitation of the weaker nations, Anand also subscribed to his vehement condemnation of any form of economic exploitation, his insistence that what is not shared with the dispossessed is stolen from them and his advocacy of respect and dignity for all humans, the noble and the lowly, the high castes and the lowest of Indian society, the untouchables. Such acceptance and almost revolutionary adherence to Gandhi's philosophy of "harijan" which Anand imbibed during his three-month stay at the Sabarmati Ashram in 1929 and the thrice a week discussions he had with Gandhi came easily to Anand, the socialist realist. By 1932 Anand had become an accepted active member of the Marxist-Oriented All-India Progressive Writers Movement (he had written its Manifesto); had become part of the 1930s Socialist Movement in England and Europe, and more importantly, he had read Marx's "Letters on India" in the New York Herald Tribune of 1853. Of his reading of these letters, Anand writes:

"A new world was opened to me. All the threads of my past reading which had got tied up in knots, seemed suddenly to straighten out, and I began to see not only the history of India but the whole history of human society in some sort of inter-connection. The fact that Marxian dialectic had naturally developed out of Hegel, whom I had read, added to the zest of my pre-occupation with it. And, of course, the happiest thing was that Marxism was no dogma of a church militant - in spite of the calumniators who declared it to be another religion with Marx as its prophet - but a scientific and rational method for the study of society; a hypothesis which was leading to new discoveries." (2)

2. Apology for Heroism (1946) pp.67-68
"loneliness" at the head of a section of this autobiographical account of six years of Krishna's youth and schooling, which has been achieved superbly. This whole work is more important than being a mere account of schooling; it recounts how Krishna sought to escape from inner isolation which he experienced during the same period of his life, but which had commenced in his first seven years of consciousness in Seven Summers, and was to resolve in no appreciable way in Confession of a Lover. It is this inner isolation that caused Krishna to cling to different people in his life; his mentors and more demandingly, the elder women in the novels.

On the cover of the Arnold-Heinemann edition of Morning Face the illustration on the front cover has a picture representing a father helping Krishna in his first steps; there is below it another picture of a young boy clinging to his mother's clothes, with buried face (presumably in tears) and his mother embracing him. The last portrait shows the boy gazing into a tree, lost in his imaginative world.

In Seven Summers, the father-son relationship was not all ideal, for despite the picture Anand gives us of himself as a "bright little boy, full of noon-day spirit, vivacious and untamed, a parrot in speech and lemur in movement", he finds himself the victim of his father's shouting and unpredictable needs; his father lived in constant fear of displeasing his British officers. In Morning Face Anand gradually rebels against his father's authoritarian behaviour, not more often pontificating to his two sons about their education and passing the Matriculation at the first trial so as to be offered positions in the British administrative set-up. Anand could not forgive his father for depriving him of the enjoyment of family life. Besides as a Sikh husband Lalla Chand treated his wife shamelessly, beating and shouting at her especially when frustrated by his official duties and loyalties. Anand's hatred for his father reached the breaking point in their father-son relationship when Lalla Chand mercilessly beat his wife because she was unable to prevent Anand from participating in the freedom struggle movement and for getting jailed during his college days; he sent both mother and son out of the house in his wrath against them opposing his loyalties to the Angrezi Sarkar. Anand could not reconcile himself to his father, who when it pleased him was a loving father to his sons, playing, taking their lessons and giving them joy rides to a zoo; the highwater mark in Anand's consciousness was the visit when he was four years old to the Delhi Darbar to witness the Coronation ceremonies of King George and Queen Mary. Anand's memories of this visit are tinged with misery and hatred for the humiliation he suffered from travelling under a blanket in the train.
Inspired by the exigencies of Indian history, Anand took upon himself
the responsibility of giving an artistic exposition of his socio-political
concerns about the Punjabi village society in which he had grown up. His
struggle against the tyranny of the caste system, untouchability, super­
stitions, the superficial religious beliefs and the harsh treatment,
sufferings and subjugation of women, had always been an all-pervasive
emotional experience for Anand. He set out in his novels and other writings
to crusade for liberation from old values, old faiths, old symbols and old
sympathies - all of which had caused that sense of lassitude and loneliness
in Anand's life. He had to work overseas before he could write with any
degree of dispassion about India, rather about the Punjab of his adolescence.
Although he returned almost every two years to his own village, particularly
during his mother's lifetime, Anand, like Lalu, the hero of the Trilogy,
found every time that he had no longer much in common with his companions
of youth, having outstripped them in breadth of experience and awareness.
As Niven opines: "Much of the gravity and sadness of Anand's writing
probably springs out of this divorce from his origins that sophistication
and self-enquiry have inevitably brought." (3)

Love of his people remains with Anand even though he will never become
an integral part of his village community. This accounts for his stay in
Bombay City miles away from his home territory, the Punjab. He finds himself
both linguistically and geographically displaced. However through literature
and art, Anand has dedicated himself to an exploration and rediscovery of his
roots, and so gains a clearer sense of personal identity for himself and the
people who live, act and talk in his novels, without any laborious psycho­
logical and ideological preoccupations. As a writer of fiction, Anand's
"notable" qualities are vitality and a keen sense of belonging. In the words
of Narinder Pal Singh: "Dr. Anand comes from a middle-class family in the
Punjab, and imbibed truly the typical Punjabi culture and action. Although
he left the land of the five rivers during his adolescence, the dominant
note in his character and writing is still Punjabi. It is that which gives
union, strength and substance. He is vital because he belongs to the soil
of the Punjab, wherever he might actually be." (4)

Review of Across the Black Waters (Visien Books, New Delhi,1978)
This observation is particularly true of the autobiographical novels up to *The Bubble* (1984). These novels are peopled with a variety of characters who all hail from the Punjab, and through Anand's qualities of acute observation and vivid description of old-world manners, customs, attitudes, we feel that we are following, not the life-history of Krishna the hero, but that of the people of pre-independent India. Only one factor needs to be drawn attention to, and that is, in this panorama of Punjabi life, the Sikh elements are dominant. In the Punjabi village setting or in the *thathi* community of Amritsar, *Khalsa*, the Sikh ideal of brotherhood, not purged of caste intolerance, its fierceness and preference for action over doctrine, is emphasised.

However, Anand the westernized Indian, sets out a "plea for revaluation, re-estimation and revolutionary amelioration of the under-privileged" among his village people, and of the people of India. S.C. Harrex asserts: "His ideological goal of universal humanism, based upon a socialistic assertion of human rights and dignity of labour, is complementary of his ambitions as a writer of fiction, his attempts to portray India in its diversity from a point of view of social conscience and in the light of a desire-image of social justice." (5) Anand the writer has set out to expose and to protest against "Indian classicism which he sees as having ossified into a reactionary, elitist and humanistic ideology." (6) Indian classicism is epitomized in society in all its aspects - individual men and women, untouchability, caste, class, prostitution, landlordism, money-lending, marriage, family, sex, struggle for freedom, dance, art, literature - all the areas of human interest. In this respect, Anand shares his contemporary Prem Chand's passionate concern with the villages, with poverty, squalor and backwardness of tradesmen, deprived of the benefits of education, coupled with gross ignorance, and the cruelties of caste and urban labourers. Both these authors took up the task of attacking "social snobbery and prejudices", which they found in the material taken from the "stream of common, everyday life", in which observation and fancy get intermixed and transfused with an individual philosophical outlook.

In *Morning Face*, Anand has quoted Rilke: "Loneliness, vast inner

6. Ibid, p. 2
te Delhi, for he had to be kept out of sight of the Sahibs.

This same occasion of joy and privilege to a son becomes for Anand an occasion of hate for his father and all his compromises and contradictions. Bakha in Untouchable experiences the same feelings of frustration and disappointments with family life. After his traumatic experience of being slapped by a Hindu Brahmin and becoming conscious of his low caste; "Untouchable! Untouchable! That's the word; Untouchable! I am an Untouchable! Bakha, still angry with his loss of identity in the caste-ridden society he lived in, went home to get consolation from his father. Instead his father berates him for his arrogant pretensions and drives him out of the home back to his duties of cleaning the latrines.

The harsh treatment of children by parents and the tradition bound community is again portrayed vividly by Anand in The Village which in Niven's estimation, is "the most rounded portrait of village and rural life that an Indian novel in English offers." (7) Its hero Lalu, like Bakha and Munna (of Coolie) suffers a sense of isolation, and like them he experiences a moment of revelation that will become a turning point in his self-development. Lalu of the Trilogy did cut his beard against Sikh tradition and so attracted the harrowing reactions of the community. His face was blackened, and riding a donkey he was paraded through the village streets - a humiliating scene. His village people could not understand his assertion of self. And so he fled from the village - his only remedy. Lalu had shown his rebellion against the injustices he had seen his village folk subjected to because of old traditions, sanctions in religion and customs. He had seen that his own father's code of honour and his religious observations had brought about the ruin of his family through money-lenders and the greed of landlords. But his defiance of religion had only antagonized the villagers. His family remained loyal to him. Anand was not so fortunate; his father was far from sympathetic to his nationalist aspirations and also deprived him of his right to self-assertion and freedom of parental control. As he says in Conversations in Bloomsbury E.M. Forster and Leonard Woolf were two pioneers of freedom and ultimately faced up to the head as well as the heart. "I was elated by the natural way in which both these men had made me feel at ease in their company by their humaneness, without the bluff of the white Sahib superiority. That

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7. The Yeke of Pity (1977) p.65
was the way the wise men of the West reared the young to become adults, without putting on the patriarchal bluff." (p.74)

It was in his school days in Amritsar, that Uncle Dev Chand was chosen as Anand's mentor—teacher—philosopher. He helped Anand to gain commendable progress in his school subjects, including Arithmetic, and encouraged Anand's love of poetry and acting of charades, and was instrumental in instilling nationalist attitudes. Yet Anand could not reconcile how his Uncle, a failed M.A., and later a Headmaster of D.A.V. High School, Lahore, could treat his wife, Parvati (familiarly known as Pare) so degradingly, leaving her to sleep amidst the kitchen utensils and provisions in daytime and night, because she suffered from rheumatism of her legs. Parvati, an orphan and bright student of D.A.V. High School (Amritsar) had been chosen as a bride for Dev by his widowed sister Daywanti because of religious bigotry. Here was social injustice done to an innocent girl, suffering from a disease which was curable if medical treatment had been started. But the conservative customs of the community (thathiar) did not permit married girls to be exposed to male company. Her husband neglected her completely and it pained Anand to see such treatment around him. Fortunately for Anand, his other mentors, Dr. Iqbal and Dr. Balbir Singh, a Professor of Chemistry, Khalsa College, Amritsar, were beyond the pale of community traditions and customs.

In some of Anand's novels there are other noble-minded and finely drawn male characters. Bakha, Mumne, Bikkhu, Lalu and Ananta; but as is obvious they are Sikhs of the lower order of Punjab society. They, like Anand their creator, all suffer a sense of isolation in the society of their days, being brought up by illiterate parents who subscribed to traditions and customs that stifled individuality and self-realisation in the young and women folk. Anand has depicted all the fine, gentle and self-sacrificing qualities of the Indian wife and her dilemmas in the changing epoch of the early twentieth century. (He has not left out the nagging, petty, demanding types.) Yet he shows how the 'new' women - Yasmin, Janki and Gauri in particular, are transformed by the changing norms of society into finer representatives of their sex. Anand thus shows that the men and women he valued most highly in his life were characterized in his eyes not so much by piety or intellectual distinctions as by their untrammelled humanity.

Anand has reiterated that his mother, Ishwar Kaur, though an unlettered
village girl influenced him tremendously all through childhood, adolescence and as a man. That he loved her much goes without saying; in fact he made his frequent returns to India during his sojourn of twenty years in England to meet his mother. He never went back to his maternal Punjabi village background after her death. Anand remained Ishwar Kaur's favourite son; when he was a child she always tended his hurts and tantrums with loving understanding, surrounding him with indulgence and ever protection from the blows of fellow-students or playmates, and Brother Desh as also from his father, Lalla Chand's wrath and merciless beating. Anand was prone to frequent bouts of fever especially when he was mentally disturbed, and his mother looked after him through these spells of sickness, once even coming to Amritsar from her husband's pesting in Jhelum, to see Anand through his typhoid sickness.

Anand acquired his love for India's glorious past tradition of folklore and music from his mother. She had a wonderful fund of Punjabi folk tales which she recounted to Anand as she put him to sleep or sat spinning at her wheel, many of which Anand has captured in his remarkable retelling for children to read and enjoy. (8) She could recite the sonorous couplets from the Japji, the Sikh prayer book and Waris Shah's Heer-Ranjha.

To Anand, fiction conveys "the wisdom of the heart" and he admits that he learnt this from his mother. He admired his mother's gift of perception which he first realized on the occasion of a visit to a fair with her. He had been pestering her for attention, while she was talking to another lady and then his mother rebuked him: "You are a naughty boy. Could'nt you see the dead son of the mother in her eyes?" Thereafter, Anand says he sought "to experiment with the new myth that man makes himself" and "that the greatest theme of all is that man himself" should seek the "promise of man's evolution to higher consciousness." This realization Anand emphasizes and, from the beginning of his career as a writer, he has attempted to present an objective picture of concrete, "felt-experiences" of individual men and women.

Love of nature Anand had also inherited from his mother. We recall that illustration on the cover of Morning Face of a boy gazing at an imaginary drawing of a (see figure). His mother always understood Anand's day-dreaming, and the dramatic conversations he held with himself amid the

8. See the section Children's Literature in the Bibliography Part of the thesis.
garden plants and weedy lanes of the Newshera Cantonment home, and later in Jhelum camp.

Above all he inherited from his mother his love for women, a love which Anand prized above all his other loves — freedom, selfhood, country. Anand loved women in all their needs, as Sarees Cewasjee reports from a conversation: "love of woman, Mother fixation. In love with every woman, who is Mahalakshmi, Mahakali and Mahasaraswati." (9) Sarees finds almost a freudian pleasure in Anand's love for sensuous feelings — touch, smell, colour, taste — which he expresses towards women characters and which Anam says were aroused at the age of four. Thus to him, his mother was always "milk and sugar", her sister, Aunt Aqqi, "the essence of curds", Aunt Devaki his most beloved of women "milk and honey", Helen's body "black velvet" and there was the "gentle warmth" of Shakuntala. Anand is most eloquent when he talks of his love for his college sweetheart Yasmin, who responded to his tentative love aspirations in love poems and with the fervour of Radha to Lord Krishna.

Though his mother was village-bred and illiterate, Anand admired her decisive assertion of rebellion against the British rulers of India, because they had deprived her father of his farming fields as retribution for his defiance of their ruling over Punjab. Though she could not understand Anand's nationalist spirit and was upset by his involvement in the freedom movement, Ishwar Kaur sympathized with his aspirations. Anand recalls in Morning Face, his mother's defiant challenge to the headmaster of the P.B.N. High School, Amritsar, against Master Bhushen Singh's demand for tuition fees for her two sons. Of course on the way to make this plea, the good woman had not forgotten to pray to goddess Kali for help and offered the sacrifice demanded by the Temple priest. (10) It is worth pausing here to refer to a letter written to Sarees Cewasjee dated 22 October 1969 in which Anand informs him that "Apart from the ban on Across the Black Waters (later the Punjab Government's ban was extended to the Trilogy in its entirety), there are personal attacks in the press almost every day. One of the Sikh leaders accuses me of betraying my Sikh mother by swallowing the large sum she left for putting up a slab in her name in the Golden Temple. This gentleman (or is he one?) has got a garbled story of a slab put up in the Hindu Temple.

9. See Many Freedoms, p.5

10. Anand recounts this visit with irony and humour on page 67 in Morning Face.
in Amritsar, obviously by my eldest brother without even telling me. I was in London when my mother died and the war years intervened and as my last links with Amritsar were cut off, I never really returned home." (II)

But this same mother had not the strength of character to defy the social norms of her community. She had been betrothed at the early age of eight and obediently became a slave to her husband's wishes. She accepted his dominance over her life and submitted to his beating, shoutings and abusive language. Moreover, she was powerless to prevent Lalla Chand satisfying his sexual pleasures by visits to the prostitutes' lanes in Amritsar or the Cantenments, eating and drinking with non-Hindus, Christians and Muslims, administering the Ganga's holy water from Hardwar to purify him from his religious transgressions. Through most of Anand's teenage years, we will find his mother going into tantrums of displeasure at her husband Lalla Chand's sexual desire for Aunt Devaki after her husband's death. Like Ishwar Kaur, Draupadi could not prevent her Punjabi husband, Hans, from going and sometimes spending days with his mistress Mumtaz.

Uncle Pi'AYA and his Sikh friends likewise exercised their manly prerogatives, because society tolerated these transgressions in their marriages. Anand has drawn a memorable portrait of Janaki (modelled on Aunt Devaki) the slave and mistress of Ananta of The Big Heart. In Private Life of an Indian Prince there is much of his own maddening infatuation for Anil de Silva, the Sinhalese hillwoman and the final model of Ganga Dasi of Private Life, besides being the inspiration for Anand's founding of MARG, the outstanding art journal of India. For love of Anil, Anand rushed back to England to obtain a divorce from his first wife, Katherine Van Gelder in 1945, and then suffered a nervous breakdown when he learnt that Anil had left Bombay and married a Frenchman. Ganga Dasi, the mistress of Maharaja Ashok Kumar, is mere modelled on Anil de Silva than on the other two Ganga Dasis Anand knew. (What is worth noticing is that Anand's depiction of the social evils such as child-marriages and the marriage institution contains an angry denunciation - Anand is for free love; he is against arranged marriage.)

The other memorable woman characters in Anand's novels are Maya of The Village and The Sword and the Sickle and Gauri, his best woman character and the only heroine of The Old Woman and the Cow, now better known by the title Gauri. This novel, first published in 1960 (the latest edition is a Mayfair paperback published by Arnold-Heinemann in 1981), is Anand's effort to purify the human relations between the partners in marriage," through a return to primitive and mythical aspects of human experience." (II2)

II. Author to Critic (1977) p.76
This novel in the words of the author is "my offering to the beauty, dignity and devotion of Indian women." (I3) It takes us back to an Indian village Cheta Piplan in the foothills of Punjab's Himalayas and it takes its key pattern from the tale of the Ramayana of the wife (Gauri) who is banished (by Panchi her husband) because she had innocently lived in another man's house. Her loyalty to her husband is questioned by her mother-in-law Kesare and her husband, who on learning that she is with child, beats her and drives her out of his house. She returns to her mother Laxmi and her uncle, but as they had financial difficulties, Gauri is sold to Seth Jai Ram Das, a banker of Hoshiarpur in lieu of cash and the wiping out of the mortgage on their two houses as well as their cow, Chandari. (I4) To resist the advances of this banker, Gauri finds shelter in a nursing home through the kindness of Colonel Mahindra, a doctor and Anand's protagonist. She leaves the nursing home to protect her honour and returns to Panchi who repents of his ill-treatment of Gauri. Village gossip soon poisoned his mind and cast aspersions on Gauri's life in the nursing home. Eventually, Gauri rejects the narrow world of restrictions and fears that enslave Panchi despite his better self. She tells her husband, "I am not Sita that the earth will open up and swallow me." So saying, she leaves for Hoshiarpur to begin life anew in the nursing home.

This novel, as Anand says in the Preface was partly inspired by the reading of the Peasant Women written by the 19th Century Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov. Gauri is a modern version of Sita, not the self-effacing goddess of the Ramayana. Anand aimed "at heightened communication of the most intense vision of life through a new myth." (I5) He presents an absorbing picture of human experience.

Anand in real life was to shun the conventions of the institution of marriage. In his Bohemian life in London he met, dated freely and knew many English girls in the pubs of Soho. Every three months he would make a pilgrimage to Paris to pick up a rare book, drink wine and make love. His mother had wanted Anand to come back from England after obtaining his Ph.D., unspeilt by free love, not married to an English girl; after purification at the holy waters of Ganga at Hardwar he was to marry a beautiful Hindu matriculate and settle down to the accepted married life.

I3. Gauri (Mayfair Paperback) back cover
I4. The Old Woman and the Cow (Bombay: Kutub-Popular 1960) p.130
I5. Apology for Hereism (Kutub-Popular) 1957 p.90
Irene Rhys, his Irish sweetheart, had quietly left him, and married in 1932. In 1938 Anand married Kathleen Van Gelder an English actress and a Communist. It was love at first sight. They first met at Anand's bed-sitter at Hendon. As an accomplished cook, Anand was getting a dish ready as a treat for some Indian friends; Kathleen came to that party but Anand really paid little attention to her till his cooking was done. Years later Saros Cowasjee had an occasion to talk to Kathleen about their marriage. She told Saros Cowasjee that she married Anand not because he made "delicious curries", but because: "I loved him, I think." She goes on to recount how she took the decision. "I loved his confidence. My parents sent me on a tour (six months) of Europe so that I might forget him. I tried to; I met many interesting people. When I returned I went to see him. He was in the kitchen slicing onions. He turned round and said, 'I knew you would come back.' And he continued with his work." 

On their marriage, Anand set up a home in a Mews flat in North London. A daughter Rajani (who prefers to be known as Sushila or Susan) was born to them in 1942. She is Anand's only child, but like her mother she is temperamentally different from Anand. His married life was not much of a success. Kathleen could not get much work in London theatres; this affected her nerves. Anand came to India in 1945, planning to leave England for good. In Bombay at 25 Cuffe Parade, he met Anil de Silva, fell hopelessly in love with her, and in that flush of passionate ardour, returned to England to seek a divorce from Kathleen so that he could marry Anil. This effort proved to be futile; Anand's mistress married a Frenchman whom she had met for one day in Bombay. Anand did obtain his divorce from Kathleen in 1947, and on his return to Bombay, married Shirin Vazifdar, an exponent of Bharata Natyan. She held classes at their Bombay residence, and is a dance critic for some local papers. In their Bombay home is serene and Anand enjoys all the comfort with which she surrounds him, leaving him undisturbed to pursue his writing or conversing with visitors who often stay to lunch; Shirin always keeps an open house.

About Anand's first wife, Kathleen, she is no more. She passed away around August 1981, a victim of cancer. Her daughter Rajani, 'Sue' to her mother, stayed with her in their Mews flat. Anand obligingly satisfied

Kathleen's demand for money. Once in 1968, Anand requested Sares Cowasjee to lend her £25 for a holiday in Austria around Christmas time. Rajani was to accompany her. He told Sares Cowasjee that Kathleen "deserves to see the snows before she can ascend to the heavens. She always wanted to know where she was going and this may be her chance."

In 1968 Anand also mentions to Sares Cowasjee that his relationship with his daughter Rajani has not always been good. That he did receive a letter from her after two years, but generally she considers Anand with disdain. She good-humouredly told him once: "Daddy, you are somewhat of a fool." Anand in this letter says: "I bow to the young because I am only too conscious of my failures. The only virtue I find in myself is that I can recognise my failures.

Rajani apparently has retained a copy of every book published in England of her novelist father. And when Anand visits England, her flat is sometimes kept at his disposal. Their relations are still not cordial. Rajani has inherited her father's ability to talk and write. Until recently she had a satisfactory employment as a broadcaster in the B.B.C. in the Department of Documentation and Information. And about two years ago, her publication jointly with Michael Alexander of Queen Victoria's Duleep Singh (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980) received good reviews in Indian journals.

Anand is still an angry man, and makes as virulent attacks on the prevalent institution of marriage and its customs including dowry, and wife beating, promiscuous relations by husbands and their false pretensions, and support of society to the brutal, inhuman treatment of Indian women. In a recent interview taken on the publication of Kamasutra (1982) Anand makes frank statements of his convictions.

"Mulk on his part says with missionary zeal, India lies under a uniform blanket, a thick curtain of homespun cloth hoping to hide that which cannot be hidden anymore - the misery beneath. Our society is ridden with tremendous hypocrisy. Today's Indians are 100% hypocritical ... Vatsayana suggests a man can have a respectable wife and a mistress - and the tradition continues even today. Only lip service is done to the wife, but genuine honour is denied to her because she is supposed to be the home keeper, while the man seeks pleasure outside. ... My intention, my kind of interpretation of the Kamasutra is to give to people in their secret moments

I7. Author to Critic (1977) letter dated 22 October 1968 pp. 52-53
I8. Ibid Letter of 31 July 1968, p.30
(if not publicly) that sense of endearment to life itself which will make
them not cool down their passions but make them bring down the heat into
a state of equilibrium. Convert love into passion, but not into lust,
assault and murder of the soul. Most of the women I knew have been murdered
one way or the other. 80 per cent of Indian married women have twisted
mouths that show their disillusionment with life. Most Indian women until
the age of thirty are beautiful and innocent and then suddenly, life is
denied to them. Arranged marriage is degrading because it has no meaning
whatsoever. How can their different lives, their differences, be resolved
in one moment of consummation? Or one month, one year or even ten years?
... Only I do knew that without the Indian woman liberating herself from the
slave-status, there's no future. The kind of criminal violence perpetrated
on the Indian woman - complete debasement and torture - is shocking. It
happens all over India. I have been witness to the fact that the peasant's
wife is only a labourer - she is not a human being. She procreates and
gives children to the mother-in-law." (19)

In all his novels and writings, Anand has been urging his readers to
"recognise the fundamental principles of human living and exercise vigilance
in regard to the real enemies of freedom and socialism." (20) He considers
his mission as a writer "to help raise the untouchables, the peasants, the
serfs, the coolies and the other suppressed members of society to human
dignity and self-awareness in view of the abjectness, apathy and despair in
which they have sunk." (21)

Anand used the novel to make a conscious attempt to focus his reader's
attention upon the unprivileged members of Indian society. And rightly, as
Jack Lindsay observed, he is the first Indian writer to do so. Anand is
well aware of his distinctive contribution to Indian English fiction. These
are his statements in the Preface to the Second edition of Tree Leaves and a
Bud (Bombay, Kutub-Popular 1946).

"... until I began to write about the outcaste, the pariahs, the
peasants and better degs of my country and to resurrect them from the obscure
lanes and alleys of the hamlets, villages and small towns, nothing very much

pp. 38, 40 & 41

20 Apology fer Heroism (1957). p.91

21 Ibid, p. 93
had been heard or written about them in polite literature, in the languages of our sub-continent. The novels of Bankim Chander Chatterjee were mainly romantic, historical narratives à la Scott ... In the work of Sarat Chander Chatterjee the lower middle class, constituted by clerks, sweet merchants and the humble folk began to appear as human beings. And Munshi Premchand wrote about the defeated peasantry and the small peoples of Uttar Pradesh with a poignant tenderness.

I found myself going beyond the work of these three writers, because the world I knew best was the microcosm of the out-casts, and peasants and soldiers and working people. Of course, I am of my time, and the atmosphere of the thirties, with its hangover from crises, influenced me strongly. But, contrary to superficial allegations, there was not much self-conscious proletarianism in my attitude as there was in many of the middle-class writers of Western Europe, simply for the reason that I was the son of a coppersmith-turned-soldier, and of a peasant mother, and could have written only of the lives I knew most intimately.

In so far, however, as my work broke new ground, and represented a departure from the tradition of previous Indian fiction, where the pariahs and bottom dogs had not been allowed to enter the sacred precincts of the novel, in all their reality, it seemed to become significant and drew the attention of the critics, particularly in Europe which only knew Omar Khayyám, Li Po and Tagore but very little or nothing about the sordid and colourful lives of the millions of Asia.
Ch. 6. Anand's Vision of a New Society

"I now began to realize acutely the nature of the difference between the two worlds in which I lived, the world of compromise of my father and the world of ardent spirit of the nationalists ... because of the unalloyed passion of the adolescent child in me, developing in utter confusion from boyhood towards the self-consciousness of youth, with thought grappling thought to get the unknowns to arise in me." Morning Face, pp 438-439

Writing his autobiographical novels in his more mature years as a writer and with mere detachment, Mulk Raj Anand is able to give a mere authentic perspective of the concerns and preoccupations of his youth. Besides his preoccupation with truth or religious beliefs, Anand from his early youth was disturbed to a violent extent over British imperialism and the arrogance, snobbishness and indifference of the Angrez Sarker to the deplorable suffering and hardships of its subjects. This hatred for the representatives of the British rulers in India is rooted in Anand from his days in the Newshera Cantement. So that when he came to write his novels he emphasized the pitilessness and sullenness of the exploiters who, notironically include both the whites and the natives, because his father was one of the latter, whose money-consciousness and greed matched the profit motives of the traders, zamindars, tea planters and managers of factories.

During these first seven years of consciousness, Anand soon began to realise the Cantement taboos on free movement around the 38th Degra Regiment barracks at Newshera. His father was sought out by his British superiors in matters of regimental transactions and official orders. British officers, including Colonel Lengden, the Commanding Officer, encouraged Anand-Krishna to ride alongside the driver of his carriage on the afternoons he attended the hockey matches of the sepys; Lalla Chand, Anand's father was the referee. However, Anand and his brother Desh and their friends were not allowed to move beyond their allocated areas; the kind-hearted mali would soon remind them of any transgression. In Seven Summers, Anand describes how "the whole atmosphere of the cantement was dominated by the superior, exalted white sahibs, who lived rich lives in sequestered bungalows, curtained off and protected from the dust, the flies and the natives by tall private hedges, .

I. Seven Summers (Kutub-Popular, n.d) Fuller details on pp.107-109
sahibs who occasionally emerged in smart, clear-cut clothes, who went about silent and mysterious, pink and red blurs, an unknown and unknowable element, except in the gossip of orderlies, bearers and shopkeepers." (1)

To the child Krishna, the daily sight of the sepoys being drilled by English and Indian drill instructors on the Gymnasium grounds near his house, was a painful experience. "I would stand outside the house, my hands under my armpits, seeking the first rays of the morning sun, and I would watch the drill and gymnastics that the sepoys performed. The way in which uncouth, awkward recruits in shirts and shorts were made to push their chests forward, to hold their heads high, and were kicked on the shin or slapped on the face if they erred, frightened me and left me staring like a rabbit, fascinated by the cruelty which I saw being practised before my eyes. The measured movements of fully fledged sepoys to N.C.O.'s orders, 'Tand-i-tees', 'Shrup-arm', 'Orderup', 'Kik-march', 'Lef-rye-lef', amused me, so that I wanted to become a soldier" (2)

Krishna's father, always subservient to his superiors, enforced a strict code of behaviour - of complete silence in their presence or near them, saluting them from a distance and walking away. The Angrezi Sahibs always remained remote and romantic so that little Krishna went a myth about them, wished to emulate their "English" ways of speech, dress and arrogance, even to go to Vilayat (English).

Attending the Delhi Darbar of the Coronation of King George and Queen Mary had no happy memories for little Krishna, although going for this function had been one of his greatest joys which his 'here'father had indulged the favourite 'Bully' son. A welcome relief to his monotonous routine life in Newshera was the visit of 'Dumbri', the tall, gaunt man with a pink, hawk-nosed face and square shoulders, in patchwork uniform, with ridiculous attachments, who entertained the sepoys with his ribald mimicry. It is worth quoting his antics: "Order up! Show Arms! Tands teez! Shun! Lef-ri! Lef-ri!" The shrill cries resounded in the air until a crowd gathered. Then he would spit on his hands and, holding his wooden musket tightly, begin:

"Be a man! Man's duty is to kill!" he raved, frothing at the mouth, his pink face colouring a deep red and his whole body going rigid to perform

I. Seven Summers (Kutub-Popular, n.d) Fuller details on pp. 107-109
2. Ibid, p. 108. This kind of drilling is also described in The Village.
the brutal onslaught.

"If the enemy hangs on or retaliates, strike him on the head with the butt of the rifle, kick him in the guts, and fell him. Then dig the bayonet into his belly, deep, deep, but take it out to see that the enemy is punctured and bleeds to death. One, two, three, go ..."

? And then he executed the movements in accordance with his own dictates. 7(3)

Anand could not forget a traumatic experience of his own - the deaf or 'Bela' Sahib, Captain Cunningham catapulted a stone which hit his arm, just because this little five year-old had mistakenly thought the Sahib was encouraging his tentative approach of friendship. Terror-stricken as he was, Anand ran shrieking to his father's office, only to be given a resounding slap on the face for making a nuisance of himself.

Violence seemed to be the prevailing experience of cantonment life for the natives. Besides, Anand's unhappiness of his upbringing in such surroundings was increased by his father Lalla Chand's constant dread of displeasing his superiors. It was, however, during his school days in Amritsar, that Anand's distrust of British superiority develops into a political consciousness. This happened after a phase of 'Britishness', that Anand went through, aping them in dress, speech and attitude to 'natives'. It was 'Uncle' Dev Chand, who taught him about Tolstoy's ideas and about Gandhi's movement of non-violence, and infusing nationalist pride and a sense of revolt against the imperialist arrogance of the ruling British. Dev Chand, associated with the militant wing of the Arya Samajists, led by Lalla Lajpat Rai, and their terrorist activities for India's freedom enkindled a genuine national pride in India in Anand which endures till today. Anand was enthralled by his Uncle's account of the daring feats of Lalla Hardyal, co-conspirator of Lalla Rajpat Rai, and his winning over the Germans and Americans to the side of the freedom fighters of India. In Morning Face, Anand vividly portrays how British rule debases the characters of those who serve it.

E.M. Forster's A Passage to India, acclaimed as an outstanding literary and political work, was published in 1924. A re-reading of this work, (4)

3. Ibid, p. 160 - 161
reveals Ferster's recognition of a political-cum-social situation that was prevalent not only in Chandrapur, the principality of Aziz, his prince pupil, but all over India. His personal relationships with fellow Britishers in India made him conscious of the high level of ill-breeding, especially among the womenfolk and the repellant snotishness that existed among them. In an article appearing in the Nation and Anthropum two years before Passage, Ferster made all this public knowledge: "Never in history did ill-breeding contribute so much towards the dissolution of an Empire," said Ferster. His statement is documented by many of Ferster's letters, diary entries and incidental commentaries in his novel A Passage to India.

Ferster's India parallels that of Mulk Raj Anand, an India of the first two decades of the century. Before Ferster, the Britisher's opinion of Indians was that of Rudyard Kipling who left an image of 'effeminacy', especially of the Bengalis. Gokhale had accused the British Raj of damaging Indian manhood. World War I gave the Indians the opportunity to dispute the British assumptions; for at the battlefront Indians formed the greatest contingent. In Across the Black Waters Anand brings this fact out and also the second-rate treatment meted to the sepoys who did not even know what they were fighting for. This observation has relevance because there were Punjabis and the Sikhs among the Bengalis who made up the greater portion of the Indian armed force that went to the battlefronts of World War I. Yet against the Sikhs and Punjab there are the accounts in Morning Face of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, written in all its gruesome barbarism, the ruthless quelling of the Budge-Budge sections of the 38th Dehra Regiment, and the Rewlett Act, with its curfew order, martial law, leading to Krishna's participation in one of Lalla Lajpat Rai's procession and his rustication from school; his father's plea to his Regimental Commander helped Krishna to continue his studies. It was in these days of college at Amritsar that Anand received seven stripes for innocently breaking the curfew order in 1919. In Apology for Heresism (1957), published 26 years later, Anand writes that he learnt "through the eleven (sic) stripes on my back at Amritsar, that alien authority constricted our lives in every way." (5) This experience of injustice at the hands of the Imperialist British, coupled with his period of jail-going and trial after the bomb-burst in the Lahore temple, where again Anand was an innocent participant, made him into the confirmed revolutionary he had decided to be by the end of his schooling:

5. Apology for Heresism, p.53
"I must become a supreme rebel, voice of suppressed man's smouldering fires, walker of rough paths, harbinger of strange visions, of unseen freedoms, not a mere babbler, but bursting into a million actions, so that words become deeds." (6)

In *Confession of a Lover*, the political arena is dominated by Mahatma Gandhi, the *Satyagraha* and *Non-Co-operation Movement* of 1920-21. Gandhi converted the political agitation into a national movement for total freedom from British rule. He created a demand for self-government despite the imperialist stand that Indians lacked courage, manliness and were incapable of administration. Gandhi revived the epic concept of courage in his own personal example and in the *Satyagraha* or non-violence movement. In Gandhian thought this movement was the force that is Truth, the Fearlessness that is inseparable from Truth. In *Glimpses of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru considers *Satyagraha* as a means of political action, a weapon to win political freedom:

"*Satyagraha* was a definite, though non-violent, form of resistance to what was considered wrong. It was, in effect, a peaceful rebellion, a most civilized form of warfare, and yet dangerous to the stability of the State. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function, and it seemed to fit in with the peculiar genius of the Indian people. It put us on our best behaviour and seemed to put the adversary in the wrong. It made us shed the fear that crushed us, and we began to look people in the face as we had never done before, and to speak out our minds, and this new freedom of speech and action filled us with confidence and strength. And, finally, the method of peace prevented to a large extent the growth of these terribly bitter racial and national hatreds which have always so far accompanied such struggles, and this made the ultimate settlement easier."

At the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1920, the Resolution for the *Non-Cooperative Movement* was passed. It called for a withdrawal from "such schools as are owned, aided, or in any way controlled by Government" students over sixteen were to "withdraw from institutions thus owned by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end... such students (were) either to devote themselves to some special service in connection to the Non-Cooperation movement, or to continue their education in national institutions" (6A) Anand could not boycott this...
his government supported school in Ferozepur as his father was in the employment of the Angrezi Raj and in the army besides.

Gandhi had advocated that self-rule, self-mastery and self-realisation should come first for all Indians and this effort was to be based on an "acute sense of personal moral responsibility for our day to day actions, irrespective of the distant goals." This doctrine he termed Hind Swaraj, a doctrine of Passive Resistance.

"Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force ... If I do not obey the law, and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self."

The Mahatma also defined "Soul-force", as a spiritual or moral energy that comes from Faith and true religious devotion.

To Gandhi, national self-realization included the ending of political subjugation and economic degradation, the removal of social inequalities and abuses like untouchability, casteism, occupational prejudices, etc. (all areas that Mulk Raj Anand contributed to through his protest novels), a reform of education and uplifting of personal morals including adoption of brahmacharya for limiting population growth. (Anand's personal condemnation of this part of Gandhian thought is strong, because in his stay at the Sabarmati Ashram in 1932 he could not see evidence of this.)

For the regeneration of society, Gandhi emphasized the traditional village organizations as the nucleus for the new society. This is what Anand could not subscribe to, and the rift between Anand and Gandhi begins to grow. Anand also rejected Gandhi's advocacy of traditional ideology of the Hindu society. True, Gandhi fought against exploitation of labour, but he upheld the continuation of the relationship between labour and capital, tenant and landlord, employee and employer, advocating compromise and negotiations to create understanding between opposing positions. This order of society was to embody non-violence, love and friendship.

"If capital is power so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the Capitalist instead of his slave. If he aims at becoming the sole owner he will most likely be killing the hen that lays the golden egg."

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Industrialization to Gandhi meant imperial destruction of village and unemployment; his response — pre-imperialist, pre-industrialist primitive village community — was tantamount to regression in Marxist philosophy. Anand's relative "modernity" and his experience in England and other countries exposed him to radical and Marxist doctrines of social change. Gandhi's economic thought was anathema to Anand. He had realized that it was India's economic backwardness and traditional social institutions that were the cause of disintegration and the prevalence of poverty and degradation:

"I was appalled to discover privilege and position dominated everything in the life around me, and I was disturbed by the mendacity, the ignorance, and superstition of our coppersmith brotherhood. (8)

Anand was looking for a new India free from foreign yoke and social inequities. At this stage he was also seeking something to end his remoteness, to become a part of some community, even the intimate circle of creative men, the Bloomsbury Group. Instead, he had entered a world of conflicting personalities and prejudices, when he came to England in 1925. "

"I, who had gone to jail in the Gandhi movement, was fuming inside. I had left home because my pro-white-sahib father had beaten my mother for my going to jail. And I had learnt to be a rebel. While I helped to clean the glasses, I realized I had taken umbrage about words said about India, and for being considered 'lesser breeds beyond the law'. The humiliation of being inferior seemed like a wound in my soul, which would never heal. The more I looked at it the more it became tender. And I decided in my mind that I would fight for the freedom of my country forever, though I may admire these English writers for their literary skills. (9)

This lonely and embittered young student discovered British imperialist high-handedness in England also. In 1926, in sympathy with the coal miners of Great Britain a General Strike was declared. This 9-day strike was not really a general strike, being limited to transport workers, the printing and newspaper traders, iron and steel and other metal industries, the building industry and hospital construction workers. The opening up of the

8. Apology for Heroism, p. 19-20
Ruhr Coal supply brought to light the poor wages and long working hours of the coal workers. There was no action against the Government, no violence. The intelligentsia took umbrage at the indifference and adamant attitude of the Government, and sided with the strikers. The Left Wingers objected to students from Oxford and Cambridge working as volunteers and running trams and buses. A group of students, including Anand, from the University College, London, refused to do 'backlegging', and so Anand suffered a beating from some British Bobbies just outside Euston Square Station.

In Apology for Heroism, Anand has dramatized this direct action of students: "The Strike of 1926 has shown (me) categorically that Britain was organized and run in the interests of a small majority — which could suppress the majority as violently at home as it did in the Empire." (I0)

Anand was still seeking the ideology to set up a New India. Reading the Communist Manifesto in 1926 had introduced him to Marx. But it was in 1932 and at the age of twenty-six, that Anand became familiar with Marxian ideology. Then he read accidently Marx's "Letters on India" in the New York Tribune Herald of 1853.

"It did not take a young Indian in England long to discover socialism as his political need (observes Prakash Tandon, a student in England around the same time as Mulk Raj). We were vexed by the imperialist attitude of the conservatives, their easy assumption that they were in India and elsewhere for the good of those countries, on a sacred mission. ... The socialists on the other hand considered the conservatives as much of a menace as we did. The socialist sympathy for the underdog anywhere naturally appealed to us. They spoke about free-trade, equality of races, ridding the world of poverty; and they included everybody in the future hope of the world." (II)

Gandhi's thought acted as a catalytic agent in the growth of Indian English fiction writing. Its flowering came in the 1930s because writers found a deeper perspective on the conditions of man in Indian society. It was Gandhi, as C.D. Narasimhaiah says, "that broke the shackles around..." (I2)

I0. Apology for Heroism, p.36
Anand admits to have been profoundly influenced by Gandhian thought. In a lecture, "The Humanism of M.K. Gandhi", Anand says, "Whatever his own failings, he remains to us a human personality of the highest order not because of his strength but because of his recognition of his own and other people's weaknesses. Certainly he let loose a stream of consciousness which by its deeper and widespread sympathies released our people into a new kind of solidarity." (I3)

Another extract from Anand's essay, "Why I Write," proves how Gandhi acted as an unsparring editor for Anand's first published fiction:

"The Mahatma allowed me to read portions of my novel ... he felt that I had made Bakha a Bloomsbury intellectual and he advised me to cut down a hundred or more pages and rewrite the novel. My own hunches against my snobbery as a clever young man were confirmed. I revised the book during the next three months in the Sabarmati Ashram. I read the new novel to the old man who was or less approved, though he gave me T. S. Eliot's Children, Boyhood and Youth as a model of sincere writing. He said one must not write anything which was not based on one's own experience." (I4)

In his earlier novels, Anand exhibits this influence of Gandhi. To his problem of being considered a polluting agent by society, Bakha in Untouchable is offered the consolation of Gandhi and all that he stands for. In this novel as in his later The Sword and the Sickle, Anand presents a personal confrontation between his hero and Gandhi; in Untouchable, of course, Bakha is part of an audience at a public speech. He is perched atop a tree when he gets his first glimpse of the Mahatma, and in his delineation, Anand gives an image that is also faithful - the little man, his shawl around his shoulders and big protruding ears, expansive forehead, quixotic smile and his determined chin. Gandhi's magic is also captured marvellously in the novel "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai", repeatedly being chanted by the audience around him. Also his power as a speaker is brought out in the message which Gandhi took to the village and towns to stir up Indians to fight for independence and to recognize the dignity of themselves in their manhood and labour. Gandhi's speech in Untouchable is carefully drawn from his Autobiography, Young India and other writings. Bakha is drawn to Gandhi's

remarks on Untouchability "as the greatest blot on Hinduism" and appreciates Gandhi's indictment of caste Hindu practice of segregation in temples, schools and wells. But Bakha cannot accept Gandhi's exhortation to untouchables like him to improve their lot by giving up such evil habits as drinking and eating carrion. Mahatma Gandhi's concluding words: "Two of the strongest desires that keep me in the flesh are the emancipation of the Untouchables and the protection of the cow", shows Anand's ridicule for Gandhi's clubbing a serious social evil with something of so much less consequence to India's fight for freedom from their present colonization and social conditions. Anand could not accept all Gandhi's doctrines because their bases were not rational, but often pious sentiments that Indians like Bakha, the untouchable, cannot subscribe to.

Anand further exposes the rabble mentality that becomes evident after a public speech, even after one by the Mahatma. Amidst the confused talk about Vedas and Upanishads and maya and nirvana, the young poet Sauda dominates Bakha's attention for he preaches "the machine which cleans dung", which will be instrumental in making a sweeper change his profession so that the stigma of untouchability no longer can be attached to Bakha. He looks forward to the day when the flush system will come, for it makes no demand on religion or compassion for others which Colonel Hutchinson, the Christian missionary preached before Bakha heard the Mahatma's speech.

In The Sword and the Sickle (1942), Anand's portrayal of Gandhi is severe, and irreverence creeps in. To Lalu, its hero, Gandhi "himself looks like a devil", who finds "The man is a physical deformity". Anand describes Gandhi as 'a little lep-eared, toothless man with a shaven head; which shone clean like a raw purple turnip'; and Lalu hears Gandhi talk about the need for suffering, soul-force, non-violence, untouchability, the spinning wheel, self-perfection, and the sublimation of sexual urges; Lalu had wanted Gandhi to give a remedy to the dying and starving peasants. Anand, at this stage in his life, was more in tune with Jawaharlal Nehru and his attitude to the problems that faced India, in particular to the uprooted tenants in zamindari lands. Of course, Anand was not blind to the fact that Nehru's reactions were those of the upper class Hindus who merely made sympathetic speeches.

The Sword and the Sickle has many characters who are revolutionaries, Lalu, Count Rampal Singh (modelled on non-communist Kanwar Brijesh Singh in whose palace at Kalakankar Anand was a guest in 1938), the student leader
Razni, the 'declassed intellectual' Professor Verma and Comrade Sarshar to mention a few. Anand's Marxist leanings, his advocacy of collective action and the training of workers into professional revolutionaries in an all-India organization are strongly portrayed. These are also the aspirations of young Indians of the nineteen twenties and thirties. In Coolie, Sauda, the trade-unionist, urges the workers to stand up for their rights and their dignity:

"Stand up then, stand up for your rights, you rootless wretches, stand up for justice! Stand up, you frightened fools. Stand up and fight. Stand up and be the men you were meant to be and don't crawl back to the factories like the worms that you are!" (15)

After he had written five novels, that is, up to The Sword and the Sickle we find Anand the "committed writer". But then he gets disillusioned by what he found in Indian Marxism, and so gets disturbed when he is labelled a revolutionary. He resents the charge of overt didactism and propaganda usually levelled at him by some critics. His answer is:

"In so far as I have dealt with challenges, even without giving responses, I have been accused of indulging in political and social propaganda. But fundamentally, my exposition of character and situation is to reveal life in as total a manner as possible. My adverse critics have seldom seen the symbolism, the attitudes, and the rugged poetry beneath the prose. Therefore, if the attempt to discover the meaning of life in my given human environment is propaganda, then I am a propagandist, otherwise it is expressionism, which I define as an enactment of the body-soul drama of human beings, through the imagination." (16)

Perhaps it would be proper to comment more on Anand's political philosophy, and in this connexion trace political strands in the other two novels, Death of a Hero: Epitaph for Maqbool Sherwani, a personification of his religion of love and a study of a national hero, and Private Life of an Indian Prince, a political novel in Indian English, though some critics consider Anand's picture of the state regions of India and the process of their merger hardly rising above the political chronicle. In the first novel, the theme is the rape of Kashmir by the Pakistani raiders, representing an assault on religious bigotry and obscurantism by a people who

I5. Coolie, p. 266
are still aspiring to a democratic way of life. Critical comments on these two novels and Anand's psychological catharsis in Private Life, however, are not included in the biographical treatment done. (17)

In passing it must be noticed that Anand was deeply soaked in Punjabi life, and a many of his political writings are about it, about men and women belonging to the period he spent there. In this lies his strength and artistic integrity. he has not written a novel on the actualities of The Partition that brought about an upheaval of historic dimensions to the Punjab he knew and loved.

The main concern of Anand's life has always been "Confession! Passion! Conscience!" in Bloomsbury's opinion. (18) And as Anand, the conscious writer with a message, offered his fellow Indians mechanization and industrialization to achieve a new Indian society. This is the third solution offered to Bakha in Untouchable, and also portrayed in The Big Heart (1945). Anand emphasizes the mighty power of the machine as he did in Coolie, but it is industrialization, hinted earlier in Coolie and Untouchable, now becoming more important in The Big Heart. The locale is a factory area, at Killers' Lane (Kutcha Ballimaran that Anand lived in and knew its residents) in the centre of Amritsar. In the reprint of 1980 of The Big Heart the Author's Note, written in January 1980, is worth quoting in full:

"Already, before the beginning of the Second World War, I had begun to feel that there was need in the novel, even when dealing with the raw life (especially when dealing with the raw life) for what has been called the 'human reference'. Implicit in the human reference as an important value are some few questions: What it can enable man to face the world's realities? And can he in our machine world develop a new myth for himself - a change upon all the Eternal Gods he made and make himself, rise to his full potential?

I had tried in every theme of strain (sic) in my fiction of struggles, beyond the first novels of miseries, to suggest how the hero grows to awakening, when he ventures into an area of experience, where, urged towards fruitful action by his love of life, he finds himself, among

I7. Documentation for critical treatment is available through reference to the Bibliographical (Part III) under the sub-heading Secondary Sources Criticism.

I8. Conversations in Bloomsbury, p. 134
others, who are unequal to the intensities he desires. Thus cut off from his fellowmen, who are shut in the old shelters, even though ill at ease with them, the hero pays by estracism, contempt and even by death, for his will to rise above his birth place.

The tragedy of Ananta, the boundless, is thus the inevitable doom of a man raised from his surroundings by vitalities, above the two mouthed love of Billimaram, to the heroic pitch of action.

The fable of the machine coming into the handicraft world, is not inspired by schoolboy enthusiasm for gadgets, but conceives machines as a new tool, which was to take men forth into the life process, if it did not fall into the hands of greedy men. The hero died, as 'Virgil died, aware of change at hand.'

I have lent myself here to many echoes of the old life, which perennially float below the under layers of the Indian body-soul. I have allowed myself to be swept by heterogeneous currents of discord. And I have ventured to rescue from myriad feelings, the regenerating breath, which we are often too ashamed, in our time, to breathe into each other's ears (p.I4)

The Big Heart was written in the torment of living between two worlds, 'one not quite dead and the other refusing to be born'. And it is precious to me for the shelter it gave me as a half way house before facing other storms.

I owe to Professor C.D. Narasimhaiah and Dr. Saros Cowasjee the impulse to reissue this novel. In fact they advised some revisions and cuts, which I have gratefully accepted, as the impetuous first draft of The Big Heart was written in a great hurry prompted by the publisher's scurry

This novel, originally published in 1945, powerfully portrays the socio-economic situation obtaining then and Anand's creative response. It is a moving human indictment which powerfully depicts the crises and conflicts of the forties in India, and the reserves of humanity in India's working classes which sustain them in their struggle for existence despite deprivation.

Anand is conscious, still a very angry man with revolutionary fires burning bright within him, that is the answer to India's continued problems of unemployment and poverty, is not the State's 20-point programme. As in the 1940s when Anand visited India and with Jawaharlal Nehru's encouragement set up a settlement in Lahore, but which never really came off the ground, partly because of Government's apathy, Anand presently concerns himself with a human settlement in Khandala, about which he talked in his interviewer Behram Contractor in May
1981. It is known as Collaborative Urban and Rural Establishment (CURE),
a blueprint for living a better life today. Mulk puts it briefly:

"At my stage of life, I feel I should engage myself with some
contemporary development. It is more important than a study of
the past. It is not something new." He says: "We have done nothing
more in Khandala than give a shape to life, try to build a human settle-
ment. The Bombay-Pune Road, which passes right through Khandala, is
a handicap, a motor lorry passing every second. I have suggested a
diversen, by-passing the Khandala village, it is necessary for making
a human settlement of Khandala. You can do it in Panvel, you can do it
in 50 settlements between Panvel and Pune. The Pai family has done it
in Manipal ... CURE will carry the plans in (MARG) special Bombay
issue a step further." Mulk is confident of this. "At the moment, we
are a convening group, with Charles Correa, Keiku Gandhi, K.K. Hebbar,
young architects from the Institute of Architecture. We want to go beyond
environmental problems to the stage of a blueprint for Bombay. The
entire Bombay-Pune area. Kirloskar and Appasaheb Pant have also dis-
cussed the plans from the Pune side." (19)

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Sunday MID-DAY (May 17, 1981) p.10

Gautama Shankaran. The Writer as a town planner.
Statesman (28 Nov, 1983), 14. In this interview, Anand calls upon
architects to deter big cities from doomed congestion.
"I don't believe that there is any power transcending man, who can decide things for him. Man is responsible for gaining or losing his life."

Private Life of an Indian Prince

Anand candidly admits: "I did not imbibe any faith, religion and belief in my early life. I) His reading in Philosophy from College days through to his completed thesis on "The Thought of John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume and Bertrand Russell," and of Mazzini, Freud, Gorky, Marx and Engels, made him a sceptical thinker of modern times. Thus we find Anand not concerning himself with metaphysical questions of good and evil or the problems of man's salvation, the Christian way or any other in his novels. Being born in India, and with a devoted mother, though he saw through the mumbo-jumbo of her religious practices, Anand affirms that he has remained a Hindu but moulded by his "Euro-Asian experience." As recorded in Seven Summers, Anand realized that his mother's religious beliefs were of a basically superstitious and ignorant woman, pacifying priests with silver spoons, to placate God's wrath over Krishna/Anand's illness, or as in Morning Face, making sacrifices of kind and cash to prevent either her spending on tuitions for her two sons or Krishna's typhoid, which she offered to Brahmin priests and Fakirs of the Muslim faith alike.

Krishna once sat in front of his mother's platform of gods, and wondered which of them was God. He could recognize the Aga Khan and couldn't ascribe godship to him, for Anand was aware from the gossip around of the Aga's lecherous and spendthrift ways in the European playgrounds for the rich. Again in his youth, Krishna/Anand avers: "He did not look like God from his photo, on the platform on which mother put all her idols, because he was dressed like an Englishman and had no beard, as I fancied God must have."

Later, in an outburst of anger, Krishna puts a challenge to God, on the re-instatement of his tormenter Master Budh Singh. "Who are you above that vast

I. Apology for Heroism (1957) p.14
2. Morning Face, (Kutub-Popular, 1966) p.9
sky, that you gaze down on us, but never care about our troubles...?"
Recognizing the omnipotence of God, he still defies him while in the jail
garden at Ludhiana. Calling out to him "Tyrant! Torturer! Strike me dead
for my bad deeds now, if you have power! To court your wrath --
I spit on your face!"  (3) The spiritual awareness of the "hypocrisy" of
the omnipotence of God came to Anand when he was only eleven and his
beautiful cousin, Kaushalaya, had died. Anand wrote his challenging protest
in what became his first writing, a letter he wrote to the God above and
left with the Temple priest. He recalls his conscious turning away from
reverence to such a God: "But God did not answer my protest. So, I have
tended to regard him, since then, as the enemy of mankind. In fact, from
that time my belief in the man with a big beard sitting on the top of the
sky, determining the fate of everyone, has been shaken more or less com-
pletely."

(4)
To add to his growing agnostic inclinations there were also his father's
attitudes to religion.

"I recall many a time when I won the prize of a shining silver coin
from my father or the visitors, for the precious feat of mimicking my
mother reading the Gita... My father's attitude on such matters was a com-
promise between traditional beliefs and the secure life he led in the British
Indian army. Father on leaving the brotherhood of coppersmiths and silver-
smiths, lived with semi-educated professionals and businessmen in cantonments
of North India, he began to feel self-conscious about his belief in the
personal god-head of Aga Khan. (5) So Lalla Chand joined the Arya Samaj,
became the President in 1910 in Amritsar, but left it on the insistence of
Colonel Longden, his superior in the 38th Dehra Regiment at Newshera Canton-
ment.

Anand's exposure to the religious observations of his parents and
relatives is best seen in Morning Face, especially when he describes in a
fairly detailed manner the gruesome rituals performed on the death of Uncle
Krishna finds: "The women stood lined up on both sides of the gutter,
like soldiers on parade, their bodies bare and the heads uncovered, even as
they struck, with rhythmic strokes of their palms, first their foreheads, then

5. _Apology for Heroism_ (1957) p. 9
their breasts, and then their thighs, chanting the while a unanimous as the barber's wife led the chorus: "Hai! Hai! Sherai!" The sharp, clear and repeated sound of the palm slaps electrified the atmosphere, making me feel as though I was almost at hell's door step, where these women, having consigned the body of uncle to oblivion, were now mourning for his spirit. Perchance Chitragupta, the accountant of hell, might forgive him his misdeeds in recompense for the physical suffering they were imposing on themselves. (6)

From his parents' religious observance or other causes, Anand became conscious of its contradictions, and so imbibed no religious faith. Rather he became aware that "the sufferers are segregated and alone" Gughi, the sweeper boy at Amritsar, opens his eyes to the brutalities of the caste system that condemns for life a man to his caste structure in society. It was then that Anand began to suspect the existence of a great God, for he saw chaos and misery around, brought about through religious customs. A punishing God was not merciful. As a young boy in his teens he could not find the answer to the puzzling fact that God who gave life took it away and allowed his creations to go through a punishing hell on earth, such as Krishna goes through on the death of his beloved Yasmin: "Perhaps, the only way out would be to do away with myself before my parents arrived. And then if there was any truth in the idea of an after life, I would be united with Yasmin. (7)

Anand's mentor, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, shared Anand's scepticism about religion. He despised the eternal saying of prayers, and advised: "If religion is ritual, it is bad. If you discover your own religion, you have created something, for yourself. Books contain knowledge, but truth is beyond knowledge ... no theories and formulas can get you to the self. (8)

This search for spirituality did not bother Anand whilst he was getting educated and gaining knowledge. His maternal uncle, Mama Dayal Singh, a rustic, yogi mystic, talked of love and his mysticism had more sense for Anand.

His contact with Christianity in India was minimal. In his last years in school, Anand caught typhoid, and was nursed by a Christian nurse, Mary, who got him interested enough in the Faith to read the Bible. His eldest

6. Morning Face, p. 220
8. Ibid, pp. 151-152
brother Hans' association with Christian nurses also helped him to toy with the idea of a conversion to the Faith. His contact with the generous and truly good Christian missionary Colonel Hutchinson (Reverend William of Confession of a Lover in the train journey from Lahore to Bombay after the bomb burst trial) also added conviction. Yet Anand, like Bakha of Untouchable rejected Christianity, because it could not offer in concrete terms a solace to the problems of everyday living. He could not accept the dogma of original sin. He admired Christ and his compassion for the poor and the suppressed but found the preachers of his Gospel, such as Colonel Hutchinson of the local Salvation Army quoting stanzas of devotional songs to Bakha's questions about the identity of 'Yessuh Messiah':

"Life is found in Jesus
Only there "is offered there...

"He died that we might be forgiven,
He died to make us good...

"Jesus, tender shepherd, hear me,
Let my sins be forgiven...

Theology too did not satisfy Anand and he shies away from the tortured image of Christ on the Cross.

Anand's father quarrelled with Anand over his once intended step towards conversion to Christianity. So he sailed for England and there found he had spiritual feelings. He tells C.E.M. Joad in their conversation on the belief of God that admittedly he had "no faith in the big 'Pooh Ba', which most of the Indians had made God into", but "from my peasant logic, I was for the philosophy that 'I am, therefore I think' BUT as far as consciousness goes, how could one be aware unless one thought about oneself and others, I had told myself. Perhaps man was not essentially soul or mind, to which the body was attached as a machine. The soul did receive impressions, directly, and reasoning became possible on the basis of these impressions, and one could decline the existence of external reality, which was necessary to contain the impressions. Indeed, nothing came into man, beyond his subjective impressions... (9)

Anand fully accepted the Marxist postulate that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it

is their social existence that determines their consciousness.

There was also the message of the poet of the East, Iqbal: "Every man becomes superman. Man is God. Only life, life and more life. Taste it and see — it is bitter sweet!" Iqbal defined God as the most perfect individual. So too Mamaduke Pick, Executive Editor of The Bombay Chronicle, the English convert to Islam, to whom Anand had talked of his poetic writings. Together with his own readings of the Vedas, the Upanishads, Sankhia dualism and awareness of folk cultures and European Hellenism, Anand evolved his humanistic philosophy. Critics have agreed that Anand's central preoccupation in his writings is with humanism. Actually, humanism is a label that obviously has been used for a great many purposes. Twentieth century humanism may be defined as Charles Lamen does: "In the briefest possible manner, it is a philosophy of joyous service for the greater good of all humanity in this natural world and according to the methods of reason and democracy." (10)

A humanist's ethical principles deny that man has a privileged place in the nature of things or that he can find salvation or comfort in a divine Providence. A man's values grow out of and are related to his needs, interests, desires and feelings, for the man is a social being, responsible for his mistakes and the maker of individual social norms. These tenets are to be found in the writings of Aristotle, Montague, Spinoza, Marx, Nietzsche, Mill and Russell, to mention only some of the most eloquent humanists, and Anand has read them all. He therefore espoused a social humanism, which he expressed in Apology for Heroism and Is there a Contemporary Indian Civilization? Also, in the first essay "Prolegomena to a New Humanism" in his Lines Written to an Indian Air and in other essays, letters and speeches. In the essay Anand defines Humanism as "enlightenment in the interests of man, true to his highest nature and his noblest virtues!" (p.7) Earlier he had said:

"Man is the centre of all our thinking, feeling and activity, and the service of man for the greatest good of all humanity, in the material world... to evolve individuals potentially equal and free." (II)

His "idea of humanism as a synthesis of the values of East and West, of material and spiritual, of science and art of old and new", says Margaret Berry, appears often in Anand's writings. (I2)

11. Is there a Contemporary Indian Civilization, p. 157
This belief has led to Anand denouncing some features of traditional Hindu idol worship, rituals, caste, Brahmin priest veneration (in The Road and Untouchable), and dharma. Dr. C.S. Balarama Guptya rightly discovers that his humanism is the "Protozoan concept of man as the measure of all things." (I3)

Anand conceived of art and literature as instruments of humanism and himself as a creative artist who experiences an ardent love for all human beings, especially the downtrodden and poor. To a critic he admits that he found himself committed in "constant struggle over the past thirty years to give expression to my passion or compassion for the people - the victims of so many wrongs and of so many misunderstandings." (I4)

Anand does not object to being called a committed artist, "For, generally, the act of 'commitment' has already begun when one wishes to communicate what one knows or feels about life to another person of the community." (I5)

The social realism that is explored in Anand's novels was termed variously "poetic realism", "expressionism", "desire-image". He clarifies his attitude to the novel as a vehicle for projecting his realism:

"Incidentally, in the last paragraph of your study, I would suggest using neo-realism, or define my so-called realism as 'expressionism', by which I mean the typically Indian creative attitude of staging the body-soul drama as in the folk-literature or the Hitopadesha or the Yoga Vasistha stories. My 'realism' is only superficially like that of the West-European. Deep underneath, all the characters search for their human destiny in the manner of the heroes of our forest books." (I6)

The most systematic exposition of Anand's philosophy of humanism is contained in his book, "Is there a Contemporary Indian Civilization?" (I963)

It may be described as follows:

1. This humanism places man in the centre of all things.

2. This humanism believes that matter precedes mind in any metaphysical attitude towards the universe.

3. This humanism believes that man is an evolutionary product of the matter of which he is part.

4. This humanism, which puts man in the centre of the Universe, believes that human beings possess the potential power to understand many problems, hitherto undreamt of, both in the (sic) relation to themselves and to nature.

5. This humanism believes, in opposition to all theories of fatalistic acceptance of God, predestination and determinism, that human beings, conditioned by man's history, possess genuine freedom of creative choice and action.

6. This humanism believes in an ethic which is based on human psychology and human values, in this earthly existence, achieved through the relations of persons and persons, and persons and society.

7. This humanism believes that the individual attains full manhood by integrating his personal satisfactions and continuous creative self-development through significant creative work with the hand, the heart and the brain ...

8. This humanism believes in the widest and deepest possible development of creative art and the awareness of beauty.

9. This humanism believes in the brotherhood of man through the affirmations of love.

10. This humanism believes in the application of imagination, reason and scientific method in all human undertakings, making room for the understanding of different instincts and emotions.

11. This humanism believes in the constant questioning of the basic assumptions and convictions of inventive science, employing throughout, human tests based on moral values.

12. This humanism wishes to connect itself to international humanism, so that, in spite of differences, a comprehensive universalist outlook may prevail ...

Anand arrived at this "philosophy" through the twenties and thirties in England and in his talks with his Bloomsbury friends, Eric Gill, sculptor and philosopher, Herbert Read, the poet and art critic, Benamy Dobrée, T.S. Eliot, Middleton Murry, philosophical journalist, and Harold Laski, political scientist. These talks helped to clarify the many confusions of his adolescence and the hypotheses he had been experiencing. Having taken
the decision to make his career that of a writer, he found fiction an appropriate vehicle of his genuinely new ideas and realities. He wrote:

"...I felt that, only through fiction, which is the transformation, through the imagination, of the concrete life, in words, sounds and vibrations, one may probe into the many layers of human consciousness in its various phases." (17)

In the first flush of his protest against out-dated traditions and conventions, Anand wrote Untouchable and Coolie in quick succession. These novels poured out like hot lava from the volcano of Anand's "crazed imagination", and since then his novels have become a series expressing his sincere protest against social evils in the hope of seeking happiness for himself and the teeming millions of India and the world. (18) In a letter written to Suresh Cowasjee on 22 November, 1967, Anand writes:

"The novelist should become the great God, Brahma, who creates mankind, but is not responsible for it, that is to say, does not determine their destiny. Distance is very important in art, because art, though like life, and reflecting it, is not life. Literature and life are parallel developments." (19)

In the social concerns and literary preoccupations with the schism of life, Anand's novels, in particular Untouchable and Coolie reflect the breadth of the literary, political and social influences of the Thirties Movement in England and the intellectual theories of Europe, in particular Marxism, confounded with humanist strains. Creative writers of the time some of whom were Anand's friends, W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, C. Day-Lewis and Isherwood were supporters of the Movement in England; they believed in the international brotherhood of writers who shared a "common climate of opinion, the outcome of common experience whether suffered on the English Midlands, in Chicago or California." (20)

There also existed a political motivation behind the Movement - a common struggle against Fascism, which developed in the Popular Front (i.e.

I7. "Why I Write?" Indo-English Literature (1977)
I9. Author to Critic, p.1
International Brigade of Peace) that went to the Spanish War against the Spanish Monarchists, Falangists and Fascists in the 1930s. Anand was gladly welcomed into the Movement; in 1939 he slipped across the Spanish borders without a passport and went to fight though not on the war front, for he was personally frightened of blood spilling. (21)

Later, Anand became a member of the Left Book Club. It was founded in 1936 by Victor Gollancz effectively expounded anti-Fascist political education and organized many conferences to discuss the writer's role in the struggle for a new society. Anand's first contact with Marxists came about in his college days at the University College, London. The miners of Great Britain had gone on a general strike. The British Government began a series of repressions which shocked the intelligentsia. Anand and some like-minded students refused to "black leg" against the strikers by helping to run trains and buses, and so got beaten up by the British police. On one of these days of the strike, Anand was approached by a woman Marxist Eltir Helman, wife of Allen Hunt, who sold him a copy of the Manifesto of Marx and Engels. In a chat with her he learnt of the study circle in Red Lion Street, near "Charlie Lahr's bookshop", organised by Allen Hunt, the trade unionist. Anand attended the study circle on Marxist thought and practice regularly and "matured, through active discussion, some of my previous naive ideas on Indian freedom" (22)

Anand began to write reviews and articles on his new found faith in Marxism, and the journal Left Review published them, as also selections from the then unpublished Coolie (1936). The Labour Book Service published his Letters on India (1942). John Lehmann recalls:

"It was not without significance that contributors to New Writing from China and India fitted so easily into the pattern; that a writer like Mulk Raj Anand, for instance, author of The Coolie (sic) and other novels, should take as his world not the feudal splendours and feudal mysticism of traditional Indian literature, but the hard and suffering lives of the millions of his country's poor." (23)

Anand joined this movement because he upheld that writers should bring

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21. "I Believe..." Illustrated Weekly of India (26 October 1969) p. 28
22. "I Believe..." Illustrated Weekly of India (26 October, 1969) p. 22. Later with some revisions this was included in I Believe edited by Khushwant Singh. (New Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, New Delhi)
23. New Writing in Europe, p. 77
literature containing protest against the wrongs suffered by the poor of the world. He abhorred western imperialism for he "had imbibed enough Gandhian teaching to suspect all the fleshy consumer goods, demand-oriented aims of people in England." (24) To Anand, a writer must use his ability to help "Men take part in the drama of revolt from which emerges the new society." (25)

Anand was also one of the writers of the Progressive Writers Movement of the 1930s. A "Progressive Writer" was defined as "one who had broken away or was trying to break away from the tradition of romanticist, purposeless writing." Anand helped to write the Manifesto of this dynamic group, imbued with the crusading spirit and propagandist outlook towards the creation of a literature which "fortified the will and morale of the people." He attended their fourth conference held in Bombay on 22-30 May 1943, to which came many leading Communist figures.

Anand was soon disillusioned with the development of Marxism in India, and has made statement after statement in refutation of the charge of indulging in political and social propaganda in his novels. Accusations like "communist", "social realist" and "propagandist" make Anand to emphasise the realistic and naturalistic technique he had adopted which "opened up a vast subject area of Indian life which had been neglected in literature prior to Anand's Thirties fiction." (26) His world-view remained anti-traditional and Marxist-Humanist, tinged with a crucial element of romanticism strengthened by the presence of an indigenous Indian response to life which he refers to as body-soul drama.

"Bakha (in Untouchable) never becomes more than the facts of the situation warrants, but he is revealed subtly from within and the small trembling advances of his spirit are surely recorded. The whole picture is irradiated by a sympathetic warmth, and the kaleidoscope movement of colour, sight, touch, sound, involving the Indian scene is touched throughout by the movement of Bakha's mind. One false note might have killed the whole thing, but there is no false note." (27)

25. Apology for Heroism, p. 47
In Anand's creative activities there is this 'body-soul search' and he did find himself writing from "the compulsion of a morbid obsession" with himself and the people with whom he had grown up.

It is only when critics began to label him as propagandist, at a time when he had become disillusioned with Marxism, in fact after he had written five novels, that he started to redefine his humanism and called it by "the old-fashioned name 'wisdom of the heart'. This includes certain insights, essences, and awarenesses. And as I have learnt most of it from my mother and from quite a few obscure human beings, I have developed a growing level for human beings as such, even in their weaknesses, frustrations and failures - so long as they show signs of the struggle to survive and remain human. In this tenderness: 'for men and women, which I reluctantly define as the only 'ism' in which I 'believe', humanism, I have derived much inspiration from the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha and the medieval saints, Nanak and Kabir, as well as the latter-day thinkers of India, Gandhi, Tagore, Nehru, M.N. Roy and Ananda Coomaraswamy, as well as some of the Western writers, Russell, Santayana and Sartre." (28)

Anand repeatedly asserts that his books are an expression of the wisdom of the heart, and not of any formal philosophy. He wrote to Balarama Gupta: "I do not believe in any one system of philosophy, but in the wisdom of the heart." (29) Thus only later the term 'Karuna rasa' or compassion comes into Anand's writings. His concept of Karuna is to be found in an answer to a questionnaire: "... The renewal (of the individual) is not an obvious or pre-determined karmic process. It is a kind of dialectic of conflicts, oppositions and labyrinthmic rhythmic interplay and may possibly result in synthesis, through experience of life at various levels, in different situations. Vishnu Bhagwan went to sleep in the coils of the Sheshnag a long time ago. And he will not wake up until the dawn of the new age of truth ... Of course the new age (utopia) will never arrive because of the very freedom of conscience, which men and women longed for, baulked by the hangovers of the past prohibitions and the impositions of new inhibitions, but certainly the life of the individual is in the process of change ..." (30)

28. 'I Believe', Illustrated Weekly of India (26 Oct. 1969) p.28

Anand's article, "Creative Process" Littcrit 4, no 2 (June 1978), I-3 also has relevant statements.
Of all Indian novelists writing in Indian English, Mulk Raj Anand has discussed his concept of the novel as a vehicle of his compassion for the downtrodden most consciously and comprehensively. To him the novel has the closest bearing to life, as all literature and art should have, in Anand's concept. It should be a communication of a vision of life.
"Merely to be is such a métier; to live is such an art; to feel is such a career."

Henry James: The Tragic Muse.

On his being awarded the Ph.D. for Philosophy, Anand was forced to consider the only two alternative professions open to him - The Indian Civil Service, after taking a competitive examination, and a lectureship. Believing that a foreign degree would have a snob value when seeking a job in India, Anand visited his home state of the Punjab in 1929 and sought a professorship position in the Punjab University. To his dismay, no such openings were available for a Hindu under the system of communal representation in the province. (He did some lecturing to students in the Universities of Punjab and Benares.) His participation in the national freedom struggle movement may have really come in his way. For during this visit to India, Anand had attended the Lahore Congress, where Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the "Complete Independence for India" resolution. Once on a train journey to Jaipur, Anand was arrested because he wore Khadi clothes and was released after ten days.

So Anand returned to England with no intention of pursuing a career in the Administrative cadre of his country, much against his father's avowed ambition for this son of his. Anand on return to England took up his lifelong ambition - to become a man of letters. Some of the loneliness Anand experienced all through his adolescence and youth was assuaged in his taking up writing and putting into words his "Ghaoon-maoon" - confusion, distrust and discord - that plagued his inner self and Indian society in pre-independence days.

The prevalent concept of the term "man of letters" has no pretension of distinction. It has gone through various connotations since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Originally, the term denoted a scholar; then it gradually came to be applied to authors in general. By 1840 Carlyle acclaimed him as "our most important person". After this the term began to be narrowed down so that, a generation later, poets, playwrights and novelists were covered - to suggest "a writer of a second rank, a critic, someone who aimed higher than journalism but made no pretence of being primarily an artist". This connotation prevailed up to the World War I. Nothing can replace it; neither "literary journalist" nor "critic". Instead of "man of letters" there are academic experts, mass media pundits, cultural functionaries. To our minds
at least the term "man of letters" still covers major figures of literature, poets, novelists, not solely performing the familiar role of a critic. And so rightly speaking, Mulk Raj Anand can be considered a "man of letters".

Anand was twenty-five years when he took to writing. As a realist, he took the decision fully conscious of all its complications. Already in his student years in London he had struggled along not having any private means. Even after substantiating the £300 scholarship awarded to him when at the University College with part-time jobs as assistant in bookshops, proof-reader in Hogarth Press twice a week, and having a table at The Criterion office as a writer of short notices and reviews, Anand often found himself living on 'one pound a week' when he came to stay in Bloomsbury. Moreover, Anand had a personal experience of the kind of life led daily by the modern man of letters - not a genius, not a popular author - but a good steady man of letters of the kind which formerly had to inhabit the garrets of Grub Street. And there was the delimiting factor in his case, for Anand was an Indian, aspiring to be a writer of Indian novels on Indian themes, about Indian social and political life in a language for dialogue that was foreign to public school products - an Indian English which had strains of Anand's native Punjabi lingua and phraseology. (I)

Along with many of Anand's contemporaries he shared their view that the future for writers hailing from outside the British Isles, would not be one of expanding markets, fresh opportunities, a steady extension of the reading public, especially in pre-independence India where compulsory education had not been introduced. The statistics were not rosy. The Census returns of editors, authors, journalists, and publishing houses all threw up the dismal picture of dubious commercial success. Anand had always been aware of the economics of literature. He came to face the realities of his chosen profession almost from its beginnings. He faced the disappointment of his

I. According to Anand, it was an Indian Professor who encouraged him to write Indian English. He incorporated a Punjabi word as the first word of a sentence e.g. "Nahin mother it is not like that" because he was unable to find equivalents in the English language in order to reproduce the sound tone and the configuration of my mother's voice'. He used Indian English in his first writings - essays, journalistic articles or creative prose - and continued to use it in his fictional writing, particularly in transliterated dialogues. (ref. his article: "The Changeling - An Indo Anglian Novelist's Creed," Indian & Foreign Review (15 Sept. 1972) p.20
'Confessional' not being accepted by three English publishers, to whom the first 30,000 words, lovingly typed by his girl friend Irene, had no appeal. Its publication would have meant marriage to his beloved. So its continued rejection by publishers depressed him. Instead Irene's father, the Irish Professor of Botany, gave Irene and Anand some money to go to the Continent and visit art galleries, for he knew that his daughter had sought admission into the Slade School of Art, London; this was a gift to them. The lovers first went to Paris, where Anand discovered James Joyce's Ulysses, Arthur Rimbaud's Les Illuminations and D.H. Lawrence's novels among other works. Irene took him to the Louvre and Anand's interest in the Pahari paintings he had once seen in the Kangra Valley in India was revived. In Rome he saw the classical European past. In Vienna, he heard Beethoven played for the first time. In Berlin he succumbed to night life. And he came back to Hendon, Suburb of London, a humbler student, more intensely in love with Irene, and determined to complete his thesis. (2) Anand was doubly disappointed, for Irene eventually married someone else in 1932. Irene returned from this jaunt of European art centres, joined the Slade School of Art, met Anand often and (once in celebration of seeing his first ever written short story, The Lost Child included as the first contribution in the fat anthology entitled Great Stories of the World, Irene was treated to a "real hot curry dinner" by Anand.

Why did Anand decide to devote himself to writing? We have Anand's own immediate answer: "Because I want to write, get a discreet pleasure from creating something, whether it is putting words on paper, or painting a picture or building houses." Anand tells us many times that words had always fascinated him and that he had realised the powerful force of published words. This is perhaps why Anand's earliest, rather first-ever writings, unseen and unpublished, did not give him the happiness nor, more urgently, a consolation for his grieving heart and confused mind which found it so difficult to accept reality. According to Anand, these early writings started with his letter to God Almighty "asking him why he had caused the death of my little cousin Kaushalaya at the age of nine by inflicting the dread disease of lung on her when she had not done anything bad." (3) This letter, written when

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3. In Morning Face There is a fuller account of the contents of this letter (p. 104) and about this traumatic experience in Anand's life: What Anand found perplexing was the fact that before his very eyes, Anand saw Kaushalaya slowly pass away.
he was eleven, Anand put into the hands of the priest in the temple at Amritsar. And the second writing Anand did at the age of eighteen was a poem composed in answer to Yasmin, the 17-year old sister-in-law of his college friend Noor Muhammad, who had bid Anand farewell in a poem message at the close of their first meeting in Amritsar. (4) Yasmin was not only a beautiful "almond coloured face", "slim swan waisted girl" with a "delicate small face", full lips and doe eyes, but a poet herself whose recitations of Iqbal's poems and other Urdu and Persian poets delighted her lover Anand-Krishna. The autobiographical novel *Confession of a Lover* is full of poetic quotations. Like Krishna, Anand still feels that poetry is the only solace against loneliness and adversity, which can slowly change human nature for the better. For poetry is like a compassionate man whose pity is directed like a "holy anger against evil." (p.28) This is why in Anand's novels there are poets who often acted as propagandists. Analyzing the role his poets play in Anand's novels, Satyanarain Singh says the poet is not a mere "propagandist device", but has an important place in the thematic design of the novels. "The poet brings into focus the chief motif of the work, and as a philosopher-guide he embodies the wisdom of the heart." To Anand, the poet represents the "conscience" of the novel, and it is he who ultimately bears the "yoke of pity." (5)

This tenet of Anand ennobles the role of poets in society. However, Anand himself must have realized that writing of poetry was not for him and would not satisfy the inner urge to write. In fact, although *Confession of a Lover* is full of poetic passages, Anand's outpourings are more in prose-poetry. As his mentor, Iqbal had said to Krishna: "Poetry is the quest for truth, better than religion. It is a part of love. One must not force set patterns." (6) Anand's propagandist in *The Big Heart*, Poet Puran Singh Bhagat, an itinerant poet and scholar, spiritual guide and mentor of hero Ananta, expresses what kind of life is conceived by a poet:

"All of us have the gift of the short life, I do not think there is any hereafter, and I felt that if only I could give it to the service of others rather than keep it for my own selfish enjoyment, I should feel happier..."(7)

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4. Anand's other Urdu poems were published in *Darpan*, the Khalsa College magazine of which Anand was the Assistant Editor, these are unlocated.


6. *Confession of a Lover*, p. 149

Anand also expresses the same viewpoint in other words;

"My own personal gain has been that much inner happiness has come to me through the very act of creative writing, which has sustained me in the face of tragic events of our time, because in absorbing life one understands its disequilibriums. That is why I have always considered literature and art as the instruments of humanism." (8)

Thus we find Anand the philosopher scholar taking up his writer's pen in search of his own identity and, because he loved India and all her people so much, he sought to make contacts with other human beings, so that he found some solidarity and purpose in living. These were his convictions after his visit to India soon after graduation in 1929 and again in 1932. During this latter visit Anand visited ancient monuments from Mahabalipuram to Kenerak in Bihar as well as other monuments in Uttar Pradesh and Northern and Western India. Then he reached the Sabarmati Ashram. Anand left the Ashram converted to "The truth of human relations". He wanted to reveal beyond the spent up, redundant systems and categories of the philosophers, and beyond organized religions, the intricate contradictory emotions, feelings, moods and events, so that the experience of my characters may represent some part of the totality of life. I felt that, only in fiction, which is the transformation, and vibrations, one may probe into the many layers of human consciousness and its various phases. I feel that, by putting the pattern, showing the efforts of human beings to grow, or contrariwise, their inability to develop, the tragi-comedy may thus help one to achieve karuna or compassion for one's fellow-beings, or the understanding of life. And one may pile up insights, side lights and hunches, which may make one more truly human through the process of creation itself, through which one achieves insights. In fact, man can be man only through piling up these insights ( and outsights) as a treasure himself." (9)

Anand thus sets himself up as a writer and the first few years were a sheer struggle for survival in London. Though he worked during part of the afternoons at The Criterion office at a table on assignments handed out by T.S. Eliot, (10) the two never became friends and had their differences.

9. Ibid, p.7
10. According to 'Mulk Raj Anand: Chronology' he worked there for the period 1928-29;
Somehow Anand was constrained to attack T.S. Eliot's *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* (1941) in 1942.

"But he is a most disarming critic. Under cover of his admiration for Kipling's truly great qualities as a versifier, Mr. Eliot is able to pass him off not only as a considerable poet but as the dreamer of a great and noble dream of Empire, in spite of his own rather modest description of himself as "I... the war dream of the white man round the world." The publisher says: "We need not labour the significance of the fact that the selection had been made by a distinguished modern poet and critic at a time when all that Kipling prized is in danger." ... So the volume may, from one point of view, be regarded as Mr. Eliot's bit in the war effort... It seems ungrateful not to accept 'this first citizen of India' whom Mr. Eliot offers us with all the weight of his great authority, but he is better seen as he really was, the natural product of an expanding phase of Empire and complacency, than as a righteous innocent 'who didn't mean no harm'." (II)

Perhaps Anand would not have stayed long in The Criterion office. He made a living out of considerable freelance writing for other journals and writing paragraphs for newspapers. (I2) Fortunately for him by 1942 Anand had won recognition as a writer of *Untouchable, Coolie* and the other novels and non-fiction works as well as journalistic articles. Much water had flowed down the Thames by then. World War II had already left its mark on the publishing world of England. And Anand's struggles as a writer were not over. Just as in his Bloomsbury period, so again it was the English literary men and women that rallied around Anand in this second period of stress and deprivation that he faced during the war years in England.

It may be proper to go back in time and review why Anand wrote what he wrote, how he lived and how his English contemporaries encouraged him to start on his writing career in England 1930-1945. Answers to many of these searches have been found in personal confessions and expositions of Anand himself, often in the form of personal letters to scholars and critics who

II. "Mr. Eliot's Kipling," *Life and Letter Today* 32 (March 1942) 167-170
have never stopped exploring into the depths of his creative output. Why did he write? From Anand's very full autobiographical contribution by the similar title, much has already been quoted. There is one more revealing fact to note, and that is when Anand took to writing it was the uphill task, generally experienced by writers. Anand himself has said: "The process of writing was difficult as I had to lead two lives, one with the mundane affairs of the day and the other with my characters in a kind of twilight waiting for illumination." (I3)

Anand's 'Confessional' of 2000 pages, a work of love, never got through the publisher's acceptance stage. At Irene Rhys' suggestion, he commenced writing short novels around the characters of the 'Confessional'. Inspired by James Joyce's Ulysses and Gandhi's article on Uka, a sweep boy whom Gandhi took to his Ashram and wrote about in Young India in the 1930s, Anand wrote Untouchable. We know that modifications were made in Untouchable as suggested by Anand's Bloomsbury friends, many of them eminent English writers and critics of the day. Anand had written the first draft in 1930 in three days in his bed-sitter in Russell Street. It was a poet friend of Anand, Oswell Blakeston, who approached Wishart of London with a recommending letter of E.M. Forster and which Sures Cowasjee has reproduced in full in his incomparable critical appreciation of Mulk Raj Anand, the novelist. (I4)

In the meantime Anand had already five books published. Faber and Faber published Persian Painting (Criterion Miscellany No.25) in 1930. Anand had written this study on Persian Paintings and sent it to Herbert Read, one of the Bloomsbury men of art who became a life-long mentor to Anand. This art critic's warm appreciation was also found worth quoting by Sures Cowasjee. (I5)

Anand was able to compress in forty pages a historical survey of Persian art from the time of the first national kings, the Sasanians who came to power about 200 A.D. to 1930s. There was also Anand's contention that Bihzad,

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I4. Sures Cowasjee has given a fuller account of the publishing history of Untouchable in his So Many Freedoms (pp 41-45) including the warm appreciation of reviewers, which should be read along with my full chapter on Untouchable: included in the thesis.

I5. So Many Freedoms, p.16
the greatest of the Safavid painters, had been profoundly affected by Sufi mysticism. The Listener and The Observer both commended Anand on this view and on being an oriental critic.

As recently as 1977, Anand's thesis on Bihzad, the great 15th century painter and his School of Persian Painting, was confirmed by two art scholars, Mr. B.W. Robinson, who had done the most detailed work on Bihzad's authentic works, wrote on his material in MARG, Volume 30, issue No. 2 (March 1977), devoted to Persian Painting - Fifteenth Century. Professor Habibef of the Kabul University is the second scholar. The Head note on the Contents Page of this issue states: "The original interpretation about the mystical sources of Bihzad's creative imagination was given by Mulk Raj Anand in a little book on Persian Painting in 1932. Since then, he confirmed his views from the researches in various Museums of the world. Professor Habibef of the Kabul University in his forthcoming book on Bihzad addresses detailed evidence to underscore Anand's thesis." The editorial research done by Anand referred to above has characterized all his work.

The little publication on Persian Painting by Anand came out just before the Exhibition on Persian Painting set up in Burlington Hall in 1931 and so it received wide coverage.

Anand's next publication was characteristically domestic and revealing. Curries and Other Indian Dishes (London, Desmond Harmsworth, 1932) contained Anand's personal experiments and recipes on the dishes he had helped his mother cook in his youth and which his friends enjoyed eating in his small bedsitter in Hendon, London. In 1933 appeared two books by Anand, both on India. The first was The Hindu View of Art in collaboration with the sculptor-poet Eric Gill, which George Allen and Unwin (London, 1933) published, because Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then a Cambridge Professor, had encouraged Anand to write it. This work was well accepted not only in the art world but also by T.S. Eliot, as Anand discloses in his Conversation in Bloomsbury; but that should come later. For it was another of Anand's Bloomsbury friends, Herbert Read, to whom Anand had dedicated the work, who had given an enthusiastic appreciation of it in The Listener. Whilst he was writing The Hindu View of Art, Anand had shown it to T.S. Eliot during their brief encounters in the Criterion office. In Eliot's view "Oriental wisdom might begin to percolate through the British fog ..." Yet he himself felt that he "could not give full assent to the Hindu view, except as a guide to the whole metaphysical tradition of culture before the 18th century." However,
Eliot admitted to Anand that "One thing that your book The Hindu View of Art did for me was to send me to the Vedic hymns - also the Thirteen Principal Upanishads." (16) This book which has gone into a third revised edition (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann 1978) has an Introductory Essay on Art and Reality and a Drawing by Eric Gill. It was fully illustrated and has an extensive bibliography. It sets out to be "an exposition ... of all such considerations - religious, philosophical, sociological, aesthetic and technical which have stirred the imagination of Indian craftsmen from time immemorial, and in the light of which alone Indian art should be interpreted, if such interpretation is to claim to be just and fair." (Blurb) As the Blurb asserts "Anand had from childhood among his silver and coppersmith relatives in Amritsar, Punjab, an "intimate experience of the methods of Indian craftsmen, being apprenticed to his uncle in the Silversmith's trade."(17)

The second book to be published in 1933 is of more interest to us. Its title is The Golden Breath: Studies in Five Poets of the New India (London: John Murray) which was published in the series The Wisdom of the East whose definite object was: "by means of the best Oriental literature - its wisdom, philosophy, poetry and ideals - to bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill, and understanding. From India, China, Japan, Persia, Arabia, Palestine and Egypt those words of wisdom have been gathered." The poets are Rabindranath Tagore (p.31-60; major treatment with a bibliography) Muhammad Iqbal (p.61-85; fairly comprehensive) Puran Singh, Sarojini Naidu (with quotes from 3 works) and Harindranath Chattopadhaya (smallest section). There is a long bibliography at the end. According to Sares Cowasjee, Anand must have commenced work on these poets in 1930, for he referred to his piece on Sarojini Naidu in his letter to T.S. Eliot dated 21 April 1931. And presumably he also had shown this same section to Benamy Dobrée (to whom he dedicated the work) for Dobrée comments enthusiastically on it in his letter to Anand dated 14 March 1931. (17A) The first paragraph is worth giving, because apparently in 1931, Anand was still faced by monetary constraints:


17. In the author's copy in his personal collection at 25 Cuffe Parade, Bombay, Anand in his handwriting has dedicated it: "For Shirin, Korshed, Roshan, to three graces of the Indian Dance for instruction if not amusement, from Bulk." 

17A Quoted in full in So Many Freedoms, p. 17
"I have very much enjoyed this essay of yours on the Nightingale of whom I had never heard. It taught me a great deal. I implore you to add four essays on other people to the two you have already written, and to publish a book. It would be well worth while, and would be of great value. It might also mean some profit to yourself."

This book is important as the first one devoted to literary criticism in English by an Indian. He was to publish in the forties other collections of essays and belle lettres, viz:

An Apology for Heroism (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1946).
Homage to Tagore (Lahore: Sagam Publishers Ltd. 1946)
On Education (Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1947)
Lines Written to an Indian Air (Baroda: Nalanda Publications, 1948)
The King's Emperor's English or, The Role of the English Language in the Free India (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1948)

An Apology for Heroism, originally published in England, is really an "autobiographical essay" as Anand states in the Preface of the third edition (Mayfair Publications, New Delhi 1975). The paragraph on p. 19 is worth quoting:

"So I wrote this autobiographical essay and tried to acknowledge my false starts in life, the losing myself to find myself, and criticized, what seems to me, the false emphasis of our Hindu Brahmanical tradition, recorded some of the influences which exerted themselves on me in the struggle for authenticity. I defined it as my "humanism" and called it an apology for heroism, to seek forgiveness for any assertiveness which may have gone into my formulations, against the tentative insights shown in my novels and short stories. The only real excuse for this exhibitionism was the need to sum up, at a certain stage, the tendency of my own development as an individual floating between Asia and Europe, through the mental struggle of our tragic century."

And in the concluding paragraph, Anand asserts: "Always, however, I believed in the struggle - the struggle of men to free themselves, and to expound freedom to others to sanction the ever expanding areas of consciousness, to make man truly human." (p. 25).
It was deemed fit to quote from Anand's *An Apology for Heroism* in this chapter, though rightly the work has relevance to an examination of the philosophical structure of his novels and short fiction. The reason is that we have Anand's own testimony in black and white about the struggle within him when he took the decision to become a writer. Right from the beginning Anand was in search of an identity, a recognition from the literary world of the West and the East, which eventually did come his way; and though at first in a small way, this recognition is now universal.

*An Apology for Heroism* shows Anand preoccupied with the social and political concerns which were to become an integral part of his novels written after 1932; therein he infused the influence of Marx into his writings.

The difference is marked in the only fictional work Anand wrote in his college days in the twenties but which was published in 1934. This is the allegory entitled *The Lost Child*. It is interesting to know the genesis of this fable, which has gone through many printings. (The latest is a Lavanya publication from New Delhi in 1974, a slim publication of 22 pages and which has on the title page an insert in red ink "The proceeds of this book will go to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund." It was priced at Rs. 5.)

"Therefore, through the tensions of my self-criticism, I felt lost and, remembering the aphorism of Guru Nanak, that we are all children lost in the world fair, I wrote an allegory entitled *The Lost Child*. This was based on an incident which happened to me when I was a child of five during the Baisakhi fair on the banks of the river Beas at Kaleshwar, in Kangra Valley. I wrote the story in the early hours of the morning, in my room in Trinity College, Cambridge, facing the Bells. I read it to a friend next morning, with naive 'Punjabi' enthusiasm, but Mr. Shivarama Krishna was a South Indian cynic, and condemned it out of hand as "Tagorian sing song rubbish!" This reception did not deter Anand. He "sent the story to various magazines and it came back with the usual rejection slip. Only one of my mentors, the artist Eric Gill, saw it and offered to print it on his handpress, and even to do an engraving for it." (18)

It was in 1934 that Eric Gill's generous publication of 200 copies of Anand's three stories on childhood: "The Lost Child", 'The Eternal May' and 'The Conqueror' appeared, a slim volume of twenty pages entitled

18. "Why I Write?" (1979) p.4
The Lost Child and Other Stories. These stories had been rejected by The Spectator and other magazines. (19) The book is Anand's much treasured work. As he says, "It will be dear to me as my first published work (in fiction), for its tentativeness, its assimilation of my revolt against religion, its longing for new experience, its emotional discontent, and the lyricism of my mother's folk tales heightened by the love of Rabindranath Tagore's poems and stories." (20)

About six months later whilst walking through Charing Cross Road, a large anthology, Great Stories of the World, attracted Anand's attention. And we know he shared his joy with Irene on finding The Lost Child appearing first in the selection with a hot Indian curry dinner. It was this early recognition of The Lost Child that "made (Anand) persist in the belief that (he) had apprehended the shape of lostness and must search for (himself) and others, and find out the meaning of life." (21)

In 1935 Anand's Untouchable was published and critics rightly consider that his literary career commenced thereafter. By 1945 when he left England to return to India permanently, a series of novels and short story collection had been published: Coolie (1936), Two Leaves and a Bud (1937), The Village (1939) and its sequels, Across the Black Waters (1940) and The Sword and The Sickle (1942), The Barber's Trade Union and Other Stories (1944) and The Big Heart (1945). There was also a non-fictional work, Letters on India (1942) which was to antagonize some of his Bloomsbury friends and English critics who had till then given Anand a favourable reception to his publications. To Niven, "An important aspect of Mulk Raj Anand's fiction is the discovery of self through heightened insight or awareness. Along with the rich control of language, this saves his work from the rhetoric of mere sermonizing, or any sustained sense that the burning political conviction is the source only of tracts and polemics." (23) He also considers the abiding link between all his novels this "distinctive selfhood." Niven says in Private Life it is the lack of self-knowledge that produced terrible effects in the social and private worlds of Indians. This may be so. Anand as a

19. So Many Freedoms, p. 18
20. "About the Lost Child and Other Allegories." Indian Literature I3 (March 1970) p.32
21. 'Why I Write?' (1979) pp. 4-5
22. Anand says: "The talks I had with the literary men and women of Bloomsbury are the background of pseudo-heroe Krishna's struggle to fuse the novel of confrontation of reality with the novel of pleasure, which was to become the series Seven Ages of Man", Conversation in Bloomsbury Preface, p. 6
23 Alastair Niven: The Yoke of Pity (1978) p. 83
writer gave to the Indian people, particularly poor people, his own exhuberant passion for living and sharing. His personal gain has been much "inner happiness" that has sustained him all through his creative writing career that spans over fifty years.

It also helped Anand to persist as a writer despite the continuous struggle to make ends meet, especially during the World War II -1939-1945. This second struggle of living with life's mundane demands and bare necessities was a really hard one for Anand after his marriage to Kathleen Wal Gilder in 1938, which unfortunately never succeeded along with all his efforts to overcome lostness and identity. By 1939 Anand had committed himself to the Thirties Movement and joined the All India Progressive Writers Movement (having written their manifesto in 1935 in London), and V. K. Krishna Menon in Labour Party activities and efforts to influence British public opinion in India's favour to achieve Independence. From 1939 on, Anand spoke and wrote passionately for Indian Independence. (24)

Anand was able to secure a lectureship from 1939 to 1942, lecturing on Literature and Philosophy in adult education schools, all of the London County Council and The Workers Educational Association. Fortunately he was receiving royalties and advances from publishers on his books (Hutchinson used to give him £500 as advance, not annually) and by writing articles and reviewing books, all of which Anand has continued doing for he has an insatiable capacity for work. His love for Urdu poetry which he acquired from his mentor Dr. Iqbal Muhammad, stirred him to undertake a research on 'Landmarks in Urdu Literature'; for this he was awarded the Leverhulme Fellowship of £500 a year for two years; Anand did not complete it. Also by 1941 Anand had been working for the BBC Department of Documentation and Information from which he resigned when he returned to India in 1945.

24. See for details of articles and speeches, Saros Cowasjee: So Many Freedoms, p.21-23
"And much it grieved my heart to think
What man had made of man."

Wordsworth: Lines Written in Early Spring.

Untouchable has been selected to present the development of Anand's philosophy of life and his search for identity as a novelist. Autobiographical strains have been again highlighted; some observations made in earlier chapters are repeated. There is no attempt at criticism of the novel's theme, plot, characters or style.

Anand's first novel Untouchable (1935) is one of the many novels which can be traced to characters of his 'Confessional' of 2000 pages. It likewise helped him to comprehend his sense of 'lostness' and to give his fellow Indians motivations in life. In Anand's own recounting of a conversation with E.M. Forster, Virginia and Leonard Woolf in Tavistock Square, London, we learn how Forster narrates finding a remark in the Reform Club Library copy of A Passage to India. "Burn when done. Has a dirty mind. See Page 242." Forster then says he turned to that page and there found the phrase: "The sweepers of Chandrapur had struck and the comedies lay desolate in consequence." (1) According to Anand it was this conversation that gave him the idea of writing Untouchable around Bakha, an untouchable sweeper boy of 18 years, virile, youthful and a physically handsome specimen, who was a companion friend of his youth in North India. And so, out of the volcano of Anand's "crazed imagination", the novel poured out like "hot lava" (2); it was written during a long weekend, day and night in his long-hand scrawl. During its composition Anand hardly slept at all. This first draft was read out to some of his Bloomsbury friends and "Only one thing they said about (the) fictional narrative was that it faced poverty, the dirt and squalor of the 'lower depths' even more than Gerky had done." (3) Subsequently Anand

This conversation was reproduced in the original Preface to Untouchable which Forster dropped as the Colonel friend was then alive.


made other drafts over two years and also after his visit to Gandhi, who considered it essentially a novel for the elite.

The distinction of Anand as a writer has always been the choice of themes and their treatment in his works. His novels are mainly on human suffering caused by political, economic, social and religious factors. Untouchable depicts the hero Bakha's one-day odyssey through social wrongs and mental crises arising out of encounters with caste Hindus, traders, housewives, and Brahmin priests in the Newshera Cantonment town of North India. On the outskirts of this army settlement, Bakha's Chambra brethren lived in despair resulting from the frustration of their attempts to acquire an identity and lift themselves out of the sub-human existence to which social stigma confined them. Amidst his morning and evening rounds of the regimental latrines, Bakha craves for 'Red Lamp' cigarettes, trousers, putties, the seli tarp only as an unconscious reaction against his life in the 'smoky world of refuse', so graphically described by Anand. He realises that even education is denied him, for "the masters wouldn't teach the out-castes, lest their fingers which guided the students across the text should touch the leaves of the out-caste's books and they were polluted." (4) When this eventful day of his life ends at nightfall, Bakha realises that for Hindu society he is a polluting agent. A Hindu merchant pours water over the cell Bakha had placed at a designated spot, a packet of cigarettes is thrown at him, and the encounter on the street ends in a traumatic experience. A caste Hindu slaps Bakha for polluting him, and shouts "Dirty Deg! Son of a bitch." Bakha then utters a telling indictment of his fate: "Untouchable! Untouchable! That's the word! Untouchable! I am an Untouchable!" (5)

Bakha's problem revolves around cleaning the latrines. The solutions proposed - Christ, Gandhi, Marx and Machine, in particular the last, the flush system - give an optimistic conclusion to this novel of protest against the miserable life of the untouchables.

To make Bakha, a sweeper lad, the chief character of his novel, was certainly a revolutionary stance in an Indian novelist in the 1930's. But to make a novel on the theme of untouchability and to treat it as a national problem is one of the highlights of Anand's Untouchable. Indian social reformers had strongly condemned the practice of untouchability - the most

5. Ibid, p.57
important expression of the Hindu caste system. Gandhi had also condemned it:

"Untouchability, as at present practised, is the greatest blem on Hinduism. It is (with apologies to Sanatanists) against the Shastras. It is against the fundamental principles of humanity. It is against the dictates of reason that a man should, by mere reason of birth, be forever regarded as an untouchable. The Hindu references have come to the conclusion that it has no support in the Hindu Shastras taken as a whole." (6)

On the threshold of his literary career, Anand makes an effective protest against the stigma of pollution attaching to Harijans with a total description of all aspects of the social evil. He exhibits, says M.K. Naik, "a sure grasp of the psychology of both the caste Hindu and untouchable ... his picture of the relationship between them is objective and balanced." (7) Thus in Untouchable we find Anand deeply concerned with a social problem of national dimension, and he takes up the role of a writer committed to the eradication of the evils of society. As Srinivasa Iyengar posits, this novel presents: "the picture of a place, of a society, and of certain persons, not easily to be forgotten: a picture that is also an indictment of the evils of a decadent and perverted orthodoxy." (8)

The novel remains a telling document as relevant today in view of recent incidents of atrocities committed on Harijans by caste Hindus. The Untouchability Offences Act 1955 has been passed, yet the evil persists. It reflects the deep-rooted prejudices, the barbarism and the cruelty with which men inflict on human beings who are considered nonentities in the eyes of society. Anand has attempted a fictional depiction of felt experiences of this dehumanizing social evil, which results in loneliness, loss of identity and rootlessness for the people concerned. An attitude of protest was first developed in Anand's childhood when Bakha, the real-life prototype of the hero of Untouchable, carried Anand, bleeding from a cut on his head by a stone thrown by his companions, and brought him home, only to have Anand's mother snatch away her son and berate Bakha for polluting her son by his touch. Anand confesses that the recollection of this inhuman treatment of his childhood friend remained long in his inner consciousness. In 1933 Anand

6. Gandhi, M.K. Harijan, II February, 1933
himself was once segregated on board a ship to India by British passengers, and "with a shock he realised what it meant to be an untouchable." (9) This aroused him to revise the novel, expressing his own personal fury into it. Anand also reveals that it was the reading of Gandhi's article in Young India on Ukha, the sweeper boy taken to live in the Ashram, that brought home the truth that exposure needed straightforward, simple, austere prose and not the "artificial concocted novel Untouchable of (his) first draft." He accordingly came to Gandhi's Ashram to gain personal experience of untouchability and understand Gandhi's "harijan" philosophy of referm. On the advice of the Mahatma, Anand cleaned latrines himself for a week in the ashram, "after discarding my Bloomsbury corderoy suit, as Gandhi had said I looked like a monkey." He also held discussions with Gandhi thrice a week. Accordingly, he wrote to Sares Cewasjee that perhaps the depth of his realisation of the problem came from Gandhi's Ashram. (10)

To one critic of Anand, such an assertion is suspect. For according to Rashma B. Sinha a writer must be aware that his study of an aesthetic problem has close relationship to critical social issues and to national history, past, present and the future. This relationship is clearly demonstrated in the single paragraph in Untouchable, which describes the sights, sounds and smells of the bazaar as Anand the bourgeoiss reacts, not the response of Bakha, the untouchable. "To a peer man, a bazaar is functional, a familiar environment, and he is unlikely to be struck by it. It is an affluent, Westernized Indian, or a foreigner, that it seems exotic. Anand's failure to distinguish between the consciousness of his chief character and his own, perhaps even to realize that the distinction exists, is symptomatic of his failure to overcome the barriers that separate him from the Untouchable's world and to enter convincingly into it. Anand's failure is, in turn, is symptomatic of the alienation of the Indian bourgeoissie, which is a social problem that enters into the literary realm, where it can be diagnosed through close observation of the writer's style."(11)

Twenty-six years later Anand finds himself still confronted with the


11 "English Literature in India: Suggestions for Reformation and Regeneration." New Quest No.43 (January-February 1984), p.28
same problem of untouchability in India and as he seems to continue the theme in The Read (1961). In a letter of 29 January 1969 to Cewasjee, he explains:

"Well, it was a kind of shock to me when I went to live in Haryana, twenty miles from Delhi, in the human empire of Jawaharlal Nehru, to find that the outcastes not only in South India, but in the mixed North were still consigned to the limbo of oblivion. There was something tragic-comic to me in the fact that the caste Hindu would not touch the stones quarried by the untouchables to make the road, because the stones had been touched by the untouchables. I mentioned this to the great Nehru. He did not believe me. He was quite angry at my mentioning this awkward fact. I said I would prove it to him by showing it to him in the "enchanted mirror." (I2)

In The Read the moral aspects of the system of untouchability are highlighted; that the road to progress in India will have real meaning only with the true emancipation of the untouchables. In Naik's appraisal of this novel (a shorter one), "Anand has no fresh insights into outcaste psychology to offer, while painting this second picture of untouchables." (I3) As Anand told Cewasjee, the book Untouchable is an attack on the whole order, as a reaction against the symbolic slap on the face of one man. 'I don't know what more I can add, except that you link up my protest of forty years ago with the continued protest on behalf of the insulted and injured, whether they be the untouchables of India, or the blacks or browns of South Africa or the Negroes of America. The reviews described it as a "Universal Book and they may have seen the symbolic significance. "(I4)

"Bakha (in Untouchable) never becomes more than the facts of the situation warrant, but he is revealed subtly from within and the small trembling advances of his spirit are surely recorded. The whole picture is irradiated by a sympathetic warmth, and the kaleidoscope movement of couleur, sight, touch, sound, involving the Indian scene is touched throughout by the movement of Bakha's mind. One false note might have killed the whole thing; but there is no false note." (I5)

I4. Ibid, p. 5I-2
Anand's central preoccupation in his novel is with humanism. Actually, 'humanism' is a label that obviously has been used for a great many purposes. To define twentieth-century humanism, as Charles Lament says, "in the briefest possible manner, it is a philosophy of joyous service for the greater good of all humanity in this natural world and according to the methods of reason and democracy." (I6)

This is exactly how Anand conceives art and literature, namely as instruments of humanism, and himself as a creative artist who exhibits ardent love for all human beings, especially the downtrodden and poor. G.S. Balarama Gupta rightly discovers that in his humanism is the "Pretzerean concept of man as the measure of all things." (I7)

The technique employed in Anand's first novel Untouchable in structuring his vision as a writer is assisted by his adoption of a novel form that has much of the folk-tale, its fabulistic character in particular. But here again Anand has created a formal model to stage the body-soul drama of Bakha, the untouchable anti-hero of his novel.

"While accepting the form of the folk tale, especially in its fabulous character, I took in the individual and group psychology of the European centre and tried to synthesise the two styles. And thus I sought to create a new kind of fable which extends the old Indian story form into a new age, without the overt moral lessons of the ancient Indian story, but embodying its verve and vitality and including the psychological understanding of the contemporary period." (I8)

Anand evolved a narrative pattern for Untouchable which combines the moral fable form and the principle of "interplay, indeed interpretation, of situation and character"; Anand found this significant feature in Western short stories of the nineteen thirties. Bakha's odyssey as a natural man at the beginning of his eventful day is captured in the novel; it ends with the realisation of his social identity. After the "shock" of self-recognition, Bakha is developed into something of a fable figure endowed with a visionary quality. This gives him enlightenment regarding work, social discrimination, poverty and the doctrine of pollution. The evil of the caste system is brought out as in a moral fable; the novel ends with a 'desire image'

I6. The Philosophy of Humanism (New York, Philosophical Library, 1957)
I8 Anand's Preface in Selected Stories (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing Houses, 1955) p.5
suggesting how the evil of pollution (i.e. untouchability) should be eradicated. This device is part of the dialectical narrative structure of the novel; and it is employed to promote Anand's social vision. Bakha becomes a hero who displays certain passivity; naturally so, as he is the victim of circumstances. Moreover he is but a mouthpiece for Anand's own social musings and commentary. As Ren Shepherd spines:

"However, the author doesn't play fair, or perhaps his humanism gets the upper hand, because Bakha turns out a little too good to be true. He is too idealised, too much of a prince amid the many human swine, for by the author's own admission, Bakha is rather different from the average run-of-the-mill scavenger ... But in Anand's socialist view of the world there is little that is attractive in human suffering, apart from what the novel shows about the human will to survive suffering. For Anand, suffering, like evil, can be defined in terms of social mismanagement for which specific correctives are available." (19)

Of the solutions hinted at to the problems of the Untouchable - Christ, Gandhi, Marx and the Sewage System (Machine) - Anand favours the last. As a committed artist, with a bit of the romantic, he sees the whole of life, and thus the novel does not end affirming "the negation of life".

"The novel of revolutionary romanticism ... seeks the desire image, that is to say, to suggest what the writer would like life to be like, by implication, as against what it is ..." (20)

To promote his social vision, Anand uses a device - a spokesman figure, the young poet Sanshar who is introduced in the last scene and explains the choice of possibilities to a section of the crowd that includes Bakha. Gandhi is revered by the poet as "the greatest liberating force of our age", but Anand suggests that India would suffer by non-acceptance of the machine. Bashir, with whom the poet is talking, describes the benefits of the machine, "greater efficiency, better salesmanship, mere mass-production, standardisation, dictatorship of the sweepers, Marxist materialism, and all that" - all possibilities that Anand desires for the new society. The poet's reply, however, is significant: "Yes, Yes, ... all that, but no catch-words and cheap phrases, the change will be organic and not mechanical."

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This conclusion is reached by a subtle blending of the "desire-image" device and the "spokesman device", to result in a modern Indian English form of prese-fiction. Through these two devices, Anand projects himself into the narrative to present an image of a desired reality and employs the spokesman to be the advocate of the underdog on whose behalf he writes fiction. Anand regards the fable element as important; and he employs it for the portrayal of the underprivileged and the exposure of religious, social, economic and cultural evils of society.

Anand's model framework of the novel was skilfully woven into Untouchable because he applied the stream of consciousness in the depiction of the humble sweeper Bakha, the Joycean technique made popular in England in the nineteen thirties. Again, Anand attempted some experimentation with this technique for the purpose of his prese-fiction.

"When I began to write novels about India, though I took Joyce's 'Stream of Consciousness' as my method, I had to apply it to a different situation ... I felt that the novel should not press the 'inner monologue' beyond a certain point, so that humanism may remain a variable factor in the situation." (21)

Anand's experimentation has brought about a model of a novel which has Indianized literary models derived from the West, and westernised the traditional Indian folk tale. As Haydn Meere William opines: "What it lacks in colour and variety, Untouchable gains in unity and severity of confinement to a single problem.... Bakha's sensations of injustice, self-leathin, yearning for companionship and social betterment are portrayed with great conviction. The novel has lyricism and comedy as well as pathes and vivid naturalistic descriptions." (22)

Anand's Untouchable has remained a novel of universal appeal, despite the dirt, squaller, latrines and deplorable sweeper Basti described with delicate sensibility and vivid description.

Anand revised his first draft of 1930 many times before the novel was finally published. In 1932 at Gandhi's ashram, he had made three revisions; on his return to England, he again made modifications at the suggestion of his Bloomsbury friends. We also knew that Sares Cewasjee carried out additional editorial corrections to Anand's revision for the Bedley Head edition published 1970. This sort of revisions to his novels, even before

21 Naik, M.K. Mulk Raj Anand (from the Anand's answer to a questionnaire quoted) pp. 153-54
22 Studies in Modern Indian Fiction in English, Volume One (Calcutta, Writers Workshop, 1978) p.33
their publication is characteristic of Anand, who is a conscientious writer for one thing; but more important, these revisions reflect Anand's careful formulation of his concept of the novel as a vehicle to transmit his thinking or reflections on events, beliefs or dictums. Occasionally, Anand incorporates fresh insights derived from his wide reading of the world's literature. The two following letters to Anand regarding Untouchable are quoted by Cawasjee.

**Edgell Rickwood's letter dated 30 November 1934**

"I am glad to get your letter, and to find that you admired Forster's introduction as much as I do. I think from every point of view it was just what we wanted. It is a little masterpiece of suggestion and understanding, and will be the book's passport through the latent hostility of the ordinary reviewer. We could not have had anything better."

- By courtesy of Mr. Anand.

**Maurice Brown's letter dated 24 August, 1934**

"The criticism, which you tell me had been made, that the book is obscene and so forth, seems to me utterly puerile: There is not, to my way of thinking, one vulgar sentence in the entire book. There are many exceedingly unpleasant ones but that is, of course, an entirely different matter."

- By courtesy of Mr. Anand. (23)

The novel Untouchable, which almost caused its author to commit suicide because of the nineteen rejections from publishers, has received remarkable response from the book trade and from buyers all these fifty years that it has been in print, in India and abroad, in different formats - hard cover, paperbacks, student edition, pocket edition. Untouchable has been translated into several languages - Russian, Slavonic, Spanish, and other European languages, Chinese, Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi and Bengali. In a letter written to K. Natvar Singh, written from Bombay, Anand informs him that:

"Surprisingly, Untouchable has just been adopted as a 'text book' in Mysore University in spite of much opposition. So there may be remnants of decency in our culture who sympathise with the Preface of E.M. Forster."(24) Mulk Raj Anand has a fresh Dedication in the Mayfair Paperback edition of Untouchable (New Delhi 1981) a reprint of the Bedley Head (London) revised edition (1970), which reads:

The original edition of the novel is dedicated to Edith Yeung.

In this edition I add to the name of this inspirer the names of two others, K.S. Shelvankar and M.K. Gandhi." (p.7)

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Into this novel, Anand has infused felt-experience, a social vision, and a 'prophecy' for a better society through experimentation with theme and technique. Truly, Anand is "the forerunner of the protest literature of the colonial peoples as they threw off their oppressions." (25) R.T. Robertson in his evaluation of Untouchable as an "Archetypal Novel", considers the novel as "the best example we have in Commonwealth Literature of the archetype of the conflict between society and the individual who is trying to free himself from it. By presenting the conflict in its most extreme terms, Anand's novel subsumes either less stark and poignant versions of the same situation, such as the "man-alone" theme or the concept of self-exile. (26) Srinivasa Iyengar concludes his evaluation of Anand with the following statement:

"We have in Mulk Raj Anand a novelist who is not so interested in portraying the beauty or ugliness of life or espousing Marx or the machine, as in sensitising us to the horror of poverty and suffering. The heartlessness of the few which thwart the promising life of the helpless yeung, and flameless idealism of others which will burn itself out because it can't cope with the many-cornered attack in its half-developed state. And I for one feel grateful to a writer who has tried to do it all in terms of art." (26)
Among the Indian writers writing in English, Mulk Raj Anand is preeminent for the seriousness and fullness of his commitment to what he is writing and working for. He has been acclaimed for his achievement with the novel form, and is a reputed art critic, with a power of words and speech that has made him a living force among the intelligentsia of India. He has continued to be the intelligent and thinking spokesman of the community in which he lives. In himself there is a perfect combination of the good creative writer and the citizen of the world. For Anand, writing and life are inseparable. Whenever an occasion arises Anand does not fail to make pronouncements of his conceptions of both his chosen profession as a man of letters and what constitutes himself as a human being.

Anand is a member of intellectuals who exercises his obligations or Dharma i.e. to protect the underprivileged, in his own way. This obligation to espouse the cause of the downtrodden - the workers, the peasants, the untouchables, the victims of the Bihar famine, the migrant population of Assam, and recently in the Punjab problem - is self-imposed, and he devotes hours of the day for these causes in writing letters to the editors of newspapers and journalistic articles, and also to actual confrontation. This accounts for the unifying strand in his writings from the publication of his first novel Untouchable: it is the human situation in the lives of people of the lower caste, despised in society. It is also an achievement of a self-conscious modernist living in a secular democracy. His insights, inspirations and hunches are all infused with Karuna that comes from understanding, compassion and sympathy which itself acts as a catharsis that is possible in literature and art. In his conception, the world of art is a communication from one individual to another or to the group, through the need to connect. In a recent interview in 1983, Anand held forth: "I feel it is important to bring a freshness to the direct experience of the human predicament ... Human living has become dark and impossible. How can we speak of culture till we have this darkness all around?" (I)

In 1945, Mulk Raj Anand returned to India for good and tried to start a small cultural centre on Canal Bank, Lahore, then part of India in pre-partition days. Net making a success of this venture, Anand came to Bombay and met Anil de Silva, Phirez Mehta and other like-minded people of his London years, and together with other like-minded people founded a band of architects who called themselves Modern Architects' Research Group; from their name MARG magazine gets its title. The manifesto of this group as stated in the first issue of MARG is to spread the knowledge of the ancient and contemporary principles of architecture in our country and abroad. The movement failed because of the disintegration of the original MARG group and also because the intelligentsia did not respond. The magazine MARG has had a glorious almost unprecedented success all through Anand's editorship (2); he had done as much to bring to the imagination the understanding of the arts as does the artist who creates his experience.

The inspiration for this outstanding art magazine of India came from Anil de Silva, the Sinhalese hillwoman who made her home at 25 Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay, the office and production centre of MARG. Anand inherited this accommodation from Anil; and continues to live with his second wife Shirin Vazifdar, who also conducts Bharata Natyam classes in the large high-ceilinged room which bears the stamp of Anand and his preoccupations with writing. This room of rare size is crowded along three walls with a profusion of books collected by Mulk, the art connoisseur, the bookworm and the prolific writer over the last thirty years; and there are also art figures, sculptured pieces and paintings. Mulk is very sentimental about this room. "I have loved so much and lived in it so creatively that it has an atmosphere of its own... Just look at the space all around. The people who built this room had an awareness - they left room for you to move and relax." (3)

Art talks, art exhibitions, art seminars and conferences, and art criticism constitute a major preoccupation of Anand all the years of his life; he has travelled widely both in India and abroad for research work on art and other purposes, especially since Jawaharlal Nehru sought his active collaboration on special assignments in the promotion of Art in India in 1961. To mention just one visit: in 1953 he visited London as a panel

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2. On August 1, 1981, Mulk Raj Anand had resigned from the general editorship over personal differences.

member of five judges of the International Sculpture competition. Anand became the Honorary President of Lalit Akademi, New Delhi from 1966-1971; and later became the first Tagore Professor of Art and Literature, University of Punjab, Chandigarh; these two honours are among others given to him as a well-known art critic of India. (4)

His books and short stories have been appearing frequently in the last decade; Arnold-Heinemann (India) of New Delhi has been bringing out editions and reprints of all his works, and of the volumes of his autobiographical novels from *Morning Face* (1968) which won Anand the coveted Sahitya Akademi award, the prestigious literary honour in India, in 1971. About a reading public for his novels, Anand need not now concern himself, and copies of his books are freely available in the bookshops in Bombay, in most of the major towns of India and abroad. However, there was no such easy availability of his books in these early years of his writing career. In fact, in 1946, Anand became the Director of Kutub Publishers Ltd., Bombay and had low-priced editions of his novels, earlier published in England, and other non-fiction works issued under their imprint because his works were not available in India. This publishing venture ended in bankruptcy for his friend Phiroze Mistry and himself. The Bhatkal Brothers, proprietors of Popular Book Depot, Bombay, inherited this publishing business and they brought out editions of *Untouchable*, *Coelie* and other works by Anand under the imprint Kutub-Popular. When Suresh Cewanjee was negotiating with Badley Head, London, to bring out a reprinting of these two works in 1968, the unsold Kutub editions were also cornered. (5) Fortunately for Anand, from 1945 onwards translations of the novels in many languages, which had begun to come out before the World War II, were new multiplied. Also Indian translations in the major languages had been issued and are being issued.

Recognition of Mulk Raj Anand as a writer of International renown had come his way very early in his career. In July 1948, he was elected President of the World Intellectuals' Meeting in Poland and since then has held the chairmanship of many prestigious Writers' Conferences all over the world. Anand is a much sought-after chairperson and organizer of seminars, conferences and discussions, by organizations like Unesco, Afre-Asian Writers' body, and the Commonwealth Writers Conference (Australia, 1968). Besides,

4. See details of other visits abroad and India and of honours of in the section on "Biographical Sources" of the Thesis.

5. *Author to Critic* (1970) Letter of 29 August 1968 has details of the negotiations, pp. 3(-4)
Anand has been lecturing on his theory of comprehensive historical humanism at various Indian Universities (e.g., *Roots and Flowers* (1972), certain his lectures at the Karnataka University, Dharwar). He was appointed Visiting Professor, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla (1967-1972). Involvement in India's social, economic, artistic and cultural life, has always been Anand's commitment. In this respect, he sets a fine personal example. "Above all, the intelligentsia of the country, from all walks of life must demonstrate, by personal example, how the individual can become ... human being, an Indian, and a citizen of the world. This means that the elder generation, which has become identified with a corrupt social order, must take in constructive work, away from power politics, and allow the new younger generation to be trained for the art of government, business, administration and education." (6)

Anand achieves much for he gives himself a busy daily schedule: a walk at 5.30 a.m. to begin the day; 6.30 tea; by 9.30 he has finished writing whatever he has to for the day; some of it being translation work, though of late the reprinting of his publications has led him to spend more time on writing. After lunch at a table where there are always guests, he relaxes for a while. He entertains after six, and is in bed by ten or so.

"Mulk Raj Anand most controversial novelist", says Sures Cewasjee in the first line of the Preface to his study of the major fiction of Mulk Raj Anand entitled *So Many Freedoms* (1977). His discussion of the sociological, historical, the biographical and detailed textual approaches has become recognized as a remarkable critical appreciation.

In a conversation, Anand considers that of all critics, Alastair Niven in his *The Yoke of Pity: A Study of the Fictional Writings of Mulk Raj Anand* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1978), has written a worthwhile book for he has begun his examination with the autobiographical novels, showing the close inter-relationship between Anand's life experiences and his writings. There are many critics from abroad, some of whom have written full studies (e.g. Jack Lindsay, Margaret Berry, Marlene Fisher), some critical articles, all contributions to the growing body of critical appreciation of Mulk Raj Anand, who still defies classification. William Walsh, who has written critical appreciations of many Indian English novelists, and only recently a detailed study of R.K. Narayan, has this to say of Anand:

"As a writer Mulk Raj Anand lacks the concrete sagacity, the finesse, the "appetite for the illustrational" - to use Henry James's phrase - which marks everything that R.K. Narayan writes; nor does he have that sense of the metaphysical nature of man we find in the other distinguished novelist, Raja Rae. But he has a stricken and genuine feeling for the deprived, a grasp of the social structure of his society and an extraordinary fluency of communication. This fluency of communication has something Russian in it, and Russian too (but in an infinitely more attractive sense than the earlier Marxist-dominated way) are two later works, Morning Face (1968) and Private Life of an Indian Prince (revised 1970). These two books which are, it appears from Sares Cewasjee's introduction, highly autobiographical, summon up the great name of Dostoevsky in their pouring out of an intensely realised personal grief. They show in addition how the mind which created Celie came to be formed, how the boy Krishna once folded lovingly into the family, becomes coldly detached and alone. The rhythm of this desperate progress is defined with an unusual purity and precision, and so with the same mastery is the collapse of the prince's mind in Private Life of an Indian Prince. In both these works, free as they are from undue political scaffolding, there is an extraordinary combination of psychological perception and human agency." (7)

Indian professors, scholars and critics have found a wealth of material to discuss, comment on, carry on critical analysis and comparative studies on Mulk Raj Anand and his individual novels. Anand knows only too well the amount of research that is being undertaken on him in Indian universities, for there are ever fifty scholars researching on him at present. And they could not have found a more understanding and cooperative author who never fails to give prompt replies to questionnaire queries and letters of writers of critical studies and articles. Anand is aware of the hostility to him existing among Indian Professors of the South, he says, who consider him a traitor to Hinduism when he asserts that he took his humanism from Christianity also. He cannot understand how they can be so bigoted, for Anand has all his life been working for traditional Indian art. (The volumes of MARG are his testimony.) However, there are excellent critical studies and appraisals by Indian scholars and professors of English, which are worth the attention of any researcher on Mulk Raj Anand. Professor C.D. Narasimhaiah says "We have

7. 'Some Observations on Mulk Raj Anand's Fiction,' Perspectives on Mulk
in Mulk Raj Anand a novelist who is not so interested in portraying the beauty or ugliness of life or espousing Marx or the machine, as in sensitizing us to the horror of poverty and suffering, the heartlessness of the few which thwarts the promising life of the helpless young, and the flameless idealism of others which will burn itself out because it can't cope with the many-cornered attack in its half-developed state. And I for one feel grateful to a writer who has tried to do it all in terms of art." (8)

Krishna Nanda Sinha asserts: "He has put what he has known about life in his stories and novels, and if his knowledge is not profound, it is not quite shallow or superficial. At least he has made a valiant attempt to transmit his "tearments and estacies" into artistic creations." (9)

In his study of 1983, K.V. Suryanarayana Murti helds: "He is the originator of the art of writing fiction in English, as an Indian, about Indians, in an Indian way, with an identifiable ability that is Indian."(10)

As a person, Anand has a charm of his own that endears him to his friends. 'Psyche' Chatterjee writes about her acquaintance and personal contacts with Anand in her article "Mulk Raj Anand: A Very Personal View" in Youth Times (5 April 1974) p.22

"For me his most endearing and enduring quality is his ability still to be shocked, and genuinely so. Because he refuses to be 'disillusioned' about people. Mulk is a man of paradoxes. Though possessing a fine mind he is often incredibly naive. Though generous, he can often be selfish and stingy. Though humble, he can be pugnacious and belligerent. Though warm he remains aloof."

The Government of India recognizes Anand the writer and the man who has contributed his life and work over half a century to the country he loves and works for. The Government has appointed Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, as honorary editor of art books to be published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Dr. Anand, who is a member of the Ministry's media advisory committee has behind him a writing career spanning nearly half-a-century. He was awarded the Padma Bnsan in 1965 and Sahitya Akademi Award for Morning Face in 1971. His Confession of a Lover won the E.M. Forster Memorial Prize in 1975 when it was instituted by Arnold-Heinemann. Mulk Raj Anand is certainly a universal writer with world-wide recognition.

8. The Swan and the Eagle; (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study,1969) p. 133-4
Part II: BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES
BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Contents

I   Chreneologies -  a) Published  (29)  
b) Unpublished  (29)  
c) Data untraced  (133)  
II  Biographical Works - Select titles  (135)  
III Bio-data in Periodicals and Works  (136)  
IV Chairmanship, Membership, etc. of Associations, Organization, etc.  (137)  
V  Times of India Reference Library, Bombay - Notices  (138)  
VI Bibliographical Sources  (140)  
VII General References and Additional Reading List for Thesis  (141)  

I  Chreneologies

a) Published in Special Numbers of Periodicals

1965  Mulk Raj Anand: chronology. Contemporary Indian Literature V, no II 
& I2 (Nov-Dec. 1965) 42-47  
Dr. Mulk Raj Anand Special Number-issued on his Sixtieth Birthday

1977  Chreneology. Kakatiya Journal of English Studies II, no I (Spring 
1977) 256-60 - Mulk Raj Anand Special Number.- Similar to the 
Contemporary Indian Literature ones; ends 1976.

b) Unpublished

Contents:
Personal:  
Age 67; Nationality Indian

Outlook:
International; believer in the dignity and equal worth of all men and 
in truth as the way to make them a living reality. Believer in 
creative art as the best weapon of humanism.

Travels:
Europe including the U.S.S.R.; Northern Africa; South East Asia; 
Australia; China; Latin America.

Languages:
English; some French; a little German; smattering of Russian; Urdu; 
Persian.

Main Activities:
Philosopher, Novelist, Essayist, Art Critic.
Books:
Fiction:
UNTACTHABLE; COOLIE; TWO LEAVES AND A BUD; THE VILLAGE; ACROSS THE
BLACK WATERS; THE SWORD AND THE SICKLE; THE BARBER'S TRADE UNION and
THE OTHER STORIES; THE BIG HEART; THE TRACTOR AND THE CORN GODDESS;
THE PRIVATE LIFE OF AN INDIAN PRINCE; SEVEN SUMMERS; REFLECTIONS ON A
GOLDEN BED; THE POWER OF DARKNESS; THE OLD WOMAN AND THE COW; THE
ROAD; ETC.

Essays:
PERSIAN PAINTING; THE HINDU VIEW OF ART; THE GOLDEN BREATH; APOLOGY
FOR HEROISM; ON EDUCATION; HOMAGE TO TAGORE; LINES WRITTEN TO AN
INDIAN AIR; KAMA KALA; ETC.

Awards:
LAUREAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE FROM THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL,
VIENNA, FOR PROMOTING UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE PEOPLES WITH HIS CREATIVE
WORKS, 1952.
SAHITY AKADEMI PRIZE FOR INDIAN-ENGLISH WRITING, 1972.

Present Activity:
Editor of the MARG magazine: a journal of arts.; Director of Kutub
Publishers Limited; Actively engaged in a series of novels and mis-
cellaneous books; Member of the Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of
Letters); Member of the Lalit Akademi (National Academy of Art);
Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Punjab, Chandigarh.

Permanent Address:
Dr. Mulk Raj Anand
Taraporevala Mansion
25, Cuffe Parade
Bombay 5.

1972 Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Mimeographed, 2 p. (By courtesy of the author)

\[\text{Contents}\]

1905 Born Peshawar (now in Pakistan) 12 December.

1921-24 Studied at Khalsa College, Amritsar; participated in the non-
vviolent campaign and suffered brief imprisonment; wrote poetry
in Urdu and had frequent meetings with Dr. Muhammad Iqbal.

1924 (? Obained B.A. (Hons) degree of Punjab University; Sailed for
England for higher study and research in philosophy; studied at
University College, London, under Professor G. Dawes Hicks; met
Irene, "daughter of a scientific philosopher in a North Wales University," upon her suggestion, wrote a long confession of 2,000 pages, which became a source book for novels like Seven Summers and Morning Face.

1928-30 Obtained Ph.D. degree in Philosphy of Lenden University; did considerable free lance writing for Criterien and other journals; toured Europe; worked on Indian art studies under the guidance of Ananda Coomaraswamy and E.B. Havell; Persian Painting.

1932 Returned to India; studied ancient monuments; lived in Sabarmati Ashram with Mahatma Gandhi and wrote first draft of Untouchable.

1933 Sailed back to Europe: The Hindu View of Art; The Golden Breath; Untouchable rejected by nineteen British publishers.

1935 Untouchable; invited to represent India in the International Writers' Conference against Fascism.

1936 Joined the International Brigade in Spain during the Spanish Civil War.

1937 Two Leaves and a Bud.

1938 Associated with the Student Movement, the Kisan Sabha and the Indian National Congress, on return to India; went back to Lenden; married Kathleen Van Gelder, theatrical actress.

1939-42 The Village Trilogy; associated with the British Labour Party.

1944 The Barber's Trade Union and Other Stories.

1945 The Big Heart; returned to India for good; tried to start a small cultural centre at Lahere.

1946 Came to Bombay; helped found the Modern Architects' and Artists' Research Group and the art magazine MARG; Apology for Heroism.

1947 The Tractor and the Corn Goddess and Other Stories.

1948 Visited U.S.S.R.; secured divorce from Kathleen Van Gelder; returned to India and suffered nervous breakdown; declared a decadent by the Bombay Group of the Progressive Writers' Association.

1950 Attended the World Peace Council Session in Berlin.

1951 Seven Summers.

1952 Awarded the International Peace Prize of the World Peace Council for promoting understanding among the nations through his creative works;
visited China as a member of Indian delegation

1953 Private Life of an Indian Prince; Reflections on the Golden Bed and Other Stories.

1956 Helped organise first Asian Writers' Conference in New Delhi; nervous breakdown.

1958 Visited U.S.S.R as joint leader of Indian delegation to Afro-Asian Writers' Conference.

1959 The Power of Darkness and Other Stories.

1960 The Old Woman and the Cow; visited Japan for a special meeting of Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

1961 Visited Australia on a lecture tour and attended Australian Peace Conference in Melbourne; organised exhibition of Contemporary Indian Painting in Melbourne.

1962 Visited Caire as leader of Indian delegation to Afro-Asian Writers' Conference; sponsored formation of the Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers in Colombo and the Indian Committee of Writers for Afro-Asian Solidarity in New Delhi; joined Punjab University as Tagore Professor of Art and Literature.

1963 The Read; lectured on his theory of comprehensive historical humanism at various Indian Universities.

1964 Death of a Hero.

1965 Visited Weimar as a delegate to the World Writers' Meeting; Visited Helsinki for World Peace Congress.

1966 Lajwanti and Other Stories; Honorary President, Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi (1966–71)

1967 Visiting Professor, Indian Institute of Advance Study Simla.

1968 Attended Commonwealth Writers' Conference in Australia.

1969 Visited Caire for Bureau Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers, to inaugurate Lotus Magazine.

1970 Morning Face; Organiser Secretary-General, Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian writers, New Delhi.

1971 Visited Middle East on a Research tour.

1972 Visited Bangla Desh; Sahitya Akademi Award for Morning Face.
Born on the 12th of December 1905 at Peshawar in the North West Frontier of India.

Son of Rai Sahib Subedar Lall Chand Anand of 38th Degree, afterwards 2/17 Prince of Wales' Own Degrees.

Graduated from the Punjab University at Khalsa College, Amritsar, with an Honours' degree in 1924.

Was awarded a Silver Wedding Fund Scholarship of £300/- per annum for Research in Philosophy at the University of London.

Studied under the famous Kantian Scholar, Professor G. Dawes Hicks, M.A., D.Litt. F.B.A. at University College, London, from 1925 till 1928.

Obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1928 with a thesis on the Philosophy of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Bertrand Russell.

Studied under Mr. E.C. Bartlett at the University of Cambridge.

Attended Seminars under Professor G Dawes Hicks and Hegel's Philosophy at Cambridge.

Also attended lectures by Dr. C.D. Broad in Cambridge University.

Studied at the Sorbonne, Paris for six months under the famous Oriental scholar, Professor Sylvain Lévi.

Attended courses of lectures in 1900 at the School of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations at Geneva, in Switzerland under Professor Zimmern and Professor Maddara.

Started to write criticism for T.S. Eliot's Magazine The Criterion and for Mr. Middleten Murray's Adelphi Magazine as well as for several other reviews.

Published three books of art and literary criticism in 1932, Persian Painting (Faber) The Hindu View of Art, in collaboration with the Sculptor Eric Gill, (Unwin); Returned to India in 1933 and researched in Folk Art in the Kangra Hills for a year, also lecturing at the Punjab University on Philosophy and Literature.

Resided in Paris in 1934. Returned to India and wrote the first novel Untouchable, later published by Wishart Books Ltd., with a Preface by E.M. Forster. Published in quick succession two more novels, entitled Coastal and The Leaves and a Bud.

Became a contributor of articles, reviews, stories, etc. to The Listener,
Visited Spain as a special correspondent for Indian newspapers in 1936.

Returned to India and lectured extensively in various universities as a guest lecturer.

Returned to London and set out to write a trilogy of Indian peasant life, later published by Jonathan Cape under the following titles: The Village, Across the Black Waters and The Sword and the Sickle.

At the outbreak of war, served as a lecturer on literature and Current Affairs for the W.E.A. and the L.C.C.; was Indian consultant on films at the Ministry of Information, Malet Street, London, for 3 years and wrote various scripts for documentary films.

Also broadcasted regularly for the Indian section of the B.B.C. writing radio plays and anti-Fascist propaganda till the end of the war.

Published a collection of short stories with Jonathan Cape in 1944. The earlier novels Untouchable and Ceylon were reprinted in large editions by Penguin during the war. The Book of Stories being in a large edition by Guild Books in the Services edition. Most of the early novels also being translated into Czech, Polish, Spanish, French, Russian, Chinese, Hebrew and various Indian languages. Published a new novel THE BIG HEART with Hutchinson International Authors Ltd., in 1944.

Returned to India in 1945 and toured the country.

Became Director of Kutub Publishers Ltd., Bombay in 1946.

 Started MAG Magazine, a journal of the arts from Bombay at the end of 1945.

Finished research on a book under the Leverhulme Fellowship which was awarded in the year 1942.

Started a series of seven novels dealing with two generations in India from 1905 to 1945, first volume SEVEN SUMMERS in press with Hutchinson International Authors Ltd.

Published the following books in India from 1945 to 1948:

II Biographical Works - Select titles

Contemporary Novelists: Second edition with a preface by Walter Allen
Editor: James Vinsen Associate Editor: D.L. Kirkpatrick, Lenden: St.

Cultural Profiles Compiled by Nissim Ezekiel; edited by Rekha Menen.
Bombay: International Cultural Centre, 1961, p.29

Dictionary of World Literature, vol.II: South and South East Asia. New
Delhi, Vikas, 1981

Great Writers of the English Languages
Novelists and Press Writers/Edited by James Vinsen; Associate Editor: D.L.Kirkpatrick. Lenden: Macmillan, 1979, 42-44. Critical comment by Anna Rutherford, 43-4


III Bio-data in Periodicals and Works

Indian P.E.N. 6, No.4 (April 1940)
Note on p.48 - as Spencer of Indian Writing (qtly) published in England along with Iqbal Singh and Dr. Sashadhar Sinha.

Indian Publisher and Bookseller-XI, No.3 (March 1961) India - America Number. Guest Editor: W.Gerden Graham.
Note to MBA'S article, Letter to an American Publisher 236-7,339.
"Internationally known humanist author whose Indian novels have a place in English literature... a few widely read Indian novels!"

Indian Writing Today v.II, No.1 - Contemporary Indian Writers (en back cover)
Mulk Raj Anand, "It happens new and then in a person's life to pick a book and suddenly realize after ten minutes reading that one had made a contact with a writer of genius, Sartre, Faulkner, Mauriac and Shelekov have given countless readers that shock of discovery and joy. So too has Mulk Raj Anand, who never fails to evidence razer - sharp intelligence, sensitivity and compassion."

The Literary Review (Autumn 1967). Note contributors. "His fiction, mainly about the dispossessed, emerged in answer to certain problems of death and love, about which he wrote a long confessional narrative in 1926 - Some of his novels have gone into the major World
languages, while his short stories from the lyrical to the expressionist and satirical, have been widely anthologised. He believes that in spite of disruption, destination man is possible if solidarity among the intelligensia of the various nations could take place. This solidarity, he conserves "as a training. And he is interested in the emergence of Universal Man. MRA served as Guest Editor of Indian Number of the Literary Review (Summer 1961)" (p.1)


(Insert at head of his article) "Couleur Line and Form in Paper Paintings", I2I-46


Contributers Note "Nulk Raj Anand is one of the best known names in creative Indian writing ... Mr. Anand asserts that he is against doctrinaire thinking but believes that the insights afforded by poetry and the plastic arts may contribute to the making of a whole man".

Femina (Oct.22 - Nov.1, 1976) as writer of the symposium 'A New Light on Love' pp.32-33, 35 - at head of article.

IV. Chairmanship, Membership, etc. of Associations, Organizations etc.

P.E.N. All India Centre, Bombay - Life Member

Authors' Guild of India, New Delhi - Life Member (June 1980)

Lalit Kala Akademi - Chairman 1965-1970

Fellow Member 1975

The Literary Criterion - Patron (1980)

Journal of Indian Writing in English - Patron

Contemporary Indian Literature - Founders - Member.

Chairman - Seminar Sections

1960 Eastern and Western Countries Vienna Meeting Sept. 1960 Paris, organised by International Association of Plastic Arts, Unesco (Home) (was also a participant)

1961 All-India Bengali Literary Conference Bombay Dec.28, 1960 - Jan.7,1961. (was also a participant)
1966  Seminar on Indian Aesthetics and Art Activity, Simla, May 16-28, 1966,
organised by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. (Also acted
as the Director of the Seminar)

Member-Steering Committee

1965  Lalit Kala Akademi Seminar on Art Education, New Delhi, Feb. 18-25,
1956.

1965  Lalit Kala Akademi Artists' Conference, Hyderabad 1965

Participant

1961  Ther Emergency Meeting of the Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers,
Tokyo, March 28-30, 1961
International Preparation Committee, March 21-27, 1961

A Meeting of Writers hosted by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

All Commonwealth Literature Seminars organised by ACLAIS, including 1977
seminar at New Delhi.

N.B. References are also to be made to the Chronologies - Section I

Journal Publications

Guest Editor  The Literary Review (Summer 1961) (Indian Number)
Contemporary I & 2 (Lalit Kala Akademi Bulletin)

Member - Editorial Board

1939  New Indian Literature (Bombay) No.I, 1939
Qtl. Journal of Indian Progressive Writers Association. It has
the Manifeste which was adopted at the Second All-India Conference.

1961  Contemporary Indian Literature (New Delhi)

1980  Mayer : A Modern Monthly
Always contributes to journals, even to first numbers on request.

Times of India Reference Library, Bombay

V. N.B. Notes made from clippings maintained under Mulk Raj Anand - Obituary file.
I

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES used for India.**

### I. Bibliographies on Mulk Raj Anand

- **Contemporary Indian Literature** V, nos II & I2 (Nov.-Dec. 1965) (Dr. Mulk Raj Anand Special Number) 35-41

### II. Bibliography of the Novels and Stories by Mulk Raj Anand in Various World Languages. Contemporary Indian Literature V, nos II & I2 (Nov.-Dec. 1965) (Dr. Mulk Raj Anand Special Number)


### III. General Bibliographical Sources

- **Aspects of Indian Culture III: Indian Literature (Select Bibliography)/ Editors: H.S. Patil and S. Nasibul Hassan. New Delhi: Vikas, for the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, 1972, xii, 262

- The Section *General* has a grouping: Indian Novels.


- A Checklist of works by Indian writers in English 1800 - 1966

- **A Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations accepted by Indian Universities 1857 - 1900.** New Delhi: Inter-University Board of India and Ceylon 1972 - 1975 (24 pts.), Revised editions available, new issued annually in sections, e.g. Social Sciences and Humanities 1976-1982. Kept up-to-date by University News (bi-monthly) issued by the Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi, the present publishers.


A partial list of novels in print as at 1963 in U.S.A.

Jain, Sushil Kumar, Comp. A Bibliography of Indian Autobiographies, including journals, diaries, reminiscences and letters. Regina: Univ. of Saskatchewan, 1965; p. 39 (mimeographed)

- A Checklist of Works by Indians in English or Translations from Modern Indian Languages. Regina: 1965 (mimeographed) Pt. III Fiction (14 p.)


The author compiles the annual bibliography listing for British Humanities Index 1965 - Lenden: Library Association, 1965 -


Cumulative Book Index Washington; Graphical Divn. 1950 - Library of Congress.

U.S. Library of Congress Accession List - India. New Delhi: 1961 -
VII General References and Additional Reading for Thesis

a) Biographical Works:


The book was prepared out of a research carried out in 1970–72 at Orissa. The book was written in 1976–77.

6. Maughaniana: The Writings of W. Somerset Maugham, being a handlist of works ... /introduction and notes by Raymond Teole Stett. London: Heinemann, 1950

b) General

4. Brittain, Vera. The Place of Autobiography in Modern Literature. Modern Review -Cultural Forum 6-II (Guest Editorial)
As background to Anand's Bloomsbury associations.


20. Subramanyan, N.S. Movements in Modern English Novel. - On Naturalism both "as a medium of expressing ideas and the most significant literary form (bibliographically) in modern literature".


Times of India (Bomlay)

Law fails to make a dent in caste barrier. 31 March, 1983, 23:1-5

Namperia, N.J. Inte Forster's India Again. 19 April 1984, I, 4:3-8
Part III : BIBLIOGRAPHY
## Contents Page

### PRIMARY SOURCES

(The arrangement is generally chronological; some sections are alphabetical)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. FICTION</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Novels</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Autobiographical Novels</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Children Literature</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. SHORT STORIES</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Collections</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Single Stories - a) In Periodicals</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) In Anthologies</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. PLAYS AND FILMS</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Radio Plays (arranged by titles)</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Stage Plays and Films</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. LITERATURE AND CRITICISM</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. INTRODUCTIONS, PREFACES AND AFTERWORDS</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. LETTERS</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. In Book Form</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Letters in The Times of India</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Letters in Other Periodicals and Monographs</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. CONTRIBUTIONS</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. In Monographs</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Periodical Contributions</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. INTERVIEWS WITH MULK RAJ ANAND</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. BOOK REVIEWS (except of works on Art and Culture) BY ANAND</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. TRANSLATIONS</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. RUSSIAN MATERIAL ON MULK RAJ ANAND</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Translated into English)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SECONDARY SOURCES

(The arrangement is alphabetical)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. BOOK REVIEWS</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. CRITICISM</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. THeses AND DISSERTATIONS (Indian and Foreign)</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parts II and III
MULK RAJ ANAND — An Annotated Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

(Arranged chronologically by date of publication)

A. FICTION:

I. Novels.

1935


The Untouchable describes an uneventful day in the life of Bakha, a young sweeper of the outcaste colony in North-Indian Cantonment town.

"His picture of Bakha and his life has a clear ring of authenticity."—
(Naik, Mulk Raj Anand, p. 28)

"It is an excellent work and I am delighted it is being reprinted."

(E.M. Forster, 1970)

1936


Numea, the hero of Ceelie is a peasant from the Kangra Hills of the Punjab, who is exploited whether as a domestic servant, as an employee in a pickle factory up North, or as a mill hand in Bombay or as an ill-paid rickshaw puller in the employment of the Anglo-Indian Mrs. Mainwaring. He eventually dies of tuberculosis in his last employment in Simla.

"When we finish the book we realise that the set of accidents add up to a remorseless historical pattern, that Numea has been the typical peasant dragged by forces he cannot understand into the industrial machine."

(Lindsay, The Elephant and the Lion, p.8)

In 1936 the publisher Lawrence and Wishart had announced as in preparation a work titled "An Indian Tragedy." This is either Ceelie or Two Leaves and a Bud, both published by them.

1937

On publication, the work was withdrawn from circulation, under the threat of libel action by the Director-General of Public Prosecutions, Lenden, 1937.

The story revolves around Gangu, his wife Savitri and daughter Leila — a family from a Punjab village. Having lost the ancestral property, they were compelled to become labourers in a British tea plantation in Assam.

"Bakha and Numea were shown as detached individuals drawn into the entanglement of forces which are changing Indian life from the roots upwards. With his third novel, Anand sought to grapple directly with the theme of conflict as a group experience... The result is largely a failure, though there are many good things in the book and the climax has deep, ironic pathes."

(Lindsay, The Elephant and the Lion, p.9)

The Orient Paperback edition is a volume of short stories in which this long short story is the first. The other seven are: Birth - A Village Idyll - The Road - The Bridegroom - The Thief - The Prodigal Son - The Tractor and the Corn Goddess.


Constitutes the 'Lalu' trilogy with Across the Black Waters and The Sword and the Sickle and traces the development of a Punjabi peasant lad, Lalu, into successively a soldier, a fiery disillusioned rebel and a joyously disciplined socialist revolutionary.


A sequel to The Village. This novel is distinctive; it is the first war novel written in Indian English.


Also entitled: All Men are Brothers (Noted in Times Literary Supplement Jan. 3, I942, p.44) Originally title announced whilst in preparation: All Men are Equal.

This is the third part of the 'Lalu' trilogy. "A powerful novel which evokes the dignity of the suppressed even as it shows the future of the
weak against the power of suppression." (Publishers' announcement)

**1944**


*The Big Heart* deals with a day in the life of a small community of thathiars and coppersmiths faced with industrialisation. The story of Ananta, a low-caste boy from Billimaran Cat-Killer's Lane of Amritsar boldly championing modernisation against tradition and losing his life in the process. All Anand's favourite topics - exploitation, modernity, the humanist faith - are treated in this novel.

**1953**


The Orient Paperback edition won the World Fair Book First Prize Award for 'Excellence in publishing and printing in English' in 1972.

"Mulk Raj Anand's finest work is a remarkable study of a man and country in conflict."

(Mayfair Paperback backcover)

This work has been dramatised by Sares Cewasjee. Its title is:


The story is narrated by Dr. Shankar who was attached to H.H. the Maharaja of Shyampur, a State situated in the Simla hills. 
Mulk Raj Anand describes with vivid realism the changes in the life of Indian Princes. "He paints the India of glittering princes, their mistresses, their English guests, their Shikari parties and orgies of drink and debauchery."


The Old Woman and the Cow published 7 years after The Private Life of an Indian Prince has a new theme — the suffering of women. "The novel is a laboured and lugubrious narrative, unrelieved by the insights, the humour, or the historical relevance often found in The Private Life." (Berry, Margaret. Mulk Raj Anand, p. 92)


In The Read Anand returns to the theme of untouchability 26 years after 1st novel. Dr. Nalk says: "Anand has to fresh insights into out-caste psycheology to offer while painting this second picture of untouchables." (Mulk Raj Anand, 1973).


Death of a Hero is a long short story rather than a novel. Describes the real life story of Magheel Sherwani, poet and fiery reformer, who sacrificed his life fighting the Pakistani invaders in Kashmir during the 1947 upheaval. It bears some resemblance to The Lament. "The novel comes only as a tract against the new Indian nation-state." (Berry)
2. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOVELS:

1951


First of a 7-volume autobiographical series, viz., Seven Ages of Man, projected in 1929. Its sequels are: Morninig Face (1968), Confession of a Lover (1976), The Bubble (1980), And So He Plays His Part: A World Too Wide and Last Scene.

1968


1976


1984


"This volume describes the adolescent age of the hero. After a brief spell in the Gandhian Movement and being to jail, the hero goes to the West in search of himself. The hero falls in love and then gets separated from his beloved. He appeases his longings for her in the euphoria of conversations in Bloomsbury, with E.M. Forster, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Palme Dutt, J.Krishnamurthy, Bertrand Russell and others." (Bookjacket)

"The Bubble is a major achievement. It is different in shape from anything else that Mulk Raj Anand has essayed... I hope that both in India and in Britain it will be given the serious attention it merits. I eagerly await the fifth volume in this grand confessional..."  

Aldoair Hiven.
3. CHILDREN'S LITERATURE


"All stories put down here have been heard in snatches, reconstructed from other tellers, and rendered for the joy of telling them in one's own way ... They were put on paper thirty years ago and I learnt to write my own stories from these tales ... I hope those who read them will become story-tellers." (Front blurb).

CONTENTS - How the world began - Radha and Krishna - The Sun, the Moon, the Wind and the Sky - A Love Story - The Crane and the Fish - Vikramaditya of Vijain - Castles in the Air - The Princess who Loved Her Father like Salt - The Lion and the Goat - A Cruel Stepmother - The Brahmin - The Tiger and the Jackal - The Tortoise who talked too much.


"I shall try to put down briefly, some of the stories of man's achievements in various spheres." (Dedicatory letter.)


In his Acknowledgements, Mulk Raj Anand says that as a lay-editor he had to rely heavily on the work done by various officers of the Postal Department and Dr. B.A. Saletore of the National Archives from where relevant facts about the history of the Post Office are to be found.

This volume has been issued on the Centenary of the Post Services. (vide: pp. xi-xvi Reflections on the Centenary. (unsigned))


"More Indian Fairy Tales is a sequel to Indian Fairy Tales published by us some years ago. Mulk Raj Anand has retold some of the stories told to him. These souvenirs of the past will connect up for our children (nine to ninety) with the living past of India. The stories are illus-
trated by various distinguished artists." (Front Blurb)

CONTENTS - The Jackal and the Crocodile - The Rats and the Cats - A Painted Jackal - The Sons of Seven Blind Mothers - The Two Weavers and the Grasshoppers - The Jackal and the Partridge - A Single Man and the Mill - The Pathan and the Donkey - Little Ankle Bone - The Lion and the Fox - The Two Misers.

I965 THE STORY OF CHACHA NEHRU / Text by Mulk Raj Anand. Illustrations by D.G. Kulkarni. Delhi; Rajpal & Sons, (iv) 76 p.: fully illus.

"I offer this story of Chacha Nehru to all the children of India, nine to ninety, that we may all be imbued with the spirit of this rebel, thinker, Statesman and master builder."

(Dedication, signed Mulk Raj Anand).

Contains: "Some words from the Legacy of Nehru", p.75, Extracts from the will, June 27, 1964, Sd. Jawaharlal Nehru, p.76

Serialized in The Illustrated Weekly of India from November 5, 1964 to January 3, 1965 (in 5 installments)


I972 MORA, New Delhi: National Book Trust, (i7-22)p. illus. (Nehru Bal Pustakalaya edition). Originally published in German entitled:

MORA. Berlin Alfred Holz Verlag, (1960) (p.iv, 40) illus. (some col)


The National Book Trust published this profusely illustrated supplementary reader; its pages (unnumbered) and illustrations and cover designs are similar to the German edition.

2. SHORT STORIES
   1. Collections

1934

THE LOST CHILD and Other Stories, printer privately, with an engraving
by Eric Gill. Figge's, High Wycombe, Buck., 1935-36, distributed by
First Indian reprint entitled "The Lost Child", Bombay; Lavanga Pub-
lications, 1974, (iii), 22 p. (Paperback), distributed by Mulk Raj
Anand.
Three prose poems I. The Lost Child, 2. The Eternal Why, 3. The
Conquerer.
These 3 short stories have been reprinted in the Anthology THE
BARBER'S TRADE UNION and Other Short Stories (1944).
The first story "The Lost Child" appears in numerous anthologies of
the world; some of these are listed separately in a section of their
own.

1944

THE BARBER'S TRADE UNION and Other Stories, Lenden; Jonathan Cape,
reprinted December 1945, 175 p. (Book Production War Economy Stan-
dard edition). First Indian reprint, Bombay; Kutub-Popular, 1946, re-
156 p. (Guild Books No.8 I93) (Paperback). Second Indian reprint, New
(Mayfair Paperback).

All the stories and fables included in this volume, except the three
prose poems, which were originally printed by Eric Gill, appeared in
the following magazines and anthologies: New Writing, Best Short
Stories 1937 and 1938, Fact No.5, Our Time, Breakaway, Fortnightly
Review, Indian Writing, Penguin New Writing and Life and Letters Today,
CONTENTS: The Barber's Trade Union - Duty - The Maharaja and the
Tortoise - On the Border - The Liar - Rumours - A Pair of Mustachios-
Three Prose Poems : The Lost Child, The Eternal Why, The Conquerer -
The Cobbler and the Machine - A Confession - A Premise of Quarrels -
Babu Bulaki Ram - Lullaby - The Terrorist - The Interview - A

1947

THE TRACTOR AND THE CORN GODDESS and Other Stories, Bensay, Thacker
These 14 stories, originally appeared in the following magazines
and newspapers, vis., Longman's Miscellany (Calcutta), Life and
Letters Today; Our Time, Bharat Jyoti, Indian Writing Today, Times
of India, Saturday Saga (Linden) and The Illustrated Weekly of India. The long story, 'Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts' was published in book form by Naya Sansar of Lucknow (1939).

CONTENTS. The Read - The Bridegroom - The Two Lady Rams - The Prodigal Son - The Thief - The Man whose Name did not appear in the Census - Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts - Appearance and Reality - Beets - Professor Cheeta - The Tractor and the Cows - Goddess - Little Flower - The Lady and the Pedlar - The Village Idyll - Birth.


CONTENTS. The Price of Bananas - A Village Wedding - Things have a Way of Working Out - The Gold Watch - The Dove and the Crow - The Butterfly - The Golden Cockerel, The Peacock, A Leaf in the Stem - A True Story - The Wounded Lovo - Death of a Lady - Story of an Anna - 'Old Bapu' -
The Fever of Darkness.


The stories originally appeared in *Blitz, Eastern Herald, Deccan Herald, Ogenek, Mainstream, Sharat Jyoti*, Indian Literature.

CONTENTS. The Tamarind Tree - The Priest and the Pigeons - Lady Beaufiful - The Hicoup - The Brothers - The Silver Bangles - At What Price, My Brothers? - Anjali Hasta - The Man who was Too Honest for His Job - 'Mother' - Torrent of Cerath - Lajwanti.


CONTENTS.

\[\]


The Stories are arranged under the following sub-headings:

LYRIC AWARENESS, TEARS AT THE HEART OF THINGS, THE SOCIAL SCENE, THE COMIC VENUS, PROBING THE MIND.


## Retold by Anand


*Contains: 95 tales, each tale on a separate page except the Old Man, His Son and Their Donkey (p.93-5) and A Debate in the Jungle (p.96-7). The tales are numbered and entitled; the moral is given at the end.

"Witty, funny and humorous, these tales are retold by a veteran story-
teller in the neeest and vigour, Mulk Raj Anand is at his best!55

(Sterling Publishers' announcement I977)

(A) Anand as Compiler

(2) AS JOINT COMPILER
1946 INDIAN SHORT STORIES, selected and edited by Mulk Raj Anand and Iqbal Singh. London, New India Publishing Co., 193 p. (I2m.6d) Contains 16 stories by authors writing in English as well as translations from Indian languages.

CONTENTS - Raja Rae- Jawan - Mulk Raj Anand: A Kashmir Idyll

(A) Anand as Compiler


2. SHORT STORIES CONTRIBUTIONS (Chronological arrangement)

a) In Periodicals
1935 'The Lost Child.' Life and Letters Today.
1936 'Bombay Mill.' Left Review II, B. (1936) 1
1937 'Fruits of the Earth.' New Writing III (1937) 243-247
1938 'Duty.' New Writing (Fall 1938). 208-212
1939 'On the Border.' Left Review 7, (1939) 386-396
1941 'Lullaby.' (Story) Life and Letters Today 28 (March 1941) 261-65
1942 'The Interview.' Our Time 1, 7 (1942) 3-8
1942 'A Pair of Mustaches: a tale.' Life and Letters Today xxxII 65-65
(March 1942) 203-210
1943 'Mahadev and Parvati.' Life and Letters Today XXXVIII, No. 71 (July 1943)
1943 'The Rumour.' Our Time II, 1 (1943) 18-25
1943 'The School for Treason.' University Forward (Cambridge) VIII, no 5
(June 1943)
1944 'The Bridegroom.' Life and Letters Today XLIII, no 88 (Dec. 1944) 152-59
1946 'The Predigal Son.' Our Time IV, no 2 (1946) 6-7
1946 'The Thief.' (Short story) Voices n.s. no 2 (Winter 1946) 37-43
1948 'The Tractor and the Corn Goddess.' Life and Letters Today LIX, No.136
(Dec. 1948) 218-24
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Journal/Publication Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>'The Village Idyll.'</td>
<td><em>Life and Letters Today</em> LIX, no I36 (Dec. 1948) 225-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>'The Signature: a story.'</td>
<td><em>Times Annual</em> 25-7, 85, 87; ill., some col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>'Reflections on a Golden Bed.'</td>
<td><em>Times Annual</em> 20-21, 66, 68; ill., some col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>'A True Story.'</td>
<td><em>Illustrated Weekly of India</em> (20 Jan. 1957) 21-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The Golden Watch.'</td>
<td><em>Illustrated Weekly of India</em> (22 Sept. 1957) 28-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>'The Tamarind Tree.'</td>
<td><em>Manjari</em> (1965) 17-20; ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Appears in Femina</em> (23 November 1973) I7, I9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Birth.'</td>
<td><em>The Literary Review</em> XI, no I (Autumn 1967) 5-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>'Why does the Child Cry?'</td>
<td><em>Illustrated Weekly of India</em> (28 Nov. 1971) 29-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'A Penny World of Dreams.'</td>
<td><em>Indian Heritage</em> XI, nos 2-3 (April-July 1972) 110-126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The Lost Child.'</td>
<td><em>Youth Times</em> (5 April 1974) 24-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Also made into an experimental short film by the author for the Films Division, New Delhi, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>'Lady's Fingers: story.'</td>
<td><em>Journal of Indian Writing in English</em> 3, no 2 (July 1975) 8-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exemplifies man's dominance over women in the Punjabi community, particularly among middle class professionals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) In Anthologies (Stories by title; sources: by date of publication.)

THE BARBER'S TRADE UNION


English Prese Selections. Agra: Agra University 1959, 64-76 (Publication no.9)

Selected Short Stories. Agra: Agra University, 1961, 92-105 (Publication no 12)


Stories to Remember/ edited by V.M. Sreedhara Menon. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1975, II-22; Notes II3-I5


Modern Short Stories; A Reader/ compiled and edited by the Dept. of English & Modern European Languages, Lucknow University, New Delhi: S. Chand, 1977, 165-76; Notes 1E-3-64

BIRTH


BOOTS


THE BUDDHA


THE CONQUEROR

Indian Themes in English Prese/ edited by C.N. Zutshi, 1959, 37-42

THE GOLD WATCH


Contemporary Indian Short Stories, Series II/ edited by Bhabani Bhatta-

<— Middle Age, Old Age/edited by R.G. Lyell.

THE INFORMER in

Tales from Modern India/ edited by K. Natwar-Singh. New York: Macmillan & Co., I966,
Contemporary Indian Short Stories, Series II/ edited by Bhabani Bhattacharya. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1970,

KASHMIR IDYLL in

Indian Short Stories/selected and edited by Mulk Raj Anand and Iqbal Singh. Lenden: New India Publishing Co., I946, 6I-8

THE LIAR in

A Collection of Short Stories. Chandigarh : Punjab University, I969, II-I7

THE LOST CHILD in

Great Stories of the World. Lenden: Odhams Press, I935
Indian Short Stories/selected and edited by Mulk Raj Anand and Iqbal Singh. Lenden: New India Publishing Co., I946, 6I-8
Great Short Stories, I955, 12-20
Selected Short Stories/selected by A. Bhattacharya. Calcutta: Macmillan & Co., I953, 37-45
Yukabharat - English (Detailed and Non-detailed Study) Standard XII.Pune : Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education, I980 (c. 1979) - Presse Section Lesson 13, 62-67; Notes 67

MALDEV AND PARVATI in


THE MAN WHO LIKED MONKEYS MORE THAN HUMAN BEINGS in


OLD RAPU in

Contemporary Indian English Stories/selected and edited by Madhusadan

ON THE BORDER in
The Best British Short Stories - 1938 - English and American/ edited by

A PAIR OF MUSTACHIOS in
Same Short Stories/ edited by Abdul Majid Khan. Delhi: Shri Bharat
Bharati Pvt. Ltd., 1952, 76-84

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOLDEN BED in
Land of the Five Rivers/ edited by Khushwant Singh and Jaya Thadani,
Bombay: Jaico Books, 1965

THE TERRORIST in
Let's Go Home and Other Stories/ edited by Meenakshi Mukherjee. Bombay:
Orient Longmans, 1976, 32-46

UNTOUCHABLE in
Modern Prose Selections (Masterpieces of Indian Writers in English Prose)/
edited by J.S. Bright. Delhi & Jullunder; Gur Das Kapur & Sons, Educational
Publishers & Booksellers) 1957, 145-52; Notes, 180 (on the author) - An
extract from the novel.

THE VILLAGE IDYLL in
Indian-English Prose: An Anthology/ edited by D. Ramakrishna. New Delhi:
Arnold-Heinemann, 1980, 24-7; bidedata on p.23, from THE TRACTOR AND THE
CORN GODDESS and Other Stories.

WHY DOES THE CHILD CRY? in
Modern Indian Short Stories/ edited by Natwar-Singh. New York: Macmillan
& Co., 1974, 93-8
C. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

In book form, hitherto an unpublished collection of conversations Anand had with the avant garde writers of the twenties, including E.M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, Aldus Huxley, T.S. Eliot among others, in bookshops, pubs, cafés and parties. "It reflects the transformation of the novelist's mind and how it helped him to develop a rich sensibility which is often depicted in his writings." (Published: advt.)

'In 'Pilpali Sahab' the autobiography of his childhood under the RAJ, Mulk Raj Anand has written a more honest account of his infantile feelings, dimly glimpsed stirrings into the Imperial British-Indian army in whose midst he grew up, and the happenings to the people whom Kipling called 'half savage, half child.'

Lyrical and humorous by turns, this little autobiography is the promise of a series of books entitled SEVEN COLOURS OF THE RAINBOW by the eight. As Compiler

Episodes from the autobiographies of renowned Indian personalities.

D. PLAYS AND FILMS

RADIO PLAYS (Alphabetically by title)

1968 THE ELEPHANT AND THE BABY MOON. Typescript. 8 p. (unnumbered) – 1 copy
On the gospel of communism as a means of achieving the good life vs. the Indian traditional way of tolerance of evil which has resulted in much misery.

A FOOL OF HEAVEN. Typescript 10 p. – 4 copies
The plot revolves around the generosity of Narad Muni, the son of God Bharma towards a peasant, Panchkauri who pleads for Rs.50/- to enjoy his last day on earth. The topical flavour is provided through the Five-Year Plans and about leppholes in all rules.
MR. TOGO AND MR. VELU. Typescript 15½ p. - 3 copies.
A short entertainment for children in three scenes. It brings out the
difference in the lives of poor villagers living close to Nature.

THE TWO BULLOCKS. Typescript. IIp. - 2 copies.
The Narrator recounts a strange incident that happened during his journey
to market, transporting corn at the behest of his asthmatic father. The
dialogue is mainly between the two bullocks.

2. STAGED PLAYS AND FILMS

The play was staged for the first time in Arabia by the U.A.R./Ministry
of Culture at the newly-inaugurated Children's Theatre, Caire. (Ref: Times

THE LOST CHILD
Made into a short experimental film for ( ) Film Division,
Government of India 1974

6. NON-FICTION WORKS (chronological arrangement)

LITERATURE AND CRITICISM

1933 THE GOLDEN BREATH: Studies in Five Poets of the New India. Lenden: John
Murray, 136 p. (The Wisdom of the East Series) Dedicated to Benamy
Debree.

Contents. Introduction (I-30) - Rabindranath Tagore in 5 parts with bibliog- 
raphy and quotations (31-60) - Muhammad Iqbal in 4 parts (61-85) - Purran Singh in 1 part (86-101) - Sarejini Naidu in 1 part with quotations from
3 works (102-121) - Harindranath Chattpadhyaya in 1 part and bibliog-
raphy (122-36).
The object of the series is stated: "It is, by means of the best orient-
tal literature - its wisdom, philosophy, poetry and ideas - to bring to-
gether East and West in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill and under-
standing from India, China, Japan, Persia, Arabia, Palestine and Egypt.
these works of wisdom have been gathered."

Postscript, p. 121. (Transformation Library) First English reissue,
Lenden; E. Benn, 1946, 121 p. First Indian edition ( i.e. Second
Popular, 1957, I43 p. Third edition, with a revised Preface by Mulk Raj
First published, under the title 'I believe in Man' in a symposium In
Search of Faith, edited by Ernest Martin Lindsay Drummond, 1944. This is
a revised and enlarged version as a separate book.
"In this little book, Mr. Anand declares his belief in man. He is a philospher and a man of letters and his work deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in the outlook of India today. This book describes his "faith" in its widest aspect and shows how he has reached his present standpoint. Early in his life he perceived the inconsistencies of the modern world and began his endeavours to find a way of life, a faith and a philosophy, that would be consistent. As a result of his experiences a few concrete beliefs have emerged and it is the statement of these that will make his book valuable. Mr. Anand has the merit of being able to express clearly and concisely the most complex of ideas in such a manner that all may understand." (Front blurb)

"So I wrote this autobiographical essay and tried to acknowledge my false starts in life, the losing myself to find myself, and criticized, what seems to me, the false emphasis of our Hindu Brahmanical tradition, recorded some of the influences which exerted themselves on me in the struggle for authenticity. I defined it as my "humanism" and called it an apologetic for heresy, to seek forgiveness for any assertiveness which may have gone into my formulations, against the tentative insights shown in my novels and short stories. The only real excuse for this exhibition was the need to sum up, at a certain stage, the tendency of my own development as an individual, floating between Asia and Europe, through the mental struggles of our tragic century."

(Preface, Third edition, p.19, last paragraph)

1946 HOMAGE TO TAGORE. Lahore: Sangam Publishers Ltd., 39 p
"It is with great humility that I offer this tribute to Tagore. But such a homage to the poet is overdue, because, while his reputation abroad, based mainly on the charming lyrics of the Gitanjali, has new waned, for us his work has important implications, if we really mean to tackle the problems of literature in India, and to contribute anything to the contemporary renaissance of which he was one of the chief propagandists, if not the sole initiator."

1969 FRAGRANT FLOWERS: Literary Collections from some Sahitya Akademi Award Winners; author's own selection. New Delhi; 1969, 175 p

1948 THE KING EMPEROR'S ENGLISH or The Role of the English Language in Free India, with an Afterword by Maulana Abdul Kalam Asad. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 11, 70 p.
Ch IV titled "Inde-Anglian Literature as distinct from 'Babu' writing in the King-Emperor's English, pp.16-26
"I, for one, will plump for the vernaculars and, thought continuing to write in English, would like also to write in Punjabi, and then render it into English more realistically and adequately than I do at present, for now I literally translate all the dialogue of my novels from my mother tongue and think out the narrative mostly the same way."

(p.23)

The first essay is entitled: Prelegemena to a New Humanism. It contains Anand's personal faith in humanism, which he defines as 'enlightenment in the interests of men, true to his highest nature and his noblest virtue' (p.7). The essay: Homage to Tagore is published as a separate book by Sangam Publishers of Lahore, 1946. As for The Indian Theatre (1950) - its original title is the essay: 'Survival of the Folk Tradition in Indian Drama.'

1972 ROOTS AND FLOWERS: Two Lectures on the Metamorphosis of Technique and Content in the Indian English Novel. Dharwar: Karnataka University, 36 p. (Extension Lecture series, 17)
Delivered at the Department of English, Karnataka University, Dharwar, on February 14-15, 1972. In the first lecture, he makes a distinction between the bardìrecitale (epics) and the modern Indian novel which was 'inspired primarily by the modern European and American novel.' In the second Lecture, he describes some aspects of the theme topic in his writing and that of Raja Rae, giving his own reflections.
I942 Introduction. *Drawings by Vicky.* London: Modern Indian Literature Ltd., I, I6 and inside backcover (half way) (signed) Vicky's drawings (N.f. are entitled 'Children of the Empire'.


I946 Introduction. *Meet My People* by Devendra Satyarthi. Lahere: Sangam Publishers,


I969 Preface. *Meaning of Art* by Rabindranath Tagore. New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi,


I977 Afterword - *A Hope for a Man on the Brink of Disaster, Kundalini Yaga* by B.K. Karanjia; foreword by Gopi Krishna. New Delhi: Arnold
Heinemann (India) Pvt Ltd, 89-108. (Includes verses in Sanskrit) - On Yoga Hatha.


(The Work) has many references to Mulk Raj Anand in the Chapter on Stories of the Time with comments on his works.


I. In Book Form


Unpublished


2. Letters to Editor, The Times of India

1960 26th January Movement. 21 March 1960, 8

1967 Intellectuals and Arabs. Written as Chairman of Lalit Kala Akademi. India's policy. 12 July 1967, 615


Art Triennia! 29 February 1968, 616

India and the Bomb. 16 December 1968, 1016

On India making the bomb. d:ata 2

1969 Bomb. 1 January, 616
1969
Matter of Conscience. 4 September 1969, 6:6
Gujarat Carnage. 7 October 1969, 6:6—With 11 others.
Rabat Summit. II November 1969, 6
Comments on the criticisms of the Government's delegation.
Rabat (Readers' View) 2 December 1969, 8
An answer to Girilal Jain's analysis of 21 November 1969. Much
about India's foreign policy as enunciated by Nehru.
Book Fair. 8 December 1969, 8
Seeks to correct the misquotation in the news report on NBT programme.
"An Evening with Authors" (December 2-3, 1969)
To the question: Are you a Communist? Anand's answer was: "I have
never been a member of the Communist Party, but that I had read
Marx and Lenin to advantage, and also received a good deal from
Guru Nanak, Tagore, and Jawaharlal Nehru. "Under Stalin tyranny", I
added, "No human being of any conscience could have been a
communist."

1970

1972
Eecide. 24 June 1972, 6
Comments on pollution.

1973
Restruction of Culverts along Highways, 4 April 1973, 8
Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. 18 August 1973, 6
India's economic and moral crisis. 4 September 1973, 6
Dhonde Behra marriage customs. 3 October 1973, 6

1974
Economic policy and development and political crisis. I March 1974, 6:5
Railway strike. 10 May 1974, 4:6
Mrs. Gandhi's troubles. II May 1974, 4:6
India's nuclear explosion. 28 May 1974, 4:6
Cerrea's plan. I October 1974, 6
Comments on the Maharashtra Government's reluctant acceptance of
Charles Cerrea's plan for Greater Bombay.
J.P.'s Movement. 22 November 1974, 6
On Gandhiji's view of Parliament.
<Comments (Letters) 4 December 1974
Election reform. 13 December 1974, 6
Need for change. 16 December 1974, 4:6
1975  Death sentence for two Naxalites. II June 1975, 8:6

1977  Why was she silent? II April 1977, 6:
      Comments on Indira Gandhi's farewell talk to outgoing Congress
      Party members of Parliament reported on 29 March, 1977 Times
      of India issue.
      Replies by Minee P. Vasifdar - 20 April 1977; Amar Nath Agar-
      val (supports Anand's defence) - 27 April 1977; and Bineg
      Shankar Frasat 27 April 1977, 6:6

Fetal reform. 7 September 1977, 8
      Reaction and a plea against treating undertrials as criminals
      by handcuffing of Mr. Bansilal, etc. Gives a call to the Janata
      Government for humanitarian attitude.
      Borrowed Model. 3 September 1977, 8 - On elections.
      1978  Making of neutron bomb by U.S. 2 January 1978, 8:6
      S— Sri Lanka refuses visa to M.R.A. 24 June 1978, 15
      Gandhi's Warning. 26 July 1978, 8:6
      Punishing Mrs. Gandhi. 23 December 1978, 6:6

1980  Assam Agitation. 17 June 1980, 6:6
      Reply by M.S. Kale, 27 June 1980, 6:6

1981  Author's week. 5/6 May 1981, 8
      On piracy by Vision Books (New Delhi) and its counterpart,
      Orient Paperbacks, of his books, in particular, Untouchable.
      Reply Satyandra Nath Sarkar:
      <The Truth> II May 1981, 8

1982  Israeli Carnage. 29 September 1982, 8:6
      Atomic Hysteria. 12 November 1982. On BBC television programme on radiactive
      decay (Publishers and authors). Times of India Weekly (1983)
      1983  Punjab Talks. 4 April, 1983; 8:4 - On Mr. Gurbachand Singh's letter
            on the Punjab problem.

3. In other Periodicals and Monograph Contributions

1937  Letter to the Editor. The Spectator No.5685 (II June 1937) and no.
      5697 (3 September 1937) - On Two Leaves and a Bud.
      Reply. L.J. Godwin. Assam Planters. The Spectator (20 Aug. 1937)319
      1942  A Letter to Madam Shelley Warg. Listener (B.B.C Broadcast Magazine)
            (1942) 6
            An open letter to Han Suyin (unpublished)
      1943  Open letter to a Chinese Guerrilla. Talking to India edited by
            George Orwell. London: George Allen & Unwin
      1952  A Letter to Kue-Me-Je. Published in China.
1961 A Letter to an American Publisher. *Indian Publisher & Bookseller* XI, no. 3 (March 1961), 236-9


Rabat. *Hindustan Times* 18 November 1969, 9:3


A Letter to a Pakistan Peet. *Blitz* (1971) △


Postscript of a Letter to Clevis Naksende. *Al-Arab* △


Addressed to the Editor, Miren Grindea. Has comments on the beginnings of Indian writing in English.

1972 Riding a Tiger. *Indian Express* 24 June 1972, 6:3

War Crime's Trial. *Indian Express* 3 April 1972, 6:3

A Letter to Gandhians. *Bharat Jyoti* 19 November 1972

Much on his stay at the Sabarmati Ashram with Gandhiji in 1929.

1976 A Letter to the Prime Minister. (Guest Editorial) *Art of Living* III no. 8 (August 1976) 6-8

Reviews the role of the Legislative Assembly and the Amendments to the Constitution in achieving a democratic form of government.


On his political affiliations.


e. Unpublished Collections of Letters

Correspondence between Anand and his British publishers, friends and writers between 1927 and 1945.

Four Letters to T.S. Eliot (By Courtesy of Mrs. T.S. Eliot)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>National Integration and Indian Creative Writers. <em>Indian Literature</em> 5, no 1 (March 1962) 50-9. - The writer's role in national integration - a discussion at this informal writers' Meet at Vigyan, New Delhi, on April 1961.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Talk by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand (Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi, Delhi. <em>Punjab Agricultural University Annual Convocation 1974 Programme</em>, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
death anniversary." (Editor)

An Undeclared War (The Intercine War between the Brown Sahibs and The Babus). Indian Publisher & Bookseller (April 1977) 81-92. The Presidential address delivered at the Annual Conference of the Authors' Guild of India held in New Delhi on 12th March 1977."(Editor)


A Speech delivered at Hyderabad on the occasion of Shri L.M. Gupta's death anniversary.

1984 Rape of Culture. Times of India 26 February 1984. Inaugurated the Ninth Calcutta Book Fair. According to him, the book system in India is 'choked up.'
I. IN MONOGRAPHS

1942 The Place of India. Writers in Freedom/edited by Herman Ould. London; Hutchinson.


His paper prepared for the Conference was earlier published separately as a brochure: King Emperor's English. Bombay; Popular-Kitab, 1948.


This is the 12th essay of twenty-seven of Part I: The Genres of Tagore. Mulk Raj Anand traces the dearth of the novel form. He chose Tagore as the first novelist of India; comments on his novels; and his search for a new way of life, in Anand's opinion, is one aspect of Tagore's genius.


A contribution to The Writer at Bay: a symposium on the problems of the writer in our country. Anand traces the contemporary frustration of writers towards social causes. Claims that a humanist outlook to problems will help writers to fulfill their role in tapping the grass-roots of Indian life.


Has 60 Contributions. This volume was released on the first day of the Gandhi Centenary Year - 2 October 1968. This conversation took place after Anand's arrival in Bombay (1929) and was held at Ahmedabad. Has details about rewriting Unouchable at M.K. Gandhi's advice.


First appeared in Indian Literature X, no. 3 (July-September 1967) 28-43. Mulk Raj Anand comments on Indian Writing in English, including his own work, in this paper which was read at a Seminar in Mysore in April 1967.


The first paper of eleven read within Section D: Language as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc: Opportunities and Restraints at the VIII Seminar held at the Institute from Monday October 16 to Friday October 27, 1967. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand was Chairman of the 5th day Sessions.
First appeared in *Quest* No 57 (April–June 1968)


A paper read at the Seminar held in the Dept. of English, University of Mysore in January 1968. First appeared in *Banasthali Patrika* Year 5, no. 13 (July 1969) 27-36. On the development of the novel form, inherited from the Western practitioners. According to A. Wendt, this paper is a "kind of Summary Statement of Indian Writing in English". (369-9)


With seven other contributors. Taken from the author's essay: "The Uselessness of all Art" included in *Essays and Studies* (Dept. of English Studies, University of Allahabad) 1970.


Of other 7 contributions, one is by S. Prabhakar-Machve: "Literature Salient Trends", 42-6. Anand's contribution covers short comments on fiction in Indian writing in English.

*Anglo-Saxon Attitudes: Twentieth Century English Fiction about India.* *The Image of India in Western Creative Writing* edited by M.K. Naik, S.K. Desai and S. Kallapur. Madras: Macmillan (Published for the Karnataka University, Dharwar) 13-27

Originally a lecture delivered to the Indian Society (London) in 1945 and published in its proceedings.

Relations, 228-48, discussion, 249-53. Also appears in Journal of
Karnatak University (Humanities) v. 16 (1972) 69-90.
This is the first paper in Session VII : Indian English and Australian
English; it has material on Anand's craft of writing, and many state-
ments in justification for his Indian English phraseology.

I972

Obscenity and Literature: The State in India. Weekly Round Table
(I3 April 1972) 27-36
Other contributors to this symposium are Aditya Sen, Amrita Pritam and
Kamala Das.

I973

The Living Influence of Bhai Vir Singh. Bhai Vir Singh's Life Times
and Works/edited by Gurbachan Singh Talib and Attar Singh. Chandigarh:
Publication Bureau, Punjab University, 79-85
A Publication brought out on the occasion of "The First Centenary of
this noble son of the land of the five rivers." Also it is "the first
major attempt to an objective study of the literary and scholarly
achievements of Bhai Vir Singh." (Front flap) According to Anand, he
kept alive the tradition of Sikh religious poetry. Has much on Bhai
Vir Singh as a man. Pt.III of this article is on his love of nature.

A Plea for English for Higher Education. Language Problem in India/
First appeared in Quest No. 57 (April-June 1968). See also entry in
I969.

I975

Obscenity and Sex. Aspects of Indian Literature - The Changing Patterns/
edited by Suresh Kohli. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 49-60
Ample discussion and interpretation of the Hindu way of life, various
texts of Hinduism and the extent and basic meaning of sex and obscenity.
In reviewing this work in Social Scientist 42 (Jan.1967) 52-5, Mohan
Thampi says that Mulk Raj Anand's contribution is more about hypocrisy
in the realms of sexual behaviour than on obscenity in literature.

I977

Indian Village Life and Dancing Feet. A Book of India/edited by B.N.
Pandey. Bombay: Rupa & Co., 145-7 and 239-41
"An Anthology of Prose and Poetry from the Indian sub-continent" (cover)
Originally published by Collins (London, 1955) with J.B. Foreman as
Gen. Editor. Has extracts from Anand's Curries and Other Indian Dishes
(I932) and Lines Written to an Indian Air (I94I).

Why I Write ? Indian-English Literature: a Collection of Critical Essays/
edited by K.K. Sharma. Ghaziabad; Vimal Prakashan, I-9 Reprinted in
Kakatiya Journal of English Studies v.II, no.I (I977); in Perspectives
177


A Historical survey and about Anand's part in the formation of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association.

A Profile of E.M. Forester. Only Connect: Letters to Indian Friends/ by E.M. Forester/edited by Syed Hamid Hussain. New Delhi; Arnold-Heinemann (India)

Variety of Ways: Is there a Shared Tradition in Commonwealth Literature? Awakened Conscience: 41-6


A Forster's centenary celebrations volume of 12 essays by scholars from many countries who gathered at Osmania University on Jan. 4-6, 1979.


Typescript

An Appreciation of a Bildungaroman. The Transposed Seeds (A Legend of India) by Thomas Mann, 8p.

1936 Manifesto of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association. Left Review XI, no. 5 (Feb. 1936) 240
Towards a New Indian Literature. Left Review 2, no. 12 (Sept. 1936 & 1937) 6-13 & 3-6
The Censorship of India. Bombay Chronicle (Dec. 1936)

1939 On the Progressive Writers' Movement. New Indian Literature no. 1 (1939) 1-27
Has much on his participation in its activities, conferences, etc.

1942 Mr. Eliot's Kipling. Life and Letters Today 32 no. 55 (March 1942)

1943 English Novels of the Twentieth Century in India. Asiatic Review (n.s.) XXXIX, I39 (July 1943) 244-51
A Paper presented at the meeting of East-India Association, (London). It is a frank and penetrating analysis of the works of writers like Kipling, Flora Annie Steel, E.M. Forster, Edward Thompson & Dennis Kincaid.

LeeTelstey. Our Time II, 8 (1943) 20-24

1944 The Novel and Henry Miller. Tribune (Jan. 1944)
Where is the English Novel? Our Time III, 6 (1944) 4
English Novels of the Twentieth Century on India. The Asiatic Review (July 1944)

1945 Novelists in Exile. Our Time IV (Feb. 1945) 15-16 - A review article

1946 The King's English in India - New "Babu" English came to be Originated and Who was Responsible for it. All-India Weekly Literary Annual II (1946) 68-72
The Role of the Intellectual in the Indian Renaissance. Bharat Jyoti (1946)

1950 Authors and the Reading Public. Books Annual (1950)

1951 Reflections of a Bookworm. Indian Publisher & Bookseller IX, no. 1 (1951) 13-4

1952 A Writer's Confession of his Faith. Bharat Jyoti (27 April 1952)

An Anatomy of Frustration. Illustrated Weekly of India (1954)

1956

1958
Reflections of a Novelist. Times of India (1958)

Other contributions are: Daya Krishna: The Multiplicity of Values (33-6) — Jagdish Gupta: Creative Conscience (37-41) — Umashankar Joshi: A Buffer State between Writer and State (48-52).

1959
The Great Delight. Evergreen Review 3, no.9 (Summer 1959) 172-90

1961
New Bearings in Indian Literature. Literary Review 4, no.4 (Summer 1961) 453-57 (Indian Number)
Sahibs and Babus. Seminar, no.21 (May 1961) 20-24
Reviews the beginnings of Indian Renaissance and Tagore's contribution.
Contains as an insert 'A Page from Tagore's Manuscript'. (Short Article — not a reprint of his Homage to Tagore booklet).
Trends in the Novel. Cultural Forum 4, no.1 (Nov.1961) (Tagore Number) 80-83

Is Indian Literature Sufficiently Indian? United Asia 13, no.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1961) 327-31

Reproduced in Afro-Asian Writers' (Tokyo) edited by the Japanese Liaison Committee of Afro-Asian Writers' Tokyo, 1961, 103-204.

1962
An Undeclared War: (The Quarrels of the Babus and the Brown Sahibs).
Seminar (1962)
The International Literary Seminar. (Report) Cultural Forum IV, no.4 (March 1962) 87-90

Tasks before the Writer. Contemporary Indian Literature No.9 (1962) 16-47
Also appears in Indian Literature IV, no.1 (Jan.-March 1962) 50-88 under title: The Writer's Role in National Integration — a discussion.
Creative Writing in the Present Crisis. Indian Literature IX, no.1 (Jan.-March 1963) 70-72.
The Role of Creative Writers and Artists in the Developing Countries of Asia - Africa. Afro-Asian and World Affairs VII, no.1 (Spring 1966) 18-21

Shaw Talks to Shakespeare. Cultural Forum VI, no.3 (May 1964) 81-7
Presented in dialogue form; an imaginary conversation.

A Note on Modern Indian Fiction. Indian Literature VIII, no.1 (Jan.-March 1965) 44-5?
What Shakespeare Means to Me. Contemporary Indian Literature V, nos.5-7 (May-July 1965) 13-5.
How I Became a Writer. Contemporary Indian Literature V, no.11 (Dec. 1965) 68-75

The English Language in India. Indian & Foreign Review (March 15, 1966) II, 14-15, 23
Appears in Contemporary Indian Literature VI, no.5 (May 1966) 8-II
Obscenity and 'the dirty mind': (The Errenneus concept of obscenity) Conspectus No.1 (1966) I-II
The Unacknowledged Legislator or The Relations between the State and the Writer. VAK (Magazine) (New Delhi) 1966

At What Price my Brothers? Indian Literature X, no.1 (Jan.-March 1967) 52-60
A philosophical exposition of the development of an Asian humanistic outlook.

The Story of My Experiment with a White Lie. Indian Literature X, no.3 (July-Sept. 1967), 28-88
Contains the statement of his intention to write about the poor and downtrodden (p.38) and his intellectualization of every problem.
181

1968
Folk Tradition as an Aid to Modern Expression. *I.A.C.* I7, no.3 (1968) 3-6

A Plea for English in Higher Education. *Quart* no.57 (April-June 1968) 30-39

When Our Hearts Were Young and Gay. *Times of India* (22 Dec. 1968) 10:6-8

1969

Reflections of a Bookworm. *Indian Publishers & Booksellers* X, no.1 (Jan. 1969) I3-I4

On the difficulties of being a bookworm in Bombay.

Writer’s Role in Modern Society. *Contemporary Indian Literature* IX, no.1 (June 1969) 5-6

Old Myth – New Myths: Recital Versus Novel. *Banasthali Patrika* Year V, I3 (July 1969) 27-36

Mulk Raj Anand Challenges Ban on Book. *Indian Express* (Oct. 6, 1969) 6:5

This is his protest against a Punjab Govt. ban on Across the Black Waters.


On the same ban of the Punjab Government.

Profile of E.M. Forster. *Literary Half-Yearly* X, no.2 (July 1969) 3-7

E.M. Forster Number

Authors, Publishers and Booksellers. Appeared in various magazines in 1969.

Is Indian Literature Sufficiently Indian? *Mysore Unien Seminar* 1969

1970

What Good is Literature After All: A Symposium. *Banasthali Patrika* Year V no.14 (Jan. 1970) 81-3

About the Lost Child and Other Allegories. *Indian Literature* XIII no.1 (Jan.-March 1970) 26-33

1971


This issue was entitled The Literatures of India and Anand gave "unstinted help and assistance" in its planning. This contribution is included in the Indo-Anglian section. Has comments on the beginnings of Indian writing in English, of his beginning to write in English (at Gandhi’s insistence) of the handling of English by Raja Rae (Kanthapura), Narayan, himself and later writers up to the new generation.
1971
The Significance of Books. *Indian Publishers & Booksellers* (Syndicated 1971)

Burning Conscience. *Afro-Asian Writing* No. VIII (April 1971) I36-43
Appears in *Tribune* (1971)


1972
Traditions and Innovations. *Letus* (formerly *Afro-Asian Writing*) (Jan. 1972)

Bone of Contention (Middle). *Times of India* (12 Feb. 1972) 8: 8-9

The Vision of Bhai Vir Singh. *Triveni* (Feb. 13, 1972)
Appears in *Tribune* (13 Dec. 1972)

Obscenity and Literature. *Weekly Round Table* I, no. 12 (23 April 1972) 33-6


The Changeling - An Indo-Anglian Novelist's Creed. *Indian & Foreign Review* IX, no. 23 (15 Sept. 1972) 19-21

See Section of Contribution to Monographs for details.

(How they Scaled the Peak Column)

Originally published in *Contemporary Indian Literature* 60th
Birthday Issue, revised and enlarged.

Nehru as an Intellectual. *Publication Syndicate*, 1972

Folk Tradition as an Aid to Modern Expression. *Publication Syndicate* 1972

Reviewing and Criticism. *Tribune* (1972)

20-22

Appears in *Journal of Indian Writing in English* I, no. 1 (Jan. 1973)
I-6
183


1975 Amir Khusrau: The Patriot of India. *Indian Express* (3 Aug. 1975) III: 1

1976 Books I Enjoyed Most Last Year. *Indian Express* (11 Jan. 1976) 7-6

On Confession of a Lover as he was forced to see proofs in 1975. Says that during his visit to Dublin in 1975, he found a novel entitled *Black List H* by Francis Stuart, a writer of his generation. This work is fifth in his list.

Mulk Raj Anand (Cross Roads Column) *Debonair* (April 1976) 32-4

On the beginnings of his career as a writer, especially about Gandhiji and Untouchable.


A Meeting with Malraux. *Times of India* (16 Dec. 1976) 8: 5-6

This meeting took place in Paris, arranged by Dilip Padgaonkar.

He recalls his earlier meetings too.


An Undeclared War! (The Interence War between the Brown Sahibs and the "Babus"). *Indian Publisher & Bookseller* XXVII, no. 4 (April 1977) 81-92

The Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Conference of The Author's Guild of India held at New Delhi on 12th March 1977 (Editorial Note).


How I Became a Writer. *Mirror* XVI no. 7 (May 1977) II-14

In Memory of Krishnan Chander. *Art of Living* IV, no. 5 (May 1977) 20-21


This is a special number on Mulk Raj Anand.


1978

Has Anand's answer to a questionnaire question framed by Dr. Balarama Gupta.

A Note on Henry James and the Art of Fiction in India. *Commonwealth Quarterly* 2, (June 1978) 3-7

"Mulk Raj Anand discusses the special work which leads the reader to a compassionate understanding of life, to commemorate Tolstoy's 150th birth anniversary which fell on Sept. 9." (Editorial Note)

On War and Peace as a modern novel. Compares and contrasts the modern novel with recitals and chronicles. Has comments on characters, plots, treatment, theme, etc.

Profile of Attia Hosain. *Commonwealth Quarterly* 2 (Dec. 1978) II-II

1979

'Pigeon-English' and 'Pigeon-Indian'. *Commonwealth Quarterly* 3, no.10 (March 1979) 3-8

Indian Literature: the Contemporary Scene. *The Book Review* III no.5 (March-April 1979) 31-3

Gives a pen-picture of 'Morgan-Forster' as known to him, bringing out personal traits.

1980

Freedom of Expression. *Indian Author* 5, no.1 (Jan.-March 1980) 15-16
The first contribution of the topic 'Freedom of Expression'

Reviewing *Indian Author* 5, no.2 (April-June 1980) 42-8
On the lacuna of critical analysis in reviewing; gives two reviews of
1980  Confession of a Lover as examples. Attributes this state to the fact that there are few 'contributory literary editors'.

In Praise of Prem Chand's Gedan. Sunday Tribune (Reading Section) (April 27, 1980) 5, 7-8

Indians DO NOT Read. Times of India Review (20 July 1980) I
A discussion with Narendra Kumar on oral tradition of India and publishing trade in India.

1981  Tribute to Sarvatran. Times of India (27 June 1981) 8 (Middle Article)
Anand recalls his first encounter in the 1930s in England.

1982  Perfume of a Wild Rose. Times of India (27 April 1982) 8 (Middle Article)

1983  The Reflections of a Novelist. Sunday Standard (Literary Supplement)
26 February 1983, 1, 11, part 1

Excerpts of some lectures delivered at Punjab University.
J. INTERVIEWS WITH MULK RAJ ANAND


Told the interviewer that he became a writer not from personal choice but from "the compulsion of my conscience". He gave up his teaching job (in Philosophy) obtained after his doctorate and began writing fiction "with human insight it is possible to reveal the conflict of values in transition to modern culture".


This interview is in a question and answer form. Editor's Note states "Committed, not to any ideology or party, but to 'life in its totality'. Anand claims to have affinities with Gerky in his attempts to probe the "lower depths".

1973 Experiment in an alien tongue: Interview by Pavan Sahgal. Times of India Weekly (13 May, 1973) p.15


Recalls her acquaintance and personal contacts with Mulk Raj Anand of 15 years' standing as one of close personal friends.


The first person interviewed is Dr. Mulk Raj Anand who holds: Only the restoration of trust between men and women can bring about genuine
love between the two sexes. (p.32). Interviewed along with the film-maker Gulzar, poet Ali Sardar Jafri, adman Frank Simes, journalist Dharmavir Bharati and painter M.F. Husain.

I980


Discusses with Narendra Kumar, Managing Director of Vikas, the paucity of readers in India and the problems faced by writers and publishers.

Viswanathan, Prema. One Book a Day. *Times of India* (20 July 1980) I0

Anand finds Kerala the exception as far as reading habits go. The growth of the Kerala Granthasalu Sangam and the work of the SPCS of Kerala were responsible for this trend.

I98I

Kagal, A!yesha. (Mulk Raj Anand)


1. P. Gupta (Bombay) A Biased '81.

But Mr. Mulk Raj Anand was disappointingly naive. Realities, however unpleasant, cannot be met and resolved with pious wishes...

2. Hatim E. Jani (Bombay) Of these gentlemen, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand struck the most realistic note when he observed "The past has a way of becoming the future". If we take stock of the year 1980 we can harbour little hope for a better 1981.

3. B.R. Ratnam (Bombay). Many of the eminent persons who are generally interviewed by your paper are past their time and weigh problems in the light of their experiences during the years that have already past. They refuse to accept that times change and with it perspectives should also change.

4. Kular B. Vyas (Ahmedabad). None of the views expressed in the series of interviews were devoid of their biased opinions, either pro-government or anti-government. What was expressed was so general and vague that it revealed nothing new.

5. Anurag (Medinagar). The engrossing and absorbing interviews have rendered a signal service to readers who could feel the pulse of the thoughts of prominent personalities.

6. R. Venkataraman (New Delhi). Instead they poured forth their pet obsessions and did not attempt to give any guidelines for 1981.
On CURE (Collaborative Urban and Rural Establishment).
"We have done nothing more in Khandala than give shape to life, try to build a human settlement." 


About the "high-ceilinged, dark and musty" room in his Cuffe Parade residence.

"Excerpts some of his memories he recently shared with South" (Editor's note)

Prabhakar, Girija. The Seven Ages of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Gentleman (August 1984) 93-95; photos. (The Literary Life column)

"In this interview, the 79-year old author looks back in contentment (and some anger) at his rich and critically-acclaimed life as a writer." (Headnote)

The interview was occasioned by the appearance of a newspaper advertisement announcing the Gentleman magazine June 1984 issue containing a disparaging review of Anand's latest book The Bubble by N.J. Nanporia who is "an old enemy", Anand asserts.

Anand traces the beginnings of his writing career again from his sojourn in Wales and his 'Confession' novel to the publication of Untouchable. "Since then, each novel has been distilled from the truth of the life of untouchables, coolies, peasants, lower middle class babus, political workers, terrorists, etc. The main theme has always been to try and defy death of all kinds" (p.94). "Each book is a revelation to me of what I didn't know of the human condition" (p.95).

Comments on his reading tastes, book reviewing and writers.

See also Interviews Section in Part III: Art and Sculpture of the 1973-76 Bibliography.
In *Life and Letters Today*

1936 *Hindu Fairy Tales* / by Dewar Sherar. *XV, 6 (1936)*


The Seed Beneath the Snow / by Ignazio Silone. London: Jonathan Cape, 1943, 384 p. XXXIX, 74 (Oct. 1943) 64, 66,68


Once a Jolly Swagman / by Montague Slater. London: Allan Lane, 1944, 173 p. XLV (1945)


1929 Volume VIII, no. XXXIII (July 1929) 754-766
Volume IX, no. XXXIV (Oct. 1929) 168-173

1930 no XXXV (Jan. 1930) 363-368
no XXXVI (April 1930) 577
no XXXVII (April 1930) 785-786

1931 Volume X, no. XXXIX (Jan. 1931) 373-376

1932 Volume XII, no. XLVI (Oct. 1932) 166-67

(3) In MARG


(4) Other Periodicals

1939
London Ki Ek Rat (novel) by Sajjad Zaheer. Lucknow: Malka-i-Adab and Naya Sansar Publishing House, 1939 (Indian Progressive Writers Association series). New Indian Literature no I (1939) 100-104

1961

1963

1975

1976


1979
Singing in the Wilderness / B.I. Taraporevalla. Bombay: Indian Cancer Society, 1979 (?) Illustrated Weekly of India (20 May 1979) 33

1980

'Autobiography of a Rake'. Times of India Sunday Review 1
- a review of The Song of Anusuya / by Uma Vasudev. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 19

1984
'The Bible on Wheels'. Times of India Sunday Review (16 Dec. 1984) 8:4-5
- A review of the first biography of an entrepreneur extraordinary.
## I. Individual Works

### TRANSLATIONS

(Mainly from **Index Translationum**)

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<th>Title in English</th>
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<td>1946</td>
<td><em>Ashapasha</em> by S.H. Medak. Bombay: Lok Sahitya</td>
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**THE COOLIE (Novel) (1936)**

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<td>1941</td>
<td>Coolie: Novel/ V. Stanevich. Moscow: Yesletzlagat, 424 Russian</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>Koolie/ Ina E. Prins-Willekes Macdonald. Antwerp: De Sikkel, 374 Belgian</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>Koolie/ J.E. Prins-Willekes Macdonald. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliothed, 374 Dutch</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>Kuli/ L. Secanev. Sofia: N.S.O.F, 416 Bulgarian</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>Kuli/Maria Skibniewska. Warsaw: Caytelmik. Polish</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>Kuli/ Josep Balan. Bratislavia: Slovensky Spisovatel, 308 Czech</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Koolie/ Le Prins-Willekes Macdonald. Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek, 374 Dutch</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Kuli/Otle Tanschik. Berlin: Verlag Neves Leben. German</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Coolie/ Shrikant Trivedi. Bombay: Chetan Prakashan Gujarati</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Griha Ltd. Gujarati</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Akuli/ Teth Egster. Budapest: Szepiroldalsi Kenyvkiade. Hungarian</td>
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Vienna: Eurasia-Verleg, 430


C.S., 682


1958  Ceele/I.S. Narayanan. Kettayam: Sahitya Pravartiaka,
682

1959  Ceele, Amsterdam: Wereld Biblistheak.


1962  Kuli/(Lett) Ilga Molaberde. Riga: Latgesizdat,
336 p., ill.

1963  Lik Rassveta/E. Berevik & V. Mabtz. Moscow: Detgiz,
336 p., ill.

Details Untraced


1948  Ceele. Moscow.


1956  Ceele. Allahabad: Bharati Bhandar

TWO LEAVES AND A BUD (1937)

Dva Lisiche I Pak (Previoso)/Beleslaw Miga, Warsaw:

1954  Dva Lisiche I Pak (Previoso)/Beleslaw Miga, Warsaw:
Czytelnik, 218p., ill.

1955  Dva Lista I Peka/A. Kykanka. Moscow: Ceelemezat, 68
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<td>1956</td>
<td>Dva Lista I Edna Läpka/Liljana Ilkeva-Zlatineva. Sephia: N.S.O.F., 207</td>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>Dva Lista I Peika/O. Velkeva, Moscov: Izd-inctro Lit, 203</td>
<td>Russian</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>Dvalisie i Pak (Pewes)/ Beleslaw Mga. Warsaw: Czytelnik, 218, ill.</td>
<td>Polish</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>Dva Lista I Edna Läpka/Ilkeva-Llatineva. Sephia: N.S.O.F., 207</td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ramlilayum eru Mattu/Shanmukhadāo, Kettayam: S.P.C.S., 339</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>Translated into Malayalam. Kettayam: S.P.C.S.</td>
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<td>1958</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>Translated into Hungarian. Budapest: Szepirendai, Kenyukiade,</td>
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LAMENT ON THE DEATH OF A MASTER OF ARTS (1938)

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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Shaid/Hari Sarej 'Ranbar'. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, II6</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Marene Se Pahale/ Balkrishna. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, I05</td>
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THE VILLAGE (1939)

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<td>1956</td>
<td>Vesnica/Dagmer Steineva. Prague: Statni Nakled Ktelskri (SNLKHU) 275</td>
<td>Czech</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>La Aldea/Anande Lasare Ros. Madrid: Aguilar</td>
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ACROSS THE BLACK WATERS (1940)

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<td>1961</td>
<td>Ot Tey K Svetu/R. Elleder et al. Moscow: Pravda, 48</td>
<td>Russian</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Za Černymi Vedami/Beenumil Vančura. Praha: Statni Nakladatelství Krasne Literatury a Umění (SNKLU), 266</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Sát Samundar Pār/Han Sarej 'Rahabar'. New edition. Delhi: Rajpal &amp; Sons, 296</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Sát Samundar Pār /Han Sarej 'Rahabar'. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 180</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>Sát Samundar Pār /Han Sarej 'Rahabar', Delhi: Hind Book Depot, 180</td>
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<td>THE SWORD AND THE SICKLE (1942)</td>
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<td>Vapasi /Shivadana Saha Singh Chauhan &amp; Vijay Chauhan. Delhi: Rajpal &amp; Sons, 423</td>
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<td>THE BIG HEART (1945)</td>
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<td>Velki Sârco/ Eva Fraser. Warsaw: Czytelnik.</td>
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<td>Vishâlahhrâyam/I.S. Narâyanam. Trichur: Current Books, 446</td>
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<td>PRIVATE LIFE OF AN INDIAN PRINCE (1953)</td>
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<td>Maharadsa um Brunnrupucis (Lett)/T. Jarmelinska. Riga: Latgosizdat, 237</td>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
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<td>The Old Woman and the Cow (1960)</td>
<td>E. Borobeka &amp; V. Makhotina</td>
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<td>Stariocata I Kravata</td>
<td>Hristo Kanev.</td>
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<td>Ek Buria aur Uski Gai</td>
<td>Delhi: Rajkamal Prakashan.</td>
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<td>Gauri/ (C. Anglickovna Melodaya)</td>
<td>Moscow: Mel, Guardiya, I90</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>Qissai Jak Zani Qindu (Tadzik)</td>
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**THE ROAD (1961)**

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**DEATH OF A HERO (1964)**

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**B. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOVELS**

**SEVEN SUMMERS (1951)**

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<td>1957</td>
<td>Sem Let/ C. Anlickoz</td>
<td>Moscow: Chikleru Publishing House</td>
<td>Russian</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>Sim Lit/T. Laponoboi. Kiev: Dersabee Bidabnet, Stvo.</td>
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<td>Sát Sál/Ham Saroj 'Rahabar'.</td>
<td>Delhi: Rajpal &amp; Sons, vi, 230</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
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**MORNING FACE (1968)**

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<td>1973</td>
<td>Surajmukhi/Kudhánath Chaturvedi.</td>
<td>Delhi: Rajpal &amp; Sons, 726</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>Morning Face: The Story of an Indian Childhood: Novel/</td>
<td>E. Borobeka &amp; V. Makhotina</td>
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HISTORY

STORY OF INDIA (1947)

1949 Bharati Kahani/ Rajan L. Sehni. Bombay: Chetna Prakashan; Gujarati
reprinted 1954.
Marathi
Details Untraced

1948 Hindustani ki Kahani. Bombay: Kutub-Popular
Translated into romanized Hindustani.
1956 Tamil translation.

THE STORY OF MAN (1954)

Details Untraced

Translated into Oriya. Cuttack: Manmohan Book Shop

C. CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF MAYA OF MOHENJO-DARO (1969)

1968 Mohen-Jo-Dado ki Maya ki Jivan ki Ek Jhanik. New Delhi:
Children's Book Trust, 29
Hindi
1972 Sel'skaia Svadba/ L. Cerujavski. Moscow: Pravda, 48
Russian
D. SHORT STORIES COLLECTIONS

a. THE BARBER'S TRADE UNION (1944)

1955  
Idila In Cassair/Valentina Ionescu. Editura De Stat pentru Literatur Si Arta.

Details Untraced.

1954  
Translated into Bengali. Calcutta: Radical Book Club.

1955  
Endicke 4) Faked Knockies. Eight stories anthologised in a Russian anthology.


1963  
Translated into Russian (six stories) in an Indo-Oak Anthology.

INDIAN FAIRY TALES (1946)

1956  
Granatere Jablko / Herman Kleisuke. Bratislava: Milade Leta, 47, ill.

1959  
Granakova Jablko / Herman Kleisuke. Bratislava: Milade Leta, 47, ill.

1961  

1974  

Details Untraced.

1957  

1958  

1960  

SELECTED STORIES (Moscow, 1955)

1956  

1957  

1960  
Kuulujutt (Est)/ Seifing. Tallin: Estgesizdat, 219

MORA (1960 & 1972 editions)

1960  
Mora/Joel Uhse. Berlin: Alfred Holz Verlag, (Bilden von Rubrecht Hallere)

1964  
Mora/Joel Uhse. Berlin: Alfred Holz Verlag, 22 BI (Bilden Von Dagman Hallen)
1974  Mera /Bharati Vaidya. New Delhi: National Book Trust I,  
        40; ill.  

SINGLE STORIES

1962  Der Traktor Und Die Getreide-gettie/ Übersetzung von Joseph  
       Kalmer. In Der Sprechende Pflug-INDIEN; in Erzählungen:  
       Seiner besten zeitgenössischen Autoren Auswahl Und Redaktiin;  
       (Geistige Begegnung Band I. INDIEN)  

1967  Der Brahmane Der Tiger Und DerSchekal (Indische Märchen)/  
       Lieselette Romane. Berlin: Alfred Hotts Verlag, I75  

Details Untraced

1955  Idylla Kashmirska Inne Opewiaadamia. Warsaw: Czytelnik,273  

UNKNOWN: Candu (Razhazi) /Ana Kevaceva. Sofijaj Prefizdat, 80; ill.  

Polish  

Bulgarian
RUSSIAN MATERIAL ON MULK RAJ ANAND

(translated into English) by C. Y

N.B. A more accurate translation of the original Russian
material is appended as Appendix A.

A. Collected Works

1955 ON ELECTIONS. Moscow: Goslitizdat, 428 p.

B. Selected Works

1954 BANANA TREE: Story. Moscow: Prava, 64 p. (B. Ka "Ogonek" No. 36)

CONTENTS: Banana Tree – Instigator–Trade–Union Barber–Lullaby–Confession ... et al.

1961 FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT: Stories. Moscow: Pravda, 48 p. (B. Ka "Ogonek" No. 43)


C. Extracts from Works


1941 COOLIE: Novel; translated by V. Stanevichia, Book 2 (Oct. 1941) 72–116; Book 3, 68–107


D. In Anthologies

1953 Shoe-maker and the machine; Kashmiri idyll; translated by Y. Merskee. In Indian Stories. Moscow, 26–41

1954 Union of Hairdressers; translated by A. Cenamyka; Kashmiri idyll, translated by E. Kalashenikovee; Banana Tree; translated by V. Bikovoe; The Hare and the Tortoise; translated by B. Noseka; Lullaby; translated by V. Bekovoe; Shoemaker and the Machine; translated by E. Arkhangelske. In Indian and Pakistani Stories. Moscow, 15–61.

1956 On the Black Waters (Extract from the novel); translated by N. Velnoshkinee and Y. Okova. In a work (title unknown). Moscow, 225–46
1957 Village Wedding; translated by V. Blikovoej; Price of Bananas; translated by S. Krugerskoe. *In Stories about Indian Writers.* Moscow, 180-200.

1961 Golden Watch; translated by R. Ellerder. *In Glowing Sky.* Moscow, 146-155

E. Single Stories

1939 At the Factory in Bombay: Story. *International Mark,* No. 7 (1939), I4.


Kashmiri Idyll: Story; translated by Y. Merskee. "*Ogonek*" No.5 (1952), 22-3.

1953 Trade-Union Barber: Story; translated by A. Gnatiuk - Danilohuk "*Ogonek*" No 7 (1953) 21-3.

1955 Golden Watch: Story; translated by R. Ellerder. *Imus Lit* No.6 (1955), 64-9


The Injured Pigeon *Komsomolskaya pravda* (30 Dec. 1955)

1956 Rural wedding; translated by E. Kalashinkeva. *Va Zashity Mira* No. 57 (1956), II4-I8

1957 From Darkness to Light: Story; translated by L. Chernyvskogo, "Ogonek" No.I2 (1957), I7-2I.


1962 Failure in Hunting; translated by Y. Smivnova. *Izvestya* (II Sept. 1962)


2. Titles Unknown

1951 Story; translated by E. Berievka and Y. Rymancheva. Mol. Kolkhozenek No.10 (1951) 21


3. From Other Languages:

1961 Die Affare mit Bunti Ein Muranach by Zehu Zahre, Darmstadt: Progress-Verlag Johann Fladung Gmbh, 49-54

Anand's message and biedata, p.55; synopsis & story (?) p.163

An Extract from Maharaja Privat (German)

Single Stories


A Translation of The Power of Darkness (Short Story)


1979 Story. Poompatta (Malayalam Magazine) Vol. 17, No.11 (Nov. 1979), 8

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1948 Let always your garden turn green. Lit Gazeta (10 Nov. 1948)
1949 Great building socialism. Lit. Gazeta (5 Nov. 1949)
1954 Related Indian languages. V. Zashety Mira No. 36 (1954), 83-6
1955 Workers culture upon the problems in art. Inua Lit (1955), 259
Friends never : article. Lit. Gazeta (24 Nov. 1955)
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1957 To cultural heights. Lit. Gazeta (II Nov. 1957)
On cultural problems in Asia and Africa. V Zashity Mira No. 72 (1957), I4-I8.
1958 For the first time in the history of the two continents: article
on the Conference at Tashkent. Culture and Life No.9 (1958), 7
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No. IO (1958), I77-9
Neighbours meet again: Ocherk. Lit Gazeta (9 Oct. 1958)
Unity of writers from the countries of Asia and Africa. Pravda
(15 Oct. 1958)
1960 We draw inspiration from the example of the U.S.S.R. Lit.Gazeta
(10 Nov. 1960)
Road to eternal peace. Sver. Vostek No.3 (1960), 6
Is it essential for the Contemporary Indian civilization? Herald
History of the World Culture No.4 (1960), I36
1962 Americans do not read our books. Lit Gazeta (9 Jan. 1962)
The way of life: Sew. Kultura (7 July 1962)
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1967 Twentieth century wonder. Abroad No.45 (1967), 2: II
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Title Unknown


1938 Letter to the Editor. *Inter. Lit.* No. 5 (1938), 230-32


1975 Letter to the Editor. *Ogonek* No. 2000 (1965); *Moscow* No. 4 (1975), 194-6


1959 Moscow guests on the IO day Aserbaizan art. *Bakenshee Workers* (27 March 1959)


1958 Writers Speaking ... Mulk Raj Anand. *Sov. Vest* No. 9 (1958), 33


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Mekhia, V. The Big Heart. Gydek (13 Jan. 1956).
b. Individual Works (alphabetical by title of work)

ACROSS THE BLACK WATER.
Review: Inus Lit. No.6 (1941), 215
Review: Lit. Review, No.10 (1941) 85-86.

THE BIG HEART
Korolova E. True People's Life - Komsomolsk, Rostov-na-Donu. (20th Aug.1955)

COOLIE

CRUEL INTERLUDE

INDIAN THEATRE.
Theatre, I955, No.6, pg. 129-132.

IS THERE A CONTEMPORARY INDIAN CIVILIZATION?

MORNING FACE

SEVEN SUMMERS
The Story of an Indian Childhood.
Kurshunov E. India without exotic - Ychitelskaya Gazeta, 1958, 17th July.
TWO LEAVES AND A BUD.


Konevnikov G. Severn Sentence - Premalskaya Pravda, Uzalek, 1955, 18th Oct.

Krevichkie V. On Indian tea plantations a few years ago ... Batumokee raboeehe, 1956, 8th Jan.

Medvedev N. Two Leaves and a Bud - Stalineskyoe Znamya, Kekhotav, 1956 29th March.

Mushinskrie M. In the book truth, love and anger. - Stalinskaya Udolodezga, Minsk, 1955, 11th Nov.


UNTUCHABLE

Review: Lit. Gazeta, 1935, 9th Oct., No.56, pg.4

THE VILLAGE


Review: Mingulina A. -Interin. Lit., 1939, No.II pg.219

9. CHRONICLE. Material towards jubilee.

Lebedeva Y. His thirty and thirty - Sov. Russia, (I4 Dec. 1965) p.3

Towards 60 years of his Birthday.

Awarding the International Peace Prize: M.R. Anand - Pravda, 1953, 21st June;

Igvestiya, 1953, 21st June

Editorial magazine "Ogonek"  - Wellknown.

Indian Writer M.R. Anand -"Ogonek" 1958, No.32, pg.7

II. MATERIAL ASSOCIATED WITH THE CHARACTER


Belskee A. Contemporary progressive Indian Writer - Southern Ural, Chelyabinsk, 1957, No.1, 157-164

Creative works of M.R. Anand and K. Chandra.


Indian Writer: Mulk Raj Anand - Bechernaya (Moscow) 13th Dec.1955


Note On life and creative works of the Indian Writer.


Note Material on theoretical work.

Nikhiselov. E.A. A paragraph on Contemporary Indian Literature - Lit. Gazeta, 12th, Oct. 1954

Mulk Raj Anand - Inus.Lit. 1973, No.9, 197

M.R. Anand on literature - Lit.Gazeta 1972, No.6, 251-252

A new novel by Mulk Raj Anand - Inus. Lit., I962, No.6, 294

After perennial interruption ... - Inus. Lit., I964, No.5, 278

A Talented Writer, a distinguished public figure of India -Khorezmskaya Pravada, Urgenich, 25th Nov. 1955


Sergeev S. New Indian Writers - Groznenske Neftyanick, 26th Oct.1954

Serebrakov E. The People's Singer - Tashkent.
I. The arrangement is by titles of works in chronological order. Under each work, the book reviews are arranged chronologically, i.e. by the date of issue, and not alphabetically by journal title. The untraced journals or book reviews are given below in alphabetical sequence.

2. The book reviews are sub-divided under the headings: Novels, Short Stories, Literary Criticism, Art and Artistic Contributions, etc. in a matching sequence as in the Primary Section of the Bibliography.

A. NOVELS

1. UNTOUCHABLE (Wishart, 1935)
   Scott-James, R.A. An Indian Out-Caste. London Mercury 32, no 187 (May 1935) 89
   The novel affords a rare example of the manner in which material that lends itself to propaganda can be so treated as to produce the pure effect of art. It achieves with no appearance of effort the end proper to fiction; in simply telling its story and drawing its picture it moves us as no didactic work could do....
   It is all very frankly told, without any shrinking from the ugly realities of the outcast's life, but quietly, without violence, passing with exquisite movement through the gradations of feeling which the Indian day evokes. The art of the telling is such that whilst we are taken to the inside of an Indian mind, we do not feel it to have alien strangeness - the strangeness lies in the conditions which govern its action, cramping it here, expanding it there.
   O'Faolain, Sean. Fiction. The Spectator (3 May 1935) 748
   ... We come in serious need, in Untouchable and I'll Change the Colour (Meave Kelly) (Peter Davies) te, chiefly, the Indian underdog. The untouchable of Mulk Raj Anand is a scavenger, who is insulted by a high-caste Hindu and awakens to a sense of the misery of his fate. His feelings throughout the day are described with pity and understanding as only an Indian can describe them, and whatever one may feel about the literary quality of the book - whose chief blemish is that it is too long - the picture it gives is a vivid cross-section of Indian life that (so far as understanding the untouchable question is concerned) is worth ten books of mere observation from outside.
Untouchable dealt with a single eventful day in the life of a city sweeper. Far from confining himself again to such unities Mr. Anand has produced in The Coolie a work which is picaresque in its whole manner and construction, except that his hero is no rogue himself but victim of the world's requeries. His subject is the behaviour of Indians among themselves, but needless to say the conditions he describes are the direct result, however unintentional, of British rule. Untouchable showed the gradual breaking-up of the caste system. The Coolie continues this with an account of the system which is taking its place, of class based on money....

The story opens with a brief idyll that introduces the peasant boy Munee watching the cattle by the side of his home river. From here he is uprooted - the change of tempo in the press here and elsewhere are of the highest art - and the adventures of his short tragic life follow in four major episodes, first as servant in the house of a bank clerk, next working in a primitive pickle-factory in a feudal city, then as one of the proletariat of the cotton industry in Bombay and finally as the servant of a half-caste woman at Simla....

Each of the episodes is in itself a study of conditions as complete as Untouchable. They are linked together by a series of typically picaresque accidents. The whole is a terrible vivid panorama which is propagandist only in the sense that any frank statement of such facts is bound to appeal for their correction. New that is to be done is another matter.

Mr. Anand at least leaves little doubt that the Indians cannot help themselves. They appear here as thoughtless and as cruel to one another as birds that turn on a wounded member of the flock and destroy it. The English occur only as minor characters, and are described mostly with an inclination to caricature, in fact precisely as they must appear to Indian eyes. It would have been false to Mr. Anand's purpose to describe them otherwise. But there is no special distinction drawn between the
races. If the Bombay magnate looks exaggerated, what about Lady Tedar Mal? A fantastic creature, yet she rings absolutely true. However brilliantly the general picture had been painted it would have been no more than a picture but for the character of the boy Munee. He is essentially the same person as Bakha, the Untouchable, differing only in physical appearance— and incidentally Mr. Anand has a special genius for describing the outside of people and things....

Yet he is no tragic hero; nothing nameable is wasted when he dies, nothing but his own life of life. But such is the force of the author's pity that all that is good in life seems to be irreparably lost with him.... Munee is a universal kind of figure. He is the passion not only of India but of mankind. It is hard to think oneself back from him to books where the special individual is of all-importance.

Reprinted in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies II, no I (Spring 1977) 226-227 - (Mulk Raj Anand Special Number)

Quennell, Peter. New Novels. New Statesman and Nation 12, no 286 (4 July 1936) 18

India seen third class—a continent whose bleakness, vastness and poverty are unshaded by a touch of the glamour, mere or less fictitious, that so many English story-tellers, from Kipling to Major Yeats have preferred to draw across the scene.

Pritchett, V.S. The Art of Mr. Anand. London Mercury 36, no 202 (August 1936) 369

After reading this vivid and extremely moving story of an Indian Coolie's life, from the time when, hardly more than a child, he leaves his village in the hills, until his pathetic end as a rickshaw boy dying of consumption, one realizes how far the English novelists' skill and understanding lag behind the foreign in the task of using the material of the lower depths. The English scene, of course, does not offer the exotic contrasts and colour which Mr. Anand has in his India where "misery" itself has a dramatic almost spectacular quality. The casual ward and the embankment seat provide, for the novelist, a misery perhaps as profound as is found in Bombay where the Coolies and the lepers at night lie centered as dead dogs in the street in wretched sleep, but there is not the same open and epic sense of doom beyond even pity. Or, if there is, the English novelist has still not caught it. COOLIE has what the English novel has lost—the space, the immense variety of incident and character, that was once in the picaresque novel...
The propagandist intention in all Mr. Anand's work is digested completely, as those who have read his other novels will know. He is an artist. This is plain in the opening comedy of Munee's life as a servant in the house of a miner Indian clerk who is absurdly anxious to emulate the habits of these just above him. And Mr. Anand does not generalize. He is just as profoundly exact in his observation of the English clerk who comes to tea and of the hundred-and-one buzzing anxieties, jealousies and comedies which swarm like flies over the sensitive skin of a complicated caste and money-ridden life... These Bombay chapters are unforgetable. Mr. Anand has a marvellous power of evoking an immensely varied life as it bubbles in front of his eyes, without once losing contact with his characters. He sees through Munee's eyes, adjusts himself to Munee's life and feels with his skin, so that the narrative is sensitive and living. Reading Mr. Anand, one is brought into contact with a humane sensibility of the first order; and the crudity of thought or feeling which leaves one dissatisfied in the majority of politically-conscious novels and makes most of them half-baked and pretentious, is entirely absent. Mr. Anand's picture is real, comprehensive and subtle and his gifts in all novels, from the farce to comedy, from pathos to tragedy, from the realistic to the poetic, are remarkable. This is the most impressive and engrossing novel I have read.

Dewsberry, Ronald. Review. Life and Letters Today XV, no 5 (Autumn 1936)
Rickwood, Edgell. Review. New Indian Literature (I936)

With the Ceelee, Anand's second novel, we are plunged into a much more complicated world, a world where apparently everyone is free to move about and earn his living at whatever trade or craft he pleases, but which actually imposes an even more rigid discipline than the old. For the untouchable may be chided or kicked, if he offends the laws of caste, but he has his place in the system he is necessary; but the Ceelee in a Bombay cotton mill, underpaid and overworked, cheated by foreman and store-keeper, always in debt and fearful of the sack, is not necessary to anyone - there are too many waiting to take his place. That is what Munee, central character of Ceelee, learns in his short life. And in his drifting from job to job, from his native hills to the cities of the plain, we get a most vivid panorama of life in India today....

It is Anand's understanding of the inner processes of human life, which
gives his books such perspective, such a rich background. E.M. Forster, sympathetic as he is to Indians, really ends by giving up the attempt to understand them, accepts them as mysteriously different from Europeans. He does not see in the decay and transformation of their social structure the explanation of their psychological traits. Besides the basic fact of his being a gifted novelist, certain circumstances in Anand's life have given him the opportunity of enriching his sensitiveness and understanding....

The Coelie was recognized by English critics as a fine achievement judged by the highest standards. The importance of this cannot be overestimated, for the English speaking people have far too 'long no choice but to listen to Angle-Indian vulgarity or to fake Mother-Indian mysticism. But Anand is a writer, who, whilst tremendously receptive to the wisdom and beauty which is his people's inheritance, yet understands the role of western technique in freeing them from the poverty and illiteracy which is their lot....

Nevertheless, Anand is not an 'intellectual' novelist in the same sense that Shaw is an intellectual playwright. Anand's work is much richer, more human, than an analysis of his ideas can convey. It is his understanding of the way society works, derived from his study of the classic European thinkers, which gives the framework to his novel a vital form, for what is essentially a poetical view of life.

Reprinted in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies II, no I (Spring 1977) 223-25


Poverty in fiction has been, more or less, a gilded abstraction carefully packed in tissue paper, and presented with a pink ribbon of literary convention tied carefully round its neck. ...

In Coelie which is one of the masterpieces in this genre, it is the author's peculiar sense of what one might term "the humanness of human beings" divorced from the accidents of their environment, and an ability, which amounts to genius, to express its nuances in terms of human speech, which completely discolves didactic trends.

Reprinted in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies II, no I (Spring 1977) 228-31

Day-Lewis, C. Review. Daily Telegraph

Mr. Anand indicted social conditions, yet he is no melodramatic doctrinaire;
he does not try to gloss over the helplessness and servility of the coolies.

Also reviewed in

The Daily Herald.

Daily Writer

The Hindu - "This book has extraordinary power."

Manchester Guardian Weekly

Reynold News - 'An Indian epic!'

The Sunday Express

Times Literary Supplement

TWO LEAVES AND A BUD (Lawrence & Wishart 1937;
Kutub-Popular 1947; Orient Paperback 1974)

Arnold, Palmer. Mr. Anand's Novel. London Mercury 30, no 211 (May 1937)

Spender, Stephen. Review. Life and Letters XVI, no 8 (Summer 1937)

The novel has all the qualities which have given Anand a leading position among contemporary novelists.


This simple story serves as a foundation for a masterly study of life in a tea plantation. Anand has a capacity which I have found in no other living writer, of implying character to its essentials.

New Statesman and Nation - "Grasp of the English Language."

The Spectator no 5679 (1937)

Times Literary Supplement - "Veritable artist in a language not his own."

LAMENT ON THE DEATH OF A MASTER OF ARTS (Maya Sanchar, 1939)

Orient Paperbacks - as a collection, 1967)

Zuckerman Van Horn, Ruth. Review. Books Abroad 43, no 3 (Summer 1968) 487

Anand's Lament covers only sixty-five pages of this thin paperback. The remainder of the book includes Seven Short Stories, the best of which is "The Thief", a story in which lust and compassion play conflicting roles. ... Much of the writing in the other stories is too fine or too sensual, but throughout Anand impresses one with his profound knowledge of Indian religion and literature.

By far "Lament" with its Dostoevskian dialectic, is the most interesting. ...
With great deftness, Anand pictures India as well as Nur; the lack of proper hygiene measures, the cruelty and bitterness of Nur's father, the incompetence of the doctor and the poverty and backwardness of a sprawling over-populated country. This short novel powerfully depicts the futility of a poor boy's struggle for identity in a world that denies him even life.


THE VILLAGE (Cape, 1939; Liberty Press 1954; Orient paperbacks, 1975)

O'Brien, Kate. Review. The Spectator no. 5783 (28 April 1939)

4—Review Times of India (29 June 1939)

David, Rhys. Review. Life and Letters Today XXI, no 22 (June 1939) 42-45

Sensitive and quiet, Mulk Raj Anand's new novel is a water-colour of Sikh peasant life in what appears to be an exaggerated village. On the whole the novel suffers from the lack of impetus a dramatic story would have given it, the incisiveness of this author's very neat short stories is also missing.

Relle, J.C. Review. Indian P.E.N. V, 12 (1 Dec. 1939) 74-75

There are many other persons, most faithfully portrayed, and with sarcastic or kindly humour as the type demands. The book is full of vivid description as of the fair in the town. The prose is of an easy natural kind, adaptable and capable of fine suggestiveness. There is a blessed lack of exaggeration in style as in conception. As for dialogue, it is indeed a problem how to give in English the impression of the talk of an Indian peasantry. Mr. Mulk Raj is sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful in this. In any case, whether the tone is precisely right or not, there is much sincerity, skill and charm that gives high value to this novel.

West, Anthony. Review. New Statesman and Nation XVI, no 425 (1939)

←Review. Asiatic Digest

This novel is great in its reflection of a passionate sense of justice, in its power to invoke emotion and in the grandeur and dignity which informs its tone and content. Mulk Raj Anand has few equals and no superiors among fiction writers of our day.

Ghoshal, Kumar. Review. (1954)

Two Leaves and a Bud by Mulk Raj Anand is, in my opinion, one of Anand's finest works. It is a stirring expose of the ruthlessness of the British colonial rule in India. As a compatriot of Mr. Mulk Raj Anand's, I congratulate Liberty Book Club for making this excellent book available to American readers.
Khare, Randhir. Review. Indian P.E.N. 41, no 2 (Feb. 1975) 24-5

The story is told in a straight narrative with no attempt at experimenting with the techniques of fiction writing. The prose has a fluent ease, a lyrical bent, but it is sometimes altogether too descriptive and often vague and erenate.<...>
But the language is what really baffles. In his attempt to evolve a Punjabi-English Anand's language also comes a trifle ludicrous.

ACROSS THE BLACK WATERS (Cape, 1940; Orient Paperbacks, 1978)

Debroe, Béamy. Fiction. The Spectator no.5865 (22 Nov. 1940) 560
We have had many war books, but none, so far as I knew, about the Indian troops in France. In Across the Black Waters (for lack of an official stamp, recommended by the Reviewer of The Spectator) Dr. Anand continuing The Village, fills the gap. ... But it is not as a description of war that the book achieves its great interest - indeed there are one or two rather odd military errors - but as a revelation of what the average Sepoy felt and thought during that strange adventure. Dr. Anand, who has matured a great deal since his early books, writes with his usual honesty and integrity of purpose and without the rather shrill note which used to jar a little and spoil the artistic consistency of the early work. We are asked to like the sympathetic Owen as much as the touching Lalu, as they have their being in the nightmare existence of Merzies and Festubert. As far as thoughts and feelings go, the book has the touch of complete authenticity, and we follow with confidence the reactions of the various characters, Lalu, Uncle Kirpa and the unpleasant Subah. Besides being a book of profound interest to the student of India, it can stand on its own feet as a readable novel.

continued
Across the Black Waters is perhaps the best Indian war-novel. It is all the more creditable for Nulk Raj Anand has never served in the Army and all his knowledge about the life in the Services is second-hand that is to say, imbibed through his father, who was a Subedar in the Dogra Regiment.

THE SWORD AND THE SICKLE (Cape, 1942; Vision Books, 1979)

India has suffered from the distortions of popular journalism on the one hand, and the romantic exotic on the other. A talented young Indian writer here breaks new grounds by interpreting his country realistically in terms of the basic social conflicts.

Gray-Stoll, Dennis. Review. Voices: Stories, Poems, Articles 6, 58-59

Anand both bitingly ridicules and reverences the genius of Hindu culture and philosophy that has given India stability for centuries. His attitude is a strange mixture of repulsion and imaginative sympathy for his own heritage. And continuing the paradox, he expects us to accept the Marxist interpretation of life, without wholly accepting it himself.
PRIVATE LIFE OF AN INDIAN PRINCE (Hutchinson, I953, Bedley
Head 1970, Hind Pocket Books
1972)

A most impressive work.

Davies, M.B. British and Indian Images of India. Ariel I, no 4, 48-55
(Includes a review of the new I970 edition)

Kaushik, R.K. Indian Princes Again. Literary Half-Yearly XII, no I
(Jan. 1971) 107-112

Ganga Dasi was created by Anand, with gall and brimstone, to serve
as a punch-ball but, in spite of him, she has turned out to be one of
the most lively and fascinating characters in Indo-Anglian fiction.
But for her the novel could have easily lapsed into a kitchen-sink
drama.

In at least one aspect this powerful and poignant romance is remark-
able: It is more an exercise in homage to Marx—
a love poem not a diatribe. For, the mind-cracking facet of Anand's
social and political ideology provides not a thick veneering but only
a filament. ... Anand is usually preoccupied with economic contradictions, exploitative
social relationship, industrial blight, and man's inhumanity to man; and
there is more often than not a conscious and painful premonition of a
certain set of political ideas and social values. By sheer habit he makes
the prescribed motions in Private Life also. ... Prince Ashok Kumar is
out and out a stereotyped figure— and proves that Anand does not properly
understand the principle of polarity and twilight in character delineation.

There is no serious attempt made by Anand towards  Furthermore, in his
protagonist a complex human psyche, with all its contradictions both
conscious and subconscious. The warp and weft of the theme profounded by
Anand is that the Prince's "outsized ego" developed within him "the megalomania of a complete egocentric." A fanciful, but single-track mind, keeps
Vicky from adapting himself to radically transformed conditions. ... He
stands as if glued to the paper, and Anand does not fully succeed in going
ever to him by an effort of the mind. Perhaps because to a self-professed
champion of the under-privileged classes, and of socialistic pattern of
society, like Anand the nobility and the elite are bound to be anathema. ...

Anand's language, as in his other novels, is sympathetic, crude and ludicrous.
It carries a load of swear words, phrases, mostly lifted from the vernacular, and sometimes translated literally.


Private Life of an Indian Prince (and Morning Face) can be read alongside each other as commentaries upon Anand's own mental progression, the one written with the conscious insight and reflective objectivity of a man facedold, the other written not long after an immense personal crisis and breakdown. ... Both allow "a unique study of a modern Indian intellect."

The strongest impression that both Morning Face and Private Life of an Indian Prince give is of a person cut off from companionship because of his introspective sensibility. ... Against this tension Anand has lived his own life, trying to create through the western-novel form, a sympathy for India and a practical attitude to its problems. He has been accused of writing propaganda novels, but in Morning Face and Private Life of an Indian Prince are collected the technical skills and psychological mastery of the great novelist."

**THE OLD WOMAN AND THE COW** (Kutub-Popular 1960 and Orient Paperback 1976 under the title Gauri)

N.G.M. Review. *Indian P.E.N.* XXVII, no. 6 (June 1961) 221

His forte is the delineation, with unusual insight and imagination, and in a style which is picturesque as well as pungent, of the life of the period, with all its sufferings, superstitions and squalor.


**THE ROAD** (Kutub-Popular, 1961; Sterling Paperback 1974)


Here is a very graphic description of caste prejudice among rural people. Author Mulk Raj Anand has a deep understanding of the reasons and motives underlying the attitudes of village folk. For all his skill in handling his favourite theme, "The Road" is not really a novel. Lacking a well-defined plot, it is little more than a sketch. But a revealing sketch, no doubt. ...

The psychology of both the untouchable and the "twice-born" has been skilfully brought out through the conversations and private thoughts
of the characters.

The characters are well etched. Convinced that work is dharma, Bhikhu, the Harijan boy, is yet so humble that he does not even raise his eyes to look upon the face of Rukman, the landlord's daughter. ... The story starts promisingly but peters off inconclusively with too many loose threads hanging. In the end, when Rukman unwittingly offers a tumbler of water to the thirsty Bhikhu, her enraged brother Sajnu, knocks it off from the untouchable's hand, ranting about the pollution and the rituals of purification that would now be necessary. The ending is weak and a trifle romantic. Can the Harijan problem be so oversimplified? The reader feels like telling Bhikhu 'Don't have such fond hopes. The first thing they'll ask you in the city is: What caste are you?'

Pandit, Manorama. Review. World Literature Written in English XIV, no 2 [1975]

DEATH OF A HERO (Kutub-Popular, 1964)

S.V.V. Notice. Illustrated Weekly of India (17 August 1969)
A. 2. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOVELS

SEVEN SUMMERS (Hutchinson International Authors, 1951)

The Economic Times

Written in an easy mellowed style, Mr. Anand's novel makes good reading.

John O'London's Weekly

The value to western world readers of Mr. Anand's books is that they show more than the work of any other Oriental writer (even Tagore), how children all over the world, no matter what their environment and the customs of their race, have the same point of view, the same fears and passions, the same close loyalties. ... The small narrator does not disguise his primitive ferocity (he must have been a handful for the poor overburdened mother), but it is that candour which is convincing, and given the book its authenticity.

The Manchester Guardian

I recommend this interesting book.
I read Anand's book with delight. Of all his work I know Seven Summers seems to me the best. ... It's often beautifully written, and it communicates the very sense of childhood quite enchantingly ... and it evokes through a child's eye a man's India, the India of the time of the Delhi Darbar, which Dr. Anand witnessed as a child.
"Morning Face" is undoubtedly partially, or even totally, autobiographical and its real value lies in the factual, passionate narrative that exposes in stark detail the situation in the Punjab half a century ago. As seen through the heart and eyes of a hyper-sensitive adolescent boy, the events of that period take on a naked realism never revealed in any history book. ... Krishna himself is a boy-man of many complexities, and it’s difficult to remain sympathetic to him at every stage of his development. This is, perhaps, because the author reveals the boy’s innermost thoughts stripped to the core. Nothing of what Krishna feels or thinks is left to our imagination, which in a sense is too bad. ... Anand sometimes uses words in a puzzling manner. ... Mulk Raj Anand does this sort of thing often, and as a result the book is difficult to read, the flow of the narrative is jolted and our thoughts are interrupted as we figure out the puzzle. But even these flaws, if that is what they are, do not mar the underlying thread of the story. In a new perspective we see the horrors of Amritsar in the year 1919 — the Jallianwala Bagh massacre; we see from a different angle the pull of Gandhi and the revulsion of the Indians for the British. This is a powerful book and although it is slow moving, its impact is definite and emotional; the reader cannot help but be drawn into a troubled young life, for Krishna's problems were the problems of the country at that time.

Khushwant Singh. Good Guys, Bad Guys and "Mulkese". Times of India Sunday Magazine (13 July 1969) IV:5-8
Dr. Mulk Raj Anand is the doyen of the Indo-Anglian schools of writers.... It is an appropriate time to make an estimate of his contribution to the Indian world of letters. ... What made Anand, the son of a soldier, take to the pen, instead of the sword, is spelled out somewhat voluminously (over 600 pages) in Morning Face. ...
Dr. Anand tells of his childhood and youth with refreshing candour. Most of his characters come alive; his superstitious gossipy mother, his aunt and cousin aroused his emotional and erotic fantasies, the sadistic Sikh schoolmaster who regularly birched his students extracted money from some and sought sexual gratification off others. There are, however, other characters whom the author uses to air his
political views. He makes them mouth speeches for or against the British raj. He deprives them of personality so that they can fall into neat categories - good guys who are pro-peer and patriotic and the bad guys who are bullies and pro-British.

What comes through is the author's naive and impractical belief in Marxism. This has been and remains to this day the difficulty in assessing Dr. Anand as a creative writer. He is a remarkable witty raconteur. But he is also a compulsive propagandist. And propaganda and story-telling do not go well together.

Dr. Anand's handling of the English language also demands notice. He was the first to make effective use of literally translated Punjabi expressions into English; the form almost became his literary trademark. There are many amusing examples of these in Morning Face .... Will the new words and phrases coined by Dr. Anand come to stay? If they do, Mulkee may, like Hebsen-Jebsen, come to form part of the English lexicon - and Mulk Raj Anand will have carved himself a niche in the hall of posterity."

Vergheese, C. Paul. Self-Portrait. (review article) Quest no 63 (Oct.–Dec. 1969) 103-4

"While most of Anand's characters come alive, the novel as a whole suffers from a vague and amorphous quality that proceeds from an inability to visualize clearly the objective situation of the characters .... This is not to say that the novel is not a successful, moving piece of work .... (the) novel will be valuable as a documentary novel."


"With the convincing authority of a born spinner of tales, Mr. Anand has taken suggestive writing to such a height of excellence that his novel is not littered with a trial of symbols. This is undoubtedly the method of a highly finished novelist who can use with ease words created with multiple significance so that his comments do not split open his narrative."

Gupta, G.S. Balarama. Review. Karnatak University Journal (Humanities) V. 17 (1969) 204-6

"(Anand) had made a significant contribution to the realm of fictionalized autobiography."

Nandakumar, Prema. Indian Writing in English. Indian Literature XII, no.4 (Dec. 1969) 39

"... the most important publication for 1968. One of the stalwarts of Indo-Anglian fiction, Dr. Anand writes from personal experience, and hence
his anger and sadness rings true. Besides his rugged English has a charm of its own."

Cowasjee, Sares. Review. Indian Literature XIII, no I (March 1970)
Morning Face is a worthy sequel to Seven Summers (1951); the two volumes being a part of a much larger work called The Seven Ages of Man, which is still in the process of being written. Very few writers apart from Trollope, Sir Edmund Geroge and Tolstoy, have been able to recapture childhood effectively. Among these, Anand is closest to Tolstoy, and for his literary model he takes Tolstoy's Childhood, Boyhood and Youth. Like Tolstoy, Anand has a remarkable capacity to enter childhood, the capacity for wonder which one also finds in Pushkin.

The comparison with Tolstoy does not end here. The two writers are among the first in their countries to describe the life of a child from within, from the child's point of view. With them it is the child itself which expresses its childish feelings, and it does this as if to compel the reader to judge full-grown people from the child's angle of vision. So close indeed is the identity that no sooner they speak of children, they become children themselves. Also common between the two writers are their vivid impressions of childhood, the carefully worked out narrative details, and the leisurely manner of narration. But Anand's is perhaps a little too leisurely: Morning Face is longer than Tolstoy's three volumes put together. The work would have been better had Anand exercised a little more selectivity: it is not necessary to record every joy and every woe that visits a child. Spelling mistakes and a careless use of ellipses do further injury to an otherwise well-conceived and well-written book.

Niven, Alastair. "Morning Face" and 'Private Life of an Indian Prince'. Journal of Commonwealth Literature 6, no. I (June 1971) I29-31
"(They) can be read alongside each other as commentaries upon Anand's own mental progression, the one written with the conscious insight and reflective objectivity of a man grown old, the other written not long after an immense personal crisis and breakdown. Both allow a unique study of a modern Indian intellect.

"Mulk Raj Anand is the only novelist who is not concerned with the fundamental things that are needed to write a novel. His concern is only with
the story or content. So, really, he should be called a social commentator and not a novelist... What is really fascinating in Mulk is his social realism, his vitality and stamina, his sense of commitment and adherence to certain principles, dedication to a cause, his concern with the people he is familiar with.

Mulk derived unquestioned power from the Punjabi peasantry, portrayed the low-middle class Punjabi families and studied the boredom of their everyday life. His best work obviously came during the 'thirties' when at the very outset of his writing career he formed his ideology and has continued with that ever since. And the main reason for his artistic failure, frankly speaking is because of his sticking to this ideology which is somewhat outmoded today - the progressive writers movement has vanished.

His latest novel, Moring Face is a continuation to Seven Summers (1951) both being a part of a much larger work The Seven Ages of Man. This is a sort of seven volume autobiographical work fictionalized, recapitulated and pondered upon from childhood onwards. The main weakness or tragedy if I may call it, of the present work is its length which could have easily been reduced to one-third of the present length, thus making it much more compact and irresistible. Mulk indulges in so much of narration and description, taking into consideration every moment of joy and agony, whether necessary or unnecessary, whether worth recounting or not, that in the ultimate much of the interest is lost.

This again brings me back to my main quarrel with Anand, about the necessity of technique, structure, form and regular patterns required in a novel. Had Mulk been taking account of these the entire looseness would have been tied up. But, alas, he does not...

Like Bibhutibhushan Banerjee in Father Panchali Mulk Raj Anand symbolises the story of an Indian boyhood, studying his growth with understanding and tenderness. The child is seen (before the first world war) travelling to Amritsar, his home town and his encounters with various faces and situations are captured beautifully...

It is an interesting story narrated very well except for the unnecessary details, pondering over situations which do not mean anything really, superficiality of certain characters which could have easily been left out, certain abuses which have become an integral part of Mulk's fiction do not make much of a point, forcing in of certain political ideologies to which Mulk has been adhering all these decades. He could have done without them
and if my critical sense does not fail me I must say had he reduced the novel to nearly 200 pages or a little more it would have been one of the most impressive novels of this century.

As it is it would have been much better, I think, if Mulk had not fictionalized situations and characters and had dealt with the story on the level of an autobiography. It would have given a much better reading, still, being much of it autobiographical. As I said before Mulk Raj Anand is a much better social commentator than he could ever be a good novelist. A novel has to be a novel and not primarily a social commentary.

CONFESSION OF A LOVER (Arnold-Heinemann, 1976)
Girja Kumar. Review Notice. Indian Express (18 Feb.1976) 7:8
Girja Kumar. Review. Hindustan Times (1976) p
Gupta, L.N. Review. The Sunday Hita Vade (7 March 1976)

"With such a catchy title it should not be too difficult to make a bestseller out of Dr. Anand's autobiographical novel, third in the series Seven Ages of Man.

At heart, in his bloodstream, Mulk Raj is purely Indian: he thinks, feels, loves, hates, abuses in his mother tongue Punjabi; of which only the outer skin is English. The result is a strange, chaotic, highly individualistic style that is too ambiguous, or rich for Johns and James and Who-Have-You to accept as good and fashionable writing on a par with the modern trend.

The question is: does this strange, highly individualistic style (shades of Gertrude Stein) make Mulk Raj Anand a difficult Indo-Anglian writer? Far from it. He is a gifted writer, a born writer, and an indefatigable one. Words, imagery, emotions come to him as would his pulse beat and breathing.

In fact, he is so graphic you feel you are beside him everywhere he goes. His sun has a white brain-sizzling heat in it.... Like a true Pathan, Mulk Raj believes in extremes; life has to be seen and experienced in the raw. All his women affect him with their strong colours, unless they are dried-up twigs waiting for the last rites. His lungs are often overwhelmed to bursting point with genuine Oriental compassion, generosity, pity, anger, desire.

Where Mulk Raj falters is in his contradictory views on man, the political
theory, traditional religion, a summing up of metaphysics and in his personal philosophy. This too is typical of the sophisticated Westernized Indian who travelled to a foreign land to learn about his country...

Willingly, and with gladness, I read the story of Krishan Chander and climbed over the hurdles of his complex emotions and mixed imagery couched in complicated English — Indian words and all — in order to know Mulk Raj better. It is a good book, and attractively got up. I await eagerly the other promised four.

But I continue to wish that Mulk Raj Anand had written his novels in Punjabi, or Urdu and then prayed for available English translator. He would have then been among India's top writers — and a happier man."


Mulk Raj Anand sprang to fame through three of his early novels exuding pity for suffering mankind, namely, The Untouchable, Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud. In writing these books he claims that he has broken new ground in Indian fiction "where pariahs and underdogs had not been allowed to enter the sacred precincts of the novel in all their reality."

Of the three dominating passions, love, knowledge and pity, the hero of this book is consumed by the first, love. Not that he is lacking in compassion or the thirst for knowledge. But everyone tells him, and he himself begins to feel, that knowledge merely makes man mad...

Such is the young.

Srinivasa Iyengar, K.R. Review. Journal of Indian Writing in English 4, no.2 (July 1976) 75-8

"(It) recaptures the flavour of the composite culture of the Punjab (Hindu-Sikh-Muslim) a harmony which was prevalent till the events of 1947..."

With every new novel almost, Anand grows in stature as a prophet of humanism, and for sheer vitality, and wide comprehension, and the feeling of history and sense of the changing social and economic scene, Anand is without peer in Inde-Anglian fiction. The writing is throughout competent, fully evocative of scene and incident and nuances of character, and now and then rises to poetic heights ... Altogether Confession of a Lover is among Anand's major achievements, a worthy successor to Seven Summers and Morning Face."


"When I was fourteen years old and vacationing in a little village in Kerala, a revolutionary student who had been expelled from college for having taken part in politics, lent me a book entitled "Two Leaves and a Bud" written by Mulk Raj Anand... Mulk Raj Anand became an exciting name. It was then the season to nurture a sound conscience....

Mulk Raj Anand had changed me from a romantic steeped in a world of fantasy to a realist. He stopped me from day-dreaming of love affairs with princes. He swept my dreams clear until I saw, while asleep, no longer the gods I loved or the kings and queens of childhood tales but the peasants of Kerala, the men ploughing our field and their dark women singing while sowing the grain... for the Krishna of my consciousness, Mulk Raj Anand's writing was the Radha, the initiator in love. I mean love with a capital L just as Mama Dayal Singh in Mulk Raj Anand's latest novel, "The Confession of a Lover", meant it to be....

The book tells the story of Krishna Chander who in his adolescence fell under the soporific spell of Islamic culture - poetry, music, all the rest, so that he felt that it was necessary for him to fall deeply in love to develop into a poet....

This is a book, heady like Moghli cuisine, over spiced and fragrant, for, it has in it, plenty of luscious women, poetry, suicide, murder, politics and worthies like Gandhiji, Horniman and Besant, a strong brew like the Kashmiri tea which Nargis pours out to Krishna Chander to make his words flow."

--- Times of India Sunday Magazine (I9 Dec.1976) IO: 6-8


Confession of a Lover is the most complete statement to date of Anand's beliefs as a humanist. At seventy-one he continues to be an authentic historian (in the sense in which regards the novelist as historian) of the enigmatic material and spiritual paradox of modern India. True there is no aesthetic satisfaction to be derived from Anand's novels... there are no startling innovations either; for Anand form as a disembodied shell is meaningless. Anand's novels survive through the honesty of their passion, and Confessions is no exception."
"To review a new Mulk Raj Anand novel is not an easy task. He has been writing for so long, so much literature has grown on him, and there are definite postures taken by his admirers and detractors. He seems to be, by their respective count, committed to communism, or socialism, or realism, or humanism. There is disagreement on his style also. Some find his English unacceptable, packed as it is with idioms and phrases translated from Punjabi. Others see a positive freshness in these experimentations of his. Confession of a Lover... like the two earlier novels, Seven Summers and Morning Face, is firmly rooted in and evocative of the authentic Indian scene...

Before I comment on Anand's latest novel, Confession of a Lover, I should like to state the nature of art as I see it. The purpose of a work of art is to give us the pleasure of identification. When we see a painting, or a piece of sculpture, or read a poem or a novel, a vision of something we already knew is formed before us. Only previously our knowledge of a certain fact was partial. Now, with the help of the artist, that partial truth is modified into a whole truth....

There is, to my mind, a third theme that forms the core of the novel: Krishan's quest as an artist, his quest as a poet. The question he is constantly posing to others and to himself is: "Who am I?" Actually his commitment to art and poetry is so total that this in a way incapacitates him from living fully in any other direction...

Consequently - and this is a major aesthetic device of Anand - we find that the novel grows and acquires momentum not on account of any complications of the plot... The novel grows through flashes of ideas, through revelations that suddenly hit Krishan and in turn hit the reader... They mark the precise moments of illuminations in Krishan, and hence moments of growth in the novel.

There are thus three themes handled simultaneously by Anand in Confession of a Lover, and it is a measure of his skill that he functions effectively at all the three levels. And through his stylistic innovations, he can conjure before us the precise local image, an image of India, or a part of India, that you knew. In addition to Yasmin and Krishan, who are so real, there are other moving portraits in the novel, especially Devaki, Mama Dayal Singh and Neer. And all the teachers and other well wishers of Krishan come alive too, since they serve not a polemic but an aesthetic aim.
Mulk Raj Anand's stature as a novelist will be judged by the corpus of his work and not by a page or two that a cynical critic might pull out to carp about trivialities. More than any other Indian-English writer, it is Mulk Raj Anand who in his novels has raised contemporary issues. And even we are taken by him from the purely contemporary and immediate to the timeless and eternal. Four more volumes of this monumental work are still to appear. But generations to come will remember Mulk Raj Anand that he wrote these and other novels for them.

There are two novelists in Indian-English literature who are self-consciously occupied with the quest of the individual. Of these Raja Rae, believer of the Advaita, is for salvation, on the classic approach of idealistic Indian thought. The second pioneer is in search of human relations, as a way of life, in a non-dualistic world, even in our tragic age. Perchance the flow of the novel will carry some of the love through which he has been burning and melting like other romantic revolutionaries of our time. The dynamic of his humanism, suggests acceptance of the full potential of the genius of our peoples."


"The long novel in seven parts is being published in the mould of the self-revelation of the protagonist Krishan Chander Azad who is Anand himself kept at a distance. It is a novel of quest. But it is not a quest like that of Sri Aurobindo or Raja Rae. It is Anand's quest for illumination and a cure for the existential malady of evil. The whole gamut of Anand's fiction traces in detail, as experiments in truth and body-soul drama through the dualism of personal love and absolute love, the evolution of his selfless humanistic love or loving-pity (karuna) achieved as a result of prolonged search and intensive study of the literatures and philosophies of the East and the West, and especially poets like Fazl, Rumi, Jami, Hafiz, Khusrau, Kabir, Iqbal and Tagore. And the sources of the quest and his concept of loving-pity which are so splendidly explained in his novels, appear embodied in Seven Ages of Man.

The dominating and fascinating feature of the book is the Yasmin-Krishan love theme that ends up in tragedy with the murder of Yasmin by her jealous husband. The book is also a fine record of the various aspirations and doubts, depressions and emotions, illusions and illuminations experienced by Krishan in his quest for happiness which marks the second stage in the evolution of Anand's mind and art. One interesting aspect of the book is
that Krishna is often seen preoccupied with the idea of God and His justice... With its alternating ease, strong insights, and fierce tensions, the rhythmic narration of Confession of a Lover is sensational, sensuous and satisfying. There are obvious clues in the book which help have a sublime understanding of Anand's other novels especially Celeste, "Lalu Singh Trilogy", and The Big Heart, and consequently the various stages of Anand's love-pilgrimage from innocence to illumination, in his human relationships, from the finite to the infinite. Indeed the book affords the basic insight into Anand's "Religion of Love" itself: "The strength, capacity, and the depth of love is in all of us. It does not need anything more than the spark to make it into a fire. And then one begins to dance in the circle of fire - dancer becomes the dance "burning and melting"."...

The book affords an enjoyable and very rewarding reading and it is a 'must' to every lover of philosophy and literature.

Shivpuri, Jagdish. In the Heat of the Moment. The Onlooker (I June 1977) 41
Raina, M.L. A Search for Form. *Indian Book Chronicle* (I May 1984) 161-163

So articulate, aware and, in the good sense of the word, self-conscious a writer as Mulk Raj Anand is always likely to raise the hackles of his critics. He breaks the rules of the game, is expansive and intense at the same time, mixes autobiography and fiction in lethal proportions and, worst sin of all, writes novels that read more like disquisitions than serious works of art. *The Bubble* will not enhance his reputation either with those who expect a novel to provide cosy bromides to kill the day's pain, or those whose idea of the novel hasn't strayed very much from the ordered but tortuous symmetries derived from James and his critical acolytes. But the real Anand eludes. Whereas his contemporaries among the Indian-English novelists stay content with encapsulating experience into either an olympian benevolence of attitude (Narayan), or plain snow-capped wisdom (Raja Rao), Anand alone in novel after novel assaults fresh territory and adopts unconventional narrative strategies to jolt us into a recognition of our littleness as well as grandeur. No Indian novelist writing in English has shown such earnestness about man's place in history and society as has Anand. No other writer (except Salman Rushdie in a different way) has displayed as much crowded exhuberance which often captures the very texture of life, its chaotic but significant urges, its aspiring though gloom-laden drives - in fact the whole debris of inhumanity and charade lurking beneath sleek social forms.

In what is undoubtedly a parochial intellectual dimness of much Indian-English writing, Anand's novels, despite their faults (the worst being long stretches of dud prose which one can collect by the troweful in *The Bubble*), engage us at several planes at once. Apart from their imaginative truthfulness, it is their fierce dialectical movement and ruthless pursuit of ideas that gives them vitality and power. What makes them portents of our times (and this is true of the entire Saga of Man series of which *The Bubble* is the most recent part), is not simply the fact that a young aspiring man is exploring so passionately the dilemmas of his own generation, but that the novelist himself displays a remarkable capacity for changes of tone - ranging from satirical even mocking observation of manners and people to grave measured speculations on metaphysical issues.
The novel is a melange of modes and styles combining diaries, letters, straightforward description, and proceeding in direct relationship to Azad's intellectual and emotional evolution towards what he calls in a letter to Irene, a 'pursuit of meaning'. The insatiable thirst for meaning in a meaningless world may not have been assuaged in Azad. Still the book ends with providing him a capacious frame of reference in which to pursue meaning.

In The Bubble Azad's love for experiences form a mosaic whose dominant pattern is cut out of a bedrock of metaphysical ideas. Consequently it validates those experiences and contributes to the novel's total design.

I have argued that The Bubble is a novel of ideas and would risk a claim that in creating Krishna Azad as a complex character driven equally decisively by emotions and ideas, Anand has brought to the Indian-English novel a sense of spirited adventure for the first time. Ideas in this novel generate an unmediated involvement of the protagonist in every aspect of his search and provide its dominant rhythm. The novel does not stand up for one idea or a world-view. It affords a space in which philosophies, doctrines and world-views clash and lose their hard-edged singularities. By living through his obsessions (like Julien Sorel in different circumstances), Azad and his creator have once again sustained the imaginative truth of human autonomy in all its contradictoriness. More importantly, the deep intellectual and emotional suffering that leaves the protagonist burnt out of all falsity and pretence bespeaks a dignity which gives to The Bubble a peculiar compelling force.


His pen remains as potent as ever. On the contrary shorn of verbosity, the compulsion to put everything that happened to him and record names of everyone he met, what he read and wrote, his recent work The Bubble is undoubtedly the most readable of all that he has written. ...

The Bubble may not be everyone's selection of a novel or an autobiography, but whatever it is, it is a great work.
"The Bubble" the fourth in Mulk Raj Anand's projected "bildungsroman" sequence of seven novels, is a revelation. Continuing the series begun in 1951 with "Seven Summers" and continued in more recent years with "Morning Face" and "Confession of a Lover", it takes the story of Krishnan Chander, Anand's not so alter ego, right into the heart of Bloomsbury and the young England of the mid-twenties. Thematically, we have had a foretaste of some of its descriptions of the "literati" of this period in Anand's "Conversations in Bloomsbury", but the material in that book is sketchy and anecdotal, albeit evocative, by comparison to the massive and technically adventurous achievement of "The Bubble".

The merit of this novel is its twofold experimentation with form. To the continuing debate about whether the modern novel is in a state of decline or regeneration, Anand now in his late seventies, makes an unexpectedly challenging contribution. "The Bubble" is innovative first because of the extent to which it uses documentary material actually written at the time in which the novel is set and secondly because of its formal versatility.

"The Bubble" is a novel of self-revelation sustained by the insights of a novelist at the very moment of establishing his intellectual and moral credentials. The result necessarily incorporates a great deal of trivia. The cumulative effect, however, is of witnessing a life opening from bud to flower. There are sufficient linking of episodes, narrative interpolation and refining of facts to provide the essential artistic control which a novelist rather than an autobiographer provides. If comparisons need to be made, then they must be with Thomas Mann, Lawrence of "Kangaroo" and perhaps with Proust, although the publisher evokes the Puranas and the work of Soma Devi.

The formal versatility of "The Bubble" is a consequence of this use of contemporary documentation. There may be critics who think that a novel partly composed of daily jottings, whether in letter or diary form is bound to be scrappy. This view will surely miss the point. Anand, albeit with occasional lapses into repetitiousness, marries many different kinds of prose - epistolary, monologue, conversational, omniscient narrative - in a way that few other writers have attempted.

The book is, therefore, not easy; it is too passionate and hectic for that,
darting in different directions all the time. The reader who perseveres, however, will be rewarded with a unique panorama of English social and literary life in the twenties as perceived by an enquiring outsider tossed between patronage and rejection. ...

At several levels "The Bubble" is a major achievement. It is different in shape from anything else that Mulk Raj Anand has essayed. It opens up the possibilities of the novel at a time when many critics are saying the form is defunct or that Indian fiction in English is marginal to Indian literature as a whole. It will surely become a prime source of interest for social historians intrigued by the Anglo-Indian connection in the twenties. ...

Above all it gives the lie to those of narrow vision who have decried Anand as a played-out force. "The Bubble" is as boldly innovative and panoramic a work of fiction as I have read in recent years, marrying an epic scale to a brooding sense of personal uncertainty. ...

I do not pretend that it is faultless or that there are not occasional "longueurs" in so bulky a work but these limitations are almost inevitable given Anand's concept of matching his recollective mind of 1984 with his student speculations of the 1925-27. ...

I hope that both in India and in Britain it will be given the serious attention it merits. I eagerly await the fifth volume in this grand confessional septet.

Also in The Book Review IX, no. 4 (January-February 1985) 14-15, "undertitled "Commitment to Humanity.""


The Bubble delineates the process of Krishan's growth and his gradual transformation from the egocentric to a commitment to his fellow men. In the course of one year he realises that "we have to nourish the flowers of humanity, whom the exalted ones have so far been scaring away from their kitchens..." ...

The Bubble illustrates, I think, not only the central importance of the book for our understanding of Krishan but also of the writer himself; and it is obviously not without premeditation that Anand has not only written a work of more than 600 pages, but has also chosen a new technique of writing.

None of the previous parts of Seven Ages of Man can be compared with The Bubble in this respect. While their worlds were controlled by the voice of an omniscient narrator, the world of The Bubble is presented to us through Krishan's eyes and words. Of the 10 sections the book is sub-
divided into, no less than nine are told in the first-person singular. It is, however, not a straight-forward autobiographical story, but a mode of presentation which makes use of different narrative forms such as the letter, the journal, and the diary. Only section three "Babes in the Wood", is told by an omniscient narrator, and this combined with what he has to say reminds us of one of the main concerns of Confession of a Lover – namely Krishan’s love of woman...

The Bubble, is perhaps, the most ambitious book Anand has written so far because it tells us so much about the author himself. It does so, unintentionally, too, because Krishan’s honesty about himself, criticism of his egocentricity and arrogance are not omitted.

The book, of course, also has its weak points. Thus, for example, references to crucial experiences of Krishan’s life in India, the relationship with his father, the atrocities committed against women in Indian society, like his aunt Devaki or Yasmine, his first beloved, his beatings by the police, etc. are too often repeated.

All in all, however, The Bubble is proof of the writer’s undiminished strength of his belief in man shaping his own destiny and man’s commitment to humanity, especially its weaker sections.

Comments by Critics


Prodigious! Out of the ordinary! Whether in writing as in The Bubble or in personal conversation, you are (as I have said before) like mesmeric Ancient Mariner, and the other is the Wedding Guest...

As the reader loses himself in The Bubble – like a timid swimmer plunging into a river in flood – he encounters the title and the sub-titles, the cluster of epigraphs, the varieties of communication (letters, diary and journal entries, the give and take of conversation, the ECG recordings of the vicissitudes of Krishan’s love for Irene and his love affair with life itself), and he feels tossed between the past and the present, India and Europe, and while trying to keep himself invigoratingly afloat and breasting the billows, all earth and sky captivate him, imagination jostles with memory, research and revolution seem to keep house together, and at one go he has a panoramic view of France-Britain-Ireland, at another the entire spiral of ascent from lust to the plus ultra of the love immaculate. The
swimmer is ashore at last, and it has all been altogether exhilarating and rewarding...

And the variety of art-forms that enter into this ensemble: poetry, painting, music. And the characters are drawn from real life as well as from legend and literature, and all seem to feel at home in 'The Bubble' and achieve a strange contemporaneity...

It is all fascinating, tantalising, and the style of writing too is vigorous, uninhibited, evocative, life-charged...

In The Bubble, the 'raw-stuff' and the finished narrative appear together, yet without the look of incongruity. The iron ore and coke - the blast furnace of the experience - the shining steel and the rods and plates, all are here, as a process, or a complex of the creative endeavour. Perhaps a new literary form; and why not?

That must do for the time being. I have been incoherent; perhaps; partly because I've typed straight away, and also because The Bubble is no routine work to provoke routine reactions. I hope it will be well and enthusiastically received here and abroad.

Chatterjee, Margaret. Review. New Delhi, (1984)

The latest novel by the doyen of Indian novelists, who write in English carries the reader a major step forward in the author's series of autobiographical novels which bear the general title The Seven Ages of Man. Its structure is unusual including letters, extracts from diaries, conversations with literary and other figures and straightforward narrative. what we have is not a novel within a novel, for there would be nothing exceptional about that, but a testament of experience which avoids the gimmickry of flash-backs and makes the reader deeply aware of movements across space and time. It also steers clear of the often overdone inwardness of the stream of consciousness novel by making the reader vividly participate in face and event, the whole history of the times...

What was The Bubble of which the title speaks? The metaphor has many meanings. The Bubble of complacency, of desire, the 'explosion' of love when two bubbles meet, above all the sense of transience, but many coloured as the rainbow hues which bubbles often reflect.

This is a book to be mulled over, even though it so often effervesces like champagne. Apparently rambling in form, in reality it has an inner structure of its own. Most of all, Mulk Raj Anand has succeeded in what many novelists dream of but rarely manage to attain. He has woven personal history into the history of an entire generation...
THE BARBER'S TRADE UNION AND OTHER STORIES (Jonathan Cape, 1944 and Kutub-Popular, 1946, reprinted 1948, 1959)

Perles, Alfred. Review. Life and Letters To-day XIII (1940)

Gray-Stoll, Dennis. Review. Aryan Path (Jan. 1956)

Review. Manchester Guardian. 

The volume is remarkable for the variety of its inspiration. ... The virtues of a humorous appreciation of life's little ironies and a sympathetic understand...
standing of its tragedies is conveyed with a truly poetic understanding.

THE POWER OF DARKNESS AND OTHER STORIES (Jaico, 1958)
Mulk Raj Anand is a talented writer who continues the wisdom of the Orient with an awareness of the problems of modern India. His technique is traditional is true, and he adds nothing to the ways of story-telling, but, these limitations notwithstanding, he adds to our knowledge of man and of India as it really is.

LAJWANTI AND OTHER STORIES (Jaico, 1966)

BETWEEN TEARS AND LAUGHTER (Sterling Paperback, 1973)
Mulk Raj Anand is a seasoned writer not to know what to do with the material that comes his way. He is at home with the sketch and the skit as well as the short story and the novel. Here are some fine sketches, 17 of them in all, done in the miniature style - vivid, sensitive, precise and realistic.

Between Laughter and Tears is quite a suggestive title for this collection of life's little vignettes. But there are in them obviously more tears than laughter. Even the little laughter that might find a feeble outlet here and there sounds no different from the echo of the strangled cry of despair.

The title piece is a work of art fully realised. The young starving mother, harassed by two hungry brats clinging to her sagging milkless breasts while she awaits her turn in the queue at the charity kitchen is a profile of pity. ... Even in the most poignant of these situations, the author chooses to be unobtrusive, thereby intensifying the tragic element. He must be a hardened cynic indeed who is not involved by these stories.

Moléwani, Murli Das. Review. *Journal of Indian Writing in English* 2, no 2 (July 1974) 62-64.
The themes reveal, if anything, a broader compassion; the anger and satire of his earlier stories has matured into a deeper humanity. *A Dog's Life* carries out what the title promises; the miserable existence, a death of a pariah at the hands of a beggar to whom he is a competitor for the waste.
of a free kitchen. A free kitchen provides the background for the drama of hunger and greed of the title story. ... One reason for this is Anand's English, the chief shortcoming of the Collection. All the stories give the impression of being first drafts packed to meet the publisher's deadline. Experiment is not synonymous with license. ... In a number of places Anand makes an inapt use of words and slips up on grammar. ... Discrimination is one of the gifts of experience and adulation, both of which Anand has in ample measure.

**FOLK TALES OF PUNJAB** (Sterling, 1974)

Mukherjee, Sharbari. Folk-Tales: Sources of Education and Entertainment.
Indian and Foreign Review (I Nov. 1976) 20-21

**C. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS**


It makes a lot of difference if one can meet the legendary figures of that time through someone who was in their midst. This is what Anand does for us and no student of English literature should miss this opportunity of becoming a member of the charmed circle for a delightful hour or so.

In the context of Anand's own oeuvre this very enthusiastically written book provides a lot of background material about a very formative period of his life when to be young was heaven especially if one could be in the stimulating company of artists, writers and suffragettes, not forgetting the cockney supporting cast with whom, it is good to note, Anand quickly made friends. The conversations recorded are in Anand's own words, the background of pseudo-hero, Krishna's struggle to fuse the novel of confrontation ... The novelist's antennae picks up so many moods, the tense relation between Leonard and Virginia Woolf, the intensity with which all the dramatis personae greet each other and the time of day.

The philosophical asides should not be missed - Anand's diagnosis of 'the failure of human relations through our Indian tendency to go up and up', that in India ... often aspiration is taken for realisation ...
One of the most exciting things that emerges out of all this relates to the craft of novel-writing in a century when almost everything has been done and said. The book whets the reader's appetite for the remaining volumes of *The Seven Ages of Man*.

Kellaway, Kate. Review. *New Statesman* 103 (1 Jan. 1982) 21

Memory seems to have been a quirky editor: these conversations, recalled from the Thirties, are spare and stilted. Sometimes only the small talk seems to have survived; sometimes a conversation about Hindu philosophy or modern art is embarked upon with concerning speed almost before the tea has reached the table.

Mulk Raj Anand, Indian novelist and philosopher, was anxious to think and contemplate, and Bloomsbury homes frequently provided opportunities to him. ... Each conversation is preceded by food and drink - glasses of sherry, Dundee cake, China tea. Anand strictly edits his own conversation. He felt that his exuberance was naive and a sign of foreignness. He was an outsider longing to be included. The result is an odd reversal; it is the Bloomsbury people who seem foreign and unfamiliar.

Vakil, Shireen. Review. *Indian Book Chronicle* (1 Feb. 1982) 70-71

In *Conversations in Bloomsbury*, the purpose of the author is essentially self-investigative. His aim is not merely to reveal facets of literary personalities that have hitherto been concealed; instead through his conversations with them, Mulk Raj Anand wishes to explore his own personality, aspirations and character-development. He also attempts to show the advancement of his own philosophical ideas. ... The talks in this book form the background for Anand's autobiographical novel, *The Seven Ages of Man*.

... Since the literary portraits often fit stereotyped images, the dialogue, too, gets stilted at times, and people do not come alive. A good example of this is the conversation between Leonard Woolf and E.M. Forster.

Somehow, individual oddities and nuances of speech seem to be ignored; both writers talk in the same, flat, monotone. Occasionally, the author makes use of the most deadening cliches.

And what do we learn about the author? I can't follow the unfolding of a "rich and varied sensibility", nor, in the words of the author himself, "an electric, miscellaneous and unconventional romantic." He appears,
instead, as embarrassing gauche most times, and egocentric at others, especially when he wishes all private conversations to revolve around his own preoccupations. His literary development ... is nebulous, and laboured.

Throughout this and other social occasions recalled by Dr. Anand (including meetings with Eliot, Forster, the Wools and Clive Bell) what is offered is the viewpoint of an 'exuberant and naive poet' who had recently been jailed in the Gandhian movement in the early 1920s and who was now trying to make sense of the pronouncements made by diverse metropolitan figures. Indignant when subjected to jingoistic patronizing, yet captivated by the 'free thinking' of the people he met in London, it is Dr. Anand who holds the reader's attention; during this period he began the writing career which was to earn him an eminent place in Indian Literature, and it is mere for the insights we gain into the evolution of his ideas and imagination than for anything memorable said by Eliot or Forster that this good-humoured little book of 'gossip' is to be appreciated. In fact the 'young literary aspirants' on the 'lunatic fringe' where Mulk Raj Anand looks back and sees himself often, come out better, more realistic and far less stultified than their famous 'liberal' elders.

The Taste of the Pudding. Literary Criterion 17, no 2 (1982) 100-101

D. LITERATURE AND CRITICISM

THE KING EMPEROR'S ENGLISH (Hind Kitab.1948)

LINES WRITTEN TO AN INDIAN AIR (Malanda Publications 1949)
J.M. Review. MARG. 83-84.

ROOTS AND FLOWERS (Karnatak University 1972)

Anand rightly claims that the two novelists he examines are no facile imitators of the West, though they have imbibed the essential lessons of the Western novel, especially from James Joyce. They have their roots firmly embedded in a local sensibility. ... Moreover, these novelists found an aesthetic expression for the forces and values which were the guiding principles of great Indian reformers and visionaries like Gandhi and Tagore. In their novels, the dispossessed Indian masses, the in-
sulted and the injured of our villages, come into their own.
The lectures also contain some interesting artistic formulations, e.g.
the novel is defined as "the transformation, by the imagination, of
human beings through their conflicts in a given time-space continuum
as against the recital which is rooted in the timeless narration of
Eternal." ...

Roots and Flowers is a valuable critical document of interest to every
reader of Indian-English fiction and indispensable for the critic.
Karnatak University would do well to make it widely available.

E. SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
ON EDUCATION (Hind Kitabs, 1947)
Kasturi, N. Review. Triveni 19, no 3 (Oct. 1947) 201
This essay on educational reconstruction in India by the famous Indian
novelist and writer is an appeal to the "under-forties" to re-think our
problems free from the incubus of "tired old half-dead men", minds bred in a feudal-cum-servile colonial structure of society and
"power-crazed politicians of New Delhi": The style is, therefore, in-
dignant and emphatic and, at times, even one-sided and incoherent. After
a rapid survey of various schemes of "national education" administrated
in India in the last half-century, the author launches upon a criticism
of the Wardha Scheme and its "inner reason". According to him, it destroys
the basic assumption of learning by doing; it tries to realize an utopian
Ram-raj; it aims at the production of good little village morons; the
authoritarian religion which Gandhiji exalts, and the doctrine of sexual
control which he preaches ignore the deeper creative urges of man; it
seeks to build an India living in complete isolation from the militarized
world; the scheme does not give any chance whatsoever to the development
of human personality.... This is indeed, an ominous and rather purblind
accusation, and Mr. Mulk Raj Anand has followed it up, not by a detailed
scheme of his own for national education, but a plea for the introduction
of art in primary schools ... and a note on Child Art by Sri Pulibehari
Dutt.

Review. The Leader (Allahabad) 1947
No thinking parent or teacher should omit to read Mulk Raj Anand's book.
He will rise wiser after going through it. Notes on child art by Mr.
Pulibehari Dutt and the beautiful reproduction of children's work have
further added to the book's value.

Review. Illustrated Weekly of India (1947)
A knowledgeable pungently written little hand book which all those interested in the welfare of the new Dominion will find of vivid and sustained interest.

Untraced Source

One of the most distinguished among our younger writers examines critically our educational system, and the several schemes proposed for its reform, and puts forth his own suggestion for an ideal method of child education in a free India. (Quoted on a book cover)

F. LETTERS ON INDIA (Routledge 1943)

Review. News Review (18 Feb. 1943) 25

Dr. Anand, an Indian Nationalist and Congressman, thinks he has a pretty good idea of whom to fix it. It is the ordinary man, his Tom Brown of Walthamstow, to whom the letters are addressed. Therefore he wisely decides that the poignant appeal alone is not enough. Though he reproduces for Tom something of the picture of everyday life - Indian life which he painted in his novels (Untouchable, Coolie, etc.) he figures that Tom has read a good deal of that, and that straight facts are what he needs now if he is to cope with his own curious but sceptical worknotes.

The book may not have the appeal of Mulk Raj Anand's novels of Indian life, but it will be a weapon for the man who knows what he feels about India but has never quite known why he feels it.
B. CRITICISM
(The arrangement is in alphabetical order)

The entries are arranged under the following subheads:

I Full-length Studies on Anand
II Full-length Studies on Individual Works of Anand
III Scholarly Journals - Special Numbers on Mulk Raj Anand
IV Contributions and Chapters in Scholarly Works
V Critical Articles in Periodicals
VI Criticism in Non-English Languages (excluding Russian which are included in Part I: Primary Sources as Section M)
VII Untouchable: A Select Bibliography

I FULL-LENGTH STUDIES ON ANAND


This Study is developed from her thesis entitled: Mulk Raj Anand, Novelist, Editor and Art Critic, 1968 M.A. (For further details see Theses Section). Traces Anand's achievements as a Novelist under four heads - Anand's faith as a man, a writer, his style and, in particular, his dialogues. She then examines his novels as to their themes, techniques and characterization - each treated separately.

Reviewed by

Saros Cowasjee in Literary Criterion X, no 1 (Winter 1971) 84-6
George Woodcock in Pacific Affairs 44, no 4 (Winter 1971 - 72) 658
Saros Cowasjee. Not so Grateful: in Encounter 37, no 2 (Feb.1972) 82
M.C. Raina in Books Abroad 46, no 4 (Autumn 1972) 724-5

"Does not wholly succeed in relating these beliefs to his creative achievement".

Margaret E. Derrett in Journal of Asian Studies 32, no 1 (Nov.1972-Aug.1973) 189-90 - "First sustained bibliographical study ... and it is based chiefly on a detailed examination of the novels in the light of Anand's non-fiction.... The over-all plan, her language, presentation and the printing are excellent."

Ernest Bender in Journal of American Oriental Studies 95, no 1 (Jan.-March 1975) 172

Kaldip K. Roy Indian Choice: Myth or Experience? Journal of Commonwealth Literature 9, no 3 (April 1975) 84-86
"The vitality of Anand's creations, the variegated richness of his total comprehension and the purposive energy of his narratives are aptly reflected in Dr. Berry's work", (p. 85)

K. Chandrasekharan in Indian and Foreign Review (Nov. 1, 1975) 21-22 -
Says that Berry is the first critic to give "a clear-headed analysis of Anand's faith as a novelist"


CONTENTS: - The Making of the Novelist - The Epic of Misery - The Trilogy - Princes and Proletarians - The Later Novels and Fictional Autobiographies. The Index has works of Mulk Raj Anand only, and personal names of some of "important characters of real life that have entered his fiction and autobiographical novels"

Reviewed by


Motilal Raina in Indian Book Chronicle (1 May, 1978) I65-6
"Of the numerous critiques on Anand's work, Saros Cowasjee has an advantage of being the most comprehensive. He has thoroughly researched his material"

Dietter Riemenshneider. Anand Analysed. Literary Half-Yearly XIX, no 2 (July 1978) I8-20 - "So Many Freedoms is an interesting, well-documented book with all the paraphernalia of a thesis ... presenting the details of the author's life and works in an extremely readable narrative; there are many stimulating comments and it is a good guide to Anand"

Vera Sharma in Indian P.E.N. 44, nos 7-8 (July - Aug.1978) I8-I9
In this book, we learn much about Anand the man, as also about his various novels and autobiographical fiction ... To me this seems a most fascinating study, as the author draws on a wide range of material, including personal letters to himself.


J.B. Das in Commonwealth Quarterly 3, no 10 (Dec. 1978) 72-8
"The outcome of this close book at narratives from Untouchable (1935)
to *Confession of a Lover* (1976) is that, despite a few blemishes here and there, Anand emerges as a pioneering Indo-Anglian trying to grapple with the actualities of a pioneering Indo-Cultural experience. ... Cowasjee is a perceptive investigator of Anand's creative world with little interest in the autonomy of different critical concepts"  
D.R. Sharma in *Indian Book Chronicle* (Jan. 1979) I6-I7


"Cowasjee does not only analyse all the novels and fictional biographies of Anand in one volume but also includes a biographical chapter entitled 'The Making of a Novelist'... a much better planned work which is based on thorough research, it is also well balanced in judgement and much more carefully executed..."  


"Cowasjee has Boswelled Anand; here is readable informal criticism at its best;"  

Marlene Fisher in *Journal of Asian Studies* XVI, no I (Spring/Fall 1981) 230-234  


CONTENTS:- Foreword, by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar - The Humanist as Man - The Humanism of Mulk Raj Anand - Untouchable and Road - Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud - The 'Village Trilogy' - The Big Heart and Death of a Hero - Private Life of an Indian Prince - The Old Woman and the Cow - Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts - Seven Ages of Man - Shorter Fiction - Conclusion - Appendix: The Origin and Development of Humanism - Select Biblio. - Index.


Reviewed by and in  

Mysore Economic Review, 60, no 4 (Jan. 1975) 27-8  
*Indian Literature* 18, no 2 (April - June 1975) 105-08  
Basavraj S. Naiker in *Journal of Karnataka University* (H) V.I8, (1976) I70  

"Most analytic survey bound to a particular central point of view".  

Graham Perry in *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 13, no (Aug.1978) 76-85


**CONTENTS:**

- Preface
- The Product of the Two
- The Pilgrimage of Illumination
- The Motif of Virtue
- The Mode of Expression
- The Remarkable Triad
- The Summing Up
- Select Bibliography.

Reviewed by Hilda Sales-Pontes in *The Journal of Indian Writing in English* 12, no I (Jan. 1984) 30-32

"His analysis of the novels will go a long way towards understanding the making of Anand the novelist, for the autobiographical strains are especially identified."


**CONTENTS:**

- Preface
- The Making of a Modern Mind
- Two Untouchables
- Bakha and Bhikhu: Chronicles of Coolies: Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud
- The Indian Peasant goes West: The Lal Singh Trilogy: (The Village, Across the Black Waters and The Sword and the Sickle)
- Two Nobles' Hearts: The Big Heart and The Old Woman and the Cow
- Politics and the Novel: The Private Life of an Indian Prince and Death of a Hero
- Experiments in Autobiography: Seven Summers and Morning Face
- The Short Stories
- A Peep into the Smithy: Literary Technique
- The Achievement of Mulk Raj Anand
- Bibliography.
An analysis of Anand's works in novel and short story forms. Considers him a 'Committed Writer' and not always a 'Creative Artist'. Quotes much from Anand's writings, personal letters and a questionnaire.

**Reviewed by**

Thought (17 Feb. 1973) I7-I9
Suresh Kohli in Times of India (25 Feb. 1973) II: 4-7 - "most competent ... best work of Mulk Raj Anand's fiction, fairly comprehensive bibliography and a good index!"

Meera Pillai in Indian P.E.N. 39, no 8 (Aug. 1973) I6-8

G.S. Balarama Gupta in Islamic Culture (India) II, no I (Winter 1973) SI-55
G.S. Balarama Gupta in Literary Criterion XI, no I (Winter 1973) SI-55
Indian Literature, 16, nos 3-4 (July - Dec. 1974) 2I0-2I4
Journal of South Asian Literature (Fall 1974)
Marlene Fisher in Books Abroad 49, no 2 (Spring 1975) 389-90


CONTENTS:- Introduction - Seven Summers, Morning Face - Confession of a Lover - Untouchable - Coolie - The Village - Across the Black Waters - The Sword and the Sickle - The Big Heart - Two Leaves and a Bud - The Short Stories - The Private Life of an Indian Prince - The Old Woman and the Cow (or Gauri) - The Road - Death of a Hero - Conclusion - Footnotes (p. I20 - I24) - Bibliography (p. I25 - 8)

"A detailed but compact study of all Mulk Raj Anand's major fiction, with sections on each novel and on several stories.... Dr. Niven is aware of how his subject's reputation has fluctuated through the years but he demonstrates qualities in Anand's writing which has sometimes been overlooked by critics who are concerned more with personalities than with literary values"  (Front Blurb) The author posed the question 'Could a novelist be dedicated ?' He answers this question by an examination of Anand's novels, short stories and his autobiographical fictions.

This is considered the fullest, comprehensive study available.

Atma Ram Sharma in Journal of Indian Writing in English 7, no 2 (July 1979) 117-8

K. Ayyappa Panikar. Littcrit 5, no I (June 1979), 50-53 - Quotes Anand's declaration and his artistic Credo: "I was more concerned with men and all the values they live by than with any single value or set of values in themselves!"

Chirantan Kulshrestha. Refreshing, Breezy Study. CHINLE Reviews Journal no I (May 1980) 41-42

Riemenschnieder, Dieter. An Ideal of Man in Anand's Novels. Bombay, Kutub-Popular, 1967, 25 p. (Paperback). Originally appeared as an article in Indian Literature 10, no I (Jan.-March 1967) 29-51. Reprinted with kind permission of Sahitya Academy, New Delhi. "It is concerned mainly with the individual's self-realization as presented in the main character or characters in Anand's novels and short stories. Shows that Anand is indebted to European thinking, yet remains an Indian writer; his philosophical concept is more European. According to Cowasjee, this monograph traces the Anand hero through successive novels. The author mistakenly takes Coolie as Anand's first novel.


"Attempts an intensive and thorough analysis of treatment of the theme of each novel." (Foreword)

Reviewed by A. Hilda Sales-Pontes in Journal of Indian Writing in English 12, no I (Jan. 1984) 30-32. - "Premila exhibits a sensitive and sympathetic re-
response to Mulk Raj Anand's social humanism and his deep abhorrence of the evils perpetuated against the victims of our tradition-ridden society.

K.K. Sharma's Perspectives on Mulk Raj Anand.


Reviewed by

Sijyam M. Asnani in Indian Book Chronicle (1 June 1982) I92-3
K.V.S. Murti in Journal of Indian Writing in English, 7, no 2 (July 1979) II8 - 20

(Twayne World Authors Series).

CONTENTS:— Keynote (On Anand as a Person) — The Mirror (An analysis of the first three novels) — Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts — The Trilogy ('Lalu') — The Labyrinth of Passion (Big Heart and Seven Summers) The Mythic Parallel (on treatment of Mythology) — Fishers of Shadows (on 5 volumes of Short stories) — Imagery and Characterization — Anand's Continent of Words (on Language) — The Completed Concert (on Anand as a writer) — Appendix: The Morning Face.

The chief aim of this full-length study is "to present a close, clear,
connected and fairly comprehensive picture of Anand's achievements as a novelist. To him, Anand is "a novelist of the human condition ... whose province is human nature;" Typescript sent to M.R. Anand.

Reviewed by A. Sisirkumar Ghose. Anand - A Tractarian with Tenderness. *Indian & Foreign Review* (1 May 1974) 21-22 - "a simple and sympathetic introduction ... His novels have vitality, range and rhetoric, but in retrospect, they are perhaps less novels than poems."

*Thought* (26 Sept. 1974) 13-19

*M. Sivaramakrishna* in *Times of India* (8 Dec. 1974) 4: 6-7


II FULL-LENGTH STUDIES ON INDIVIDUAL WORKS


Reviewed by A. Sisirkumar Ghose. *On Mulk Anand.* *Indian Book Chronicle* (16 May 1977) 174-6 - The present study is a compact and competent monograph on Anand's Coolie (1936) blending admiration of a personal friend with a restraint verdict of a critic ... The most striking feature of this booklet is its organizational pattern.

Uma Parameswaran in *World Literature Today* (Summer 1977) - Saroj Cowasjee's assessment is a useful and timely monograph.

Anand Analysed. *Literary Half-Yearly* XIX, no 2 (July 1978) 18-20 - Says this monograph on Coolie is incorporated in his *So Many Freedoms.*
III Scholarly Journals—Special Numbers on Mulk Raj Anand.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE Vines II-I2 (Nov.-Dec. 1965) - Dr. Mulk Raj Anand Special Number on His Sixtieth Birthday

I. Messages and Souvenirs from D.S. Radhakrishnan, President, Han Suyin and others, p. 5-9

II. Articles
Sajjad Zaheer. Mulk Raj Anand, II-I2
Mulk Raj Anand. How I Became a Writer, I3-I5
M.C. Pant. Mulk Raj Anand - the Man, I6-I8
Prabhat Kumar Dutt. Mulk Raj Anand in Relation to Tagore, Premchand and Sarat Chatterjee, 9-20
Jack Lindsay. Mulk Raj Anand - A Study, 21-23

III. Bibliographies
Books by Mulk Raj Anand in English Language.
Bibliography of Novels and Stories in Various World Languages.

IV. Chronology, 42-47

Mulk Raj Anand by Jack Lindsay (I-4)
Untouchable as an Archetypal Novel by R.T. Robertson (5-I6)
The 'Lalu' Trilogy of Mulk Raj Anand by Alastair Niven (I7-38)
Two Leaves and a Bud: Truth and Fiction by B.K. Bhattacharya (39-47)
The Princes in Indian Fiction by Saros Cowasjee (48-70)
Seven Summers: Anand's Fictional Matrix by K.V.S. Murti (7I-84)
The Big Heart: A New Perspective by Saros Cowasjee (85-92)
Myth into Moral: Mulk Raj Anand's The Old Woman by Alastair Niven. (93-I06)
Confession of a Lover by Marlene Fisher (I07-I8)
Approaches to Anand's Short Stories by Murli Das Melwani (I19-24)
Yoke of Pity: the Poet in Anand's Novels by Satyanarain Sirka (I25-48)
Gandhi's Influence on Anand and his Fiction by Debjani Chatterjee (I49-62)
Bakha: An Existential Analysis by S. Laxmana Murthy (I63-75)
Dialogue in Forster and Anand: A Contrastive Analysis by E. Nageswara Rao (I76-89)
Anand's Idea of a Novel by D. Ramakrishna (I90-99)
Folk Elements in Anand's Novels by Atma Ram Sharma (200-9)
Anand in Letters by G.S. Balarama Gupta (210-18)

NOTES: "The Lost Child" by Sanjay Bhatt (219-22)
Three Views on Coolie of Edgell Rickwood (223-25);
Edward Burra (226-27) and Hilla Vakeel (228-31)
The Road by Suresh Kohli (232-34)
Death of A Hero by Dieter Riemenschneider (235-38)
Morning Face by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar (239-43)

Afterword: Why I Write? by Mulk Raj Anand (244-55)
Chronology (256-60)
Select Bibliography: Works by Mulk Raj Anand (261-64)
Select Critiques (265-67)
Contributors (268-70)

CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHAPTERS IN SCHOLARLY WORKS
(includes brief, critical references)

The work was first written as a doctoral dissertation, Department of Government, Harvard University. Considerably revised in form and content. Acknowledges the generosity of Anand who spent several hours in London and Wellesley College, Massachusetts, discussing his writings, life and hopes and disillusionments with candour and humour, besides prompt replies to letters. "My analysis of his works is richer because of his generosity." (Preface, p. viii)

"Anand's novels show a happy blend of idealism, revolutionary socialism and a comprehensive historical humanism which is all too rare in contemporary novelists." (p.141) Comments on Untouchable and The Big Heart (p. 137-39) Coolie (I42-44) Two Leaves and a Bud (I44-45) Lalu Trilogy (p.I46- 151) and Seven Summers (p.15I - 54)

Reviewed by

"In the chapters on Anand, Narayan and Raja Rao are flashes of academic brillance which, however, do not make up for the basic lacuna'... The Chapter on Anand is a very well-written one"


Outline of Paper-I) Introduction. (II) The Background of Anand's Faith - the early years in India, 1906-1925, the years abroad, 1925-1945, the later years in India, 1945- (III) The Nature of Anand's Faith - Humanism; Shakti-Yoga; Universalism, Tolerance, Compassion; Special Considerations relating to Hinduism - (IV) Summary.


General Comments. On Untouchable (p.57-8) - " a minor classic"


General; more particular regarding definition of term 'Political Novel'.


Brussels, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1966.

Quotes from Anand and from Untouchable (p.66) and Seven Summures (60-61)
in Ch. IV. The Characters in the Indian Novel in English (p.57-64).


"The most conspicuously committed writer is Mulk Raj Anand. I am using the word 'Committed' for what used to be called 'tendency' writing; earlier still 'Writing with a purpose'. I do not suppose he ever made a reader dream. But he does not make a reader cry, and he does fill them with rage. Indeed these two reactions in combination are his special contributions to Indian literature. Anand's best novels, Coolie, Untouchable, Two Leaves and a Bud are good examples of this kind of writing".


This second chapter in volume I of a 2-volume study is divided as follows: 1) Introductory (2) The Poorest of the poor (3) The Trilogy as Marxist Epic (4) Episodes of the Heart (5) Conclusion, Notes. Acknowledges much help from discussions and correspondence, with Anand. See also his essay in Perspectives on Mulk Raj Anand, edited by K.K. Sharma (1978) 153-68.


A sub-chapter on Mulk Raj Anand. According to Cowasjee, it contains
"a short but good critique of Coolie. Henderson describes the novel as a "fantasy".".

Treats Mulk Raj Anand as an outstanding writer of Indo-Anglian fiction.
Quotes from his article How I Became a Writer for genesis of novels.
Contains extracts of opinions of critics on him (both Indian and English) as a social propagandist.


About the Indianism and diction of R.K. Narayan, he says "No crude equivalents for the vocabulary of abuse of Mulk Raj Anand and Khushwant Singh nor any kind of weird construction!" (p. 150)


Has comments on Anand in Ch.1: Literature and the Colonial Society (Anand's Untouchable); Ch. 2: Literature and New Nations ( Re: trend towards autobiographical novels and literary studies), and Ch. 5: India: R.K. Narayan and Tradition

"His achievement is not merely methodological but creatively original
in his Indo-Anglian fictional application of the philosophy of naturalism."

Makes brief comments on Anand's novels which are grouped as follows:

1st Coolie (1935) and Two Leaves and a Bud (1951)
2nd Untouchable (1935) and The Big Heart (1944)
3rd The Village (1939), Across the Black Waters (1940) and The Sword and the Sickle (1955) (pp. 40-45).
4th The Private Life of an Indian Prince (1953) (p. 45-9)

"It is a powerful impeachment of the bourgeoisie and the decadent aristocracy that have been historically responsible for the sordidness of life in the small principality of Shampur."

Lal, P. Contemporary Indian Fiction in English - Its Background and 'Tone'.

Indian Literature in the Past Fifty Years .../edited by C.D. Narasimhaiah. Mysore, University of Mysore, 1969, 26-33


Language Forum VII, nos I-4 (April 1981 - March 1982) (Special Number on Modern Indo-English Fiction)


Says Anand, "though deeply soaked in Punjabi life, has been mostly away from the Punjab, and did not chance to see and feel the actualities of partition ... Moreover he is a writer preoccupied with the intense desire to eradicate the ills and evils of Indian social life and to replace them by the element of modernity and progressiveness" (p.32)

2. Shepherd, Ron. Suffering in Indo-English Fiction, 51-58

On Untouchable, 54-56, 58.

"Anand's critique of Indian society follows recognisably socialist lines, though socialism tempered a strong humanistic instinct. However, the author doesn't play fair, or perhaps his humanism gets the upper hand, because Bakha turns out a little too good to be true." (p.55)

3. Asnani, Shyam M. New Morality in the Modern Indo-English Novel, 59-70

Takes up the novels of Anand, Anita Desai and Nayantara Sahgal.

Comments on Anand's The Old Woman and the Cow, p.60-63

"Anand the artist and Anand the humanist work in harmony to paint a vivid picture of the pitiable plight of the Indian woman, especially in the rural society..." (p.62)

4. Perry, Graham. Anand, Orwell and the War, 80-89

On Across the Black Waters and Anand's handling of war. Also about Anand
and Orwell assignments in BBC Weekly News Commentary (Indian Section).

4. Yadugari M.A. Content Structure in Three Indian Short Stories, 711-79
   Anand's 'A Pair of Mustachios' contents are analysed on p. 74-76.

5. Fisher, Marlene. The Art of Self and the Self of Art: Mulk Raj Anand's
   Confession of a Lover, 90-100

Mehta, P.P. Mulk Raj Anand: The Novelist and the Underdog in Indo-Anglian
   comments in other chapters. Comments on Anand's themes, characterization,
   dramatic technique of story-telling and realism, ending with showing how
   Anand's two novels, Untouchable and Coolie, are a vigorous protest against
   the British Raj oppression of the poor all over the country. Also assessed
   Untouchable (p. II8 - 21) under Gandhian struggle: nationalism.

Melwani, Murli Das. Indo-Anglian Neglect of the Short Story. In his Critical
   Essays on Indo-Anglian Themes. Bareilly: Prakash Book Depot, 12-8
   Comments on Mulk Raj Anand's 'The Lost Child' (p. 13) and more generally
   on his technique (p.14) "Mulk Raj Anand is capable of mingling satire and
   humour as in 'A Kashmir Idyll'... His stories are marked by shrewd
   observation and precise delineation".

Mokashi - Punekar, Shankar. Indian Writing in English: A Statement of Some
   Stylistic Issues, Indian Writing in English.../edited by Ramesh Mohan.

   Critical Essays on Indian Writing in English.../edited by M.K. Naik, S.K.
   - The Tractor and the Plough: The Contrasted Visions of Sudhin Ghoose and
     Mulk Raj Anand, Indian Literature of the Past Fifty Years 1915-1967/
     edited by C.D. Narasimhaiah. Mysore: Mysore University Press, 1967,
     I21 - 32. Reprinted in Considerations / edited by Meenakshi Mukherjee,
     Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1976, III-21. Also appears as an article
     in Indian Literature 13, no I (March 1970) 88-101
   - The Twice Born Fiction: Themes and Techniques of the Indian Novel in
     English, New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann (India) 1971, 239 p. Second
   This assessment of the problems, achievements and further possibilities
of the Indo-Anglian novel" has valuable comments to make on Anand's themes, techniques (Ch. 3), and his handling of East-West Encounter (Ch. 4). Examines select novels.

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The Political Novel in Indian Writing in English, Politics and the Novel in India / edited by Yogendra L. Malik. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1978, 6-I5. Comments on The Sword and the Sickle ( 8-9). Reflects the ushering of a new and far more intense phase in the Indian freedom struggle; in Death of a Hero. (I0-II) the theme "rape of Kashmir by the Pakistani raiders" represent the assault of religious bigotry and obscurantism on the people aspiring to a democratic way of life (I0-II). Considers Private Life (II) as a "narrative of authencity in political novels".

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Narasimhaiah, C.D. How Major is Our Literature of the Past Fifty Years? The Inaugural Address, Indian Literature in the Past Fifty Years.../ edited by C.D. Narasimhaiah. Nysore: University of Nysore, I967, I-I0.

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One of the series of lectures delivered at the Institute. Since Anand is the most neglected of the 'Big Three' in the English-speaking World, Narasimhaiah sets out to expound on Anand's achievement as a novelist by examining Untouchable (p.III-I8), Coolie (p. I18-28) and The Big Heart (p. I28-33). Cowasjee considers Narasimhaiah's essay on Coolie as a perceptive one.

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Third Lecture: Mahatma Gandhi as Poets and Novelists See Him, pp. 55-78, has comments on Anand's Untouchable, Coolie, etc. (p. 62-70), especially on Bakha's acceptance of his caste status. Takes much from the story.

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Why Commonwealth Literature? Alien Voice: Perspectives on Common-

Considers Narayan, Anand and Raja Rao among the galaxy of writers from the Commonwealth who have helped to "fill the void caused in English literature" and "offset the colonial cringing of their countrymen". Comments on Anand, p. 8.

Has short comments and illustrations from Novels of many Indian novelists, including Anand.

Studies the novels of major Indo-Anglian novelists, including Anand's The Road. Considers its main theme is 'Untouchability' though it is "a novel of today where Casteism is abolished and untouchability officially forbidden". Comments on Anand's characters.

Also appears in article form in Literary Half Yearly 13, no 1 (Jan. 1972) 31-49.
Considers this Trilogy as Anand's statement of the problems of Modern India - inadequacy of Capitalist government, traditional fatalism of Indian peasants and inflexibility of caste system.

"Novels with a gap of 26 years between the dates of their publication... give a thorough listing of the linguistic innovations and experimentations attempted by Anand."/ Rajan, B. India. Literature of the World in English/ edited by Bruce King, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974 pp. 79-97, Notes, pp. 217-8.
Comments specifically on Mulk Raj Anand on pp. 83-4. Considers he is among those who have helped to establish the Indian novel in English when Independence was a dream and partition not yet a nightmare. Takes up Coolie and Untouchable and the trilogy which to him indicates that Anand's pre-
dominant if not his overwhelming interest in the didactive novel of social contact.


At first, general, then takes up select titles and authors in all Indian languages, including Mulk Raj Anand, R.K. Narayan, etc.


Anand, Narayan, Raja Rao and Markandaya have been selected as examples. Quotes from Anand (I93).


Brief comments in this paper, presented at a Seminar on Indian Writing in English, Dec. 1970, on Anand's humanist belief, theme of untouchability, realism, and characterization as illustrated in his novels Untouchable and Coolie.


Discusses Anand's Coolie (I38-4I) and Two Leaves and a Bud (I4I-43) along with other novels. Makes two observations: (1) Dichotomy of cultures and their claim on individuals, and (2) Minor characters typify British Colonial System, except Two Leaves and a Bud which contains the whole gamut of British characters. Commences with Anand's pre-independence novels, wherein his concern was "Capitalist System of Exploitation". (I40)


Sharma, Gobinda Prasad. Nationalism in Indo-Anglian Fiction. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1978, xxii, 39I p. Biblio. pp 36I-83. A Published version of his Ph.D. thesis offered at Gauhati University. Seeks to fill up the gap between Srinivasa Iyengar's Indian Writing in English (I962) and Mukherjee's The Twice-Born Fiction (I97I) and the many critical studies ( both books and periodicals) on Indo-Anglian fiction published in India and abroad. His aim is to show that all fiction at least
upto 1941 were 'Indian' in nature, and written for Indian readers.


Contemporary Indian Literature. Bombay: Comments on p. 42.

"A more prolific writer, Mulk Raj Anand is engrossed in the many 'underdogs' of Indian Society and his Two Leaves and a Bud, the Coolie, the Untouchable and The Village treat them, not patronisingly, but with the sympathy and even the respect due to them as human beings. The sweeper, the peasant, the plantation labourers, the city drudge, the sepoy, all emerge alive from his novels - anguished and hungry, yet human, superstitious and self-divided, vividly realised inspite of their thwarted purpossings!"


\[ \text{A word missing} \]
"Anand's strength and weaknesses." Comments on works from Untouchable (30-33) to Private Life (42-7), including his short stories (47-50) and his importance in Indo-Anglian literature (50-52).

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She had sent this copy from Moscow in June 1968 with the remark "Dear Mulk from one of the authors," and at the head of her article "To you, about you, due you, Elena."
V CRITICAL ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS


Arora, V.M. Mulk Raj Anand's Claim to Fame. The English Association Journal (Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Pilani) no I (April 1955), 25-30
Much on his heroes in Untouchable, Coolie and the Lalu Trilogy; i.e. Bakha, Munoo and Lal Chand.

Asnani, Shyam M. Socio-Political Concerns in the Novels of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Triveni 45, no I (April-June) 1976, 38-58, Biblio.
Traces these concerns in the first Trilogy. Finds Anand's novels show his firm stand against oppression and exploitation. "Anand, through his novels, has, by implications, been impressing on his readers to recognize fundamental principles of human living and exercise vigilance in regard to the real enemies of freedom and socialism" (p. 41)

The Indian Princes: their Portrayal in the Indo-English Novel. Commonwealth Quarterly 3, no II (June 1979) 85-104. Notes p. 100-104
Covers mainly Anand's Private Life of an Indian Prince. Manohar Malgonkar's The Princes.

Form and Technique in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels. Indian Scholar 2, no 2 (July 1980) 89-100, ref. p. 100-103
"Anand's powerful imagination has fused the philosophies and the ideals of life of the Orient and the Occident, a rare assimilation of the 'introvert-extrovert centres of experience'." (p. 90)

Quotes much from Anand's 'A Note on Henry James and the Art of Fiction in India' Commonwealth Quarterly 2, no 7 (July 1978) 5 and his 'Creative Process' Littcrit 4, no I (June 1978) 3-5

The Theme of East West Encounter in the Novels of Mulk Raj Anand. Littcrit IV, no 2 (Dec 1978) II-18, notes p. 17
Anand's major fiction deals with "the theme of tradition versus modernity.
and its ramifications." (p. II). Considers Untouchable (p. I2), Coolie (p. I2-I4), Two Leaves and a Bud (p. I2, I4-I6), Lalu Trilogy (p. I6) and The Big Heart (p. I6-I8) as representative novels. "Anand's art suffers when he criticizes the Indian tradition unduly."


- Comments on The Old Woman and the Cow, on p. 60-63
- See also his contributions in Scholarly Works (Section IV above)

Appears with the title: The Politics of a Revolutionary Elite in *Onlooker Annual* 75-76, 57-61
Examines Mulk Raj Anand's novels in order "to gain insight into the politics of the Indian revolutionary elite". Takes up for study The Big Heart, Two Leaves and a Bud and quotes much from the Apology for Heroism. Although a'really sincere article!, Anand informed Bald that her sociological criticism was based on the misrepresentation that the characters in a novel invariably represent the opinion of the novelist. Bald agreed to revise this for its publication in book form. (Included in Section IV)

Bandopadhyay, Manohar. 'Untouchable'. *Patriot* (18 April 1982) 2:3-8

Berry, Margaret. India: a Double Key. *Journal of Indian Writing in English* 6, no 1 (Jan. 1978) 30-8
On the use of Indian novels and short stories as means of familiarizing students with ways of life and thought of South India. Comments on Anand's The Big Heart (p. 31-6) as " depicting political life and character of the Punjab in Amritsar of the early 1940s".

See also her full-length study on Anand. (Section I)


On the Progressive Writers Association; Mulk Raj Anand gets mentioned.


Comments on Anand, p. I74.

See also his contribution in Scholarly Works (Section IV)

Carter, D.  Probing Identities: Untouchable, Things Fall Apart and The Earth, My Brother.  Literary Criterion XIV, no 3 (1979) I4-29

On Untouchable, p. I4-I9

Finds that all three writers appear to have placed great weight on the social significance... on the necessary teaching role of the novels in the forging of a distinct national ideal, and to have used them much to different degrees as "vehicles" of their vision of a solution to the clash of East and West.

Chatterjee, Debjani.  Gandhi's Influence on Anand and his Fiction.  Kakatiya

Journal of English Studies II, no I (Spring I977) I49-62

Refers to ' the Story' and Conversation with Gandhi in Untouchable and Lalu's long conversation with Gandhi in The Sword and the Sickle (p. 203).  Concludes that Anand wrongly calls himself a pseudo-Gandhian.  (p. I6I)


A bald comparison of the plots and theme of both novels.  Adds nothing to the understanding of the works.


Comments on Anand's Private Life, 91-104.

Compares the handling of the princes' descent in the novels of Anand, Malgonkar and E.M. Forster, and considers the superiority of the last two as self-evident.

Appears in a slightly different version in Journal of Commonwealth Literature (see below)

 Apparently a slightly varied version of the article with a similar title appearing in Literary Half-Yearly 9, no. 2 (1968) 83-104

 Comments on Anand's writing career with short notes on the novels that preceded *The Private Life of an Indian Prince* which is treated fully (53-8). Considers *Untouchable* and *Cooie* as his most characteristic works.


 Evaluates criticism of his novels made by critics from India and abroad; gives extracts of reviews and letters from some eminent British novelists and critics. He ends by commenting on Meenakshi Mukherjee's analysis: "Beyond the Village ..." in the *Critical Essays* (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1968).

 In her reply, Meenakshi Mukherjee: Saros Cowasjee: Mulk Raj Anand and His Critics. *Banasthali Patrika* Year 5 no I3 (July 1969) II9-30, points out the misunderstanding of her statements.


 "Inspite of his outpourings ... Mulk Raj Anand remains the most enigmatic personality on the Indian Literary scene."

- Princes and Politics: *The Literary Criterion* VIII, no 4 (Summer 1969) 10-18

 "Mulk Raj Anand's *Private Life of an Indian Prince* is a Dostoevskian novel on the grand scale; a fine achievement by a foremost Indian novelist of today (pp. II4-15). Anand's novel surpasses Malgonkar's for he does not permit the political background to obtrude itself upon the development of the characters. Concerned to tell a story of the naked clash of wills, the author never allows the Prince's political ambitions to determine his emotional life. (p.I6)


 Editor's Note: "This article is an expansion of Professor Cowasjee's 'Afterword' in the 1970 Bodley Head edition of *Untouchable*. Covers the 'traumatic experiences' of the author and 'the disappointments and frustrations that lie beneath the story of success'."


Anand's contact began with a letter from Sir Malcolm Darling dated March 6, 1941 asking for short plays for B.B.C.'s *Far Eastern Programme* - a programme designed to help enlist India's support for Britain's fight against Germany. The first broadcast is in Feb. 1942, and extends to 1954 June (as an Asian Visitor: interviewed for 4 minutes)


Anand's 'Two Leaves and a Bud'. *Indian Literature* XVV, nos. 3 & 4 (July & Dec., 1973) 134-47


Mulk Raj Anand's *The Sword and the Sickle*. *World Literature Written in English* I4, no. 2 (Nov. 1975) 283-7


The Problem of Teaching Indian Fiction in Commonwealth Countries.

Regina, University of Regina. 8p.

Apparently a paper. Has many laudatory remarks on Anand's *Untouchable*, *Coolie* and *Private Life of an Indian Prince*.

See also his full length study (1978), assessment of *Coolie* (1976) (Sections I & II) and Reviews of *Confession of a Lover* and *Morning Face* (Section A of Secondary Sources)

Curtis, Anthony. Dhal and Diaghilev. *The New Statesman and Nation* XLII no 1070 (1951)

Dover, Cedric. The Significance of Anand. *United Asia* III, 6 (1952)

Dutt, Prabhat Kumar. Mulk Raj Anand in Relation to Tagore, Premchand and


This Assistant Professor of English of Manhattanville College, Purchase, N.Y. had a six-month research grant for a work on Anand. Seeks to answer critics like Kaushik and others; upholds Anand's plea for a writer's full freedom in the handling of his material as justified. Reviews Anand's handling of the theme in *Untouchable, Coolie*, of politics in *The Village* and industrial misery in *The Big Heart*.

- Mulk Raj Anand's Confessional Novels. *Journal of Indian Writing in English* 4, no 2 (July 1975) 39-45, notes p. 45 - 7

Considers *Seven Summers* and *Morning Face* as ultimately "his major fiction and most ambitious books". They represent according to her the work of a lifetime of creativity and they embody implicitly some of Anand's ideas about the novel form. "The transformation of felt experience into art is something for which Mulk Raj Anand as a novelist has always striven and nowhere more so than in *Seven Summers* and *Morning Face*" (p. 39)

- On Being Seventy Years Young. *Youth Times* (2-15 Aug. 1976) 10-II (Now it can be Told Series) (By courtesy of *Indian Express*, New Delhi I2 Dec. 1975)

Has much biographical data.

- The Shape of Lostness: Mulk Raj Anand's short stories. *Journal of Indian Writing in English* 2, no I (July 1974) I-II


"Mulk Raj Anand as a novelist has always striven for the transformation of felt experience into art and has long viewed the novel as a form of great flexibility" (p. 90)

See also her two interviews (interviews Section) and her article in *Kakatiya Journal of English Studies* (Section III)


Comments on *Anand*, 34-35.


An analysis of the first three novels and *Two Leaves and a Bud* as
propaganda novels directed against foreigners and capitalist enterprise and social strata. Thinks that Anand's is an unrealistic treatment with false presumptions.


Finds Anand's Untouchable among the novels of the 1930s deeply influenced by Gandhian philosophy. Also holds that 1960 - 1970 is the 'golden decade' in the history of Indo-English Novel. Of the three dozen significant novels published he includes those of Mulk Raj Anand.


- Untouchable: A Study. Contemporary Indian Literature 7, no II (Nov. 1967) I2-I3

- Coolie: A Prose Epic of Modern India. Karnatak University Journal (Humanities) XII (1968) 92-9


"When we come to have a close look at Anand's stories, we find that woman occupies the central position in several of them. Woman - her passions and patience, her courage and heroism, her joys and sorrows, her vanities and vapidities - form the theme of Anand's several stories. Examine the treatment of women in select stories.

- Anand's Big Heart: A Study. The Banasthali Patrika Year 5, no I3 (July 1969) 37-43

Considers this novel as "one of Anand's most successful novels in the humanistic perspectives". After giving a short synopsis, we get some statements on Anand's aim in writing Big Heart and his success.


Has comments on Anand, p. I74; I76.

See also his full-length study (Section I) and his scholarly contributions (Sections III & IV)

"Dr. Mulk Raj Anand is the first Indian writer of fiction who chose the English language for the portrayal of rural India. He provided the English equivalent of the native Punjabi idiom ... Mulk Raj Anand had employed his diction to portray nuances of Indian life and to that extent his English was earthy..."

Harrex, S.C. Search for an Indian Form of Indo-English Fiction. Littcrit 8, no 1 (June 1982), 1-6

Hirst, Mary Hooper. "Mulk Raj Anand". News Circle 19, no 9 (May 1973) p 41

Iyengar, K.R. Srinivasa. See SRINIVASA IYENGAR, K.R.

Jamil, Maya. "Indian and Pakistan Writers of English Fiction." University Studies (Karachi) I (1964)

Comments on Untouchable, p. 182 - 83 - "the image of that of Gandhi as a holy man - the easiest way for holy India to acknowledge and accept Gandhi's greatness... (and) attitude of strong human quality which attracts people to him and there are also people who deride and ridicule him" - all these three aspects are in Untouchable in greater or lesser degree.

Much on Anand's novels, including Untouchable as weak social documents.

Has Comments on Mulk Raj Anand's attempts to represent the speech of the
lower classes of India.

Kausik, R.K. From Potter's Wheel to Dragon's Teeth: Character De-
On Private Life, p. 21-23

- Indian Princes Again: The Private Life of an Indian Prince by Mulk
Raj Anand. Literary-Half-Yearly XII, no I (Jan. 1971) 107-12 — a
review article.

Considers Anand's creation Ganga Basi - the central character - as one
of the most lively and fascinating characters in Indo-Anglian fiction.
A review article of the Bodley Head edition with Cowasjee's foreword.
See also his contribution in Indo-English Literature edited by K.K.
Sharma (1977) and reprinted in Perspectives on Mulk Raj Anand edited by
K.K. Sharma (1978)

Kohli, Suresh. Mulk Raj Anand and the 'Morning Face'. Indian & Foreign
Review (Sept. 15, 1970) 20-1
Comments on Anand as a novelist and his writing of 'Morning Face',
seeking to answer criticism. To him, Anand is "a social commentator not a
novelist" (p. 20) — A review article.

Krishnasastriy, K.S.R. Gandhi and Gandhism in Indo-Anglian Fiction. Triveni
38, no 3 (Oct. 1969) 74-84
Much on Untouchable and The Sword and the Sickle along with Venkata-
ramani's Muragan the Tiller and Kandan, the Patriot and Raja Rao's
Kanthapura.

Kurmanadhan, K. Woman Characters in Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's Novels. Contemporary
Indian Literature 6, nos. 6 & 7 (Jan. - July 1966) II-12, 26-7

Women considered a regular feature in Anand's novels is traced in all his
published fiction. He finds Anand exposing "the bitter suffering or
cruelty of humanity and different levels".

- The Novels of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Triveni 36, no 3 (Oct. 1967) 50-57
Has comments on all the novels up to The Private Life of an Indian Prince.
Opines Untouchable is Anand's most notable achievement (p. 51) and Coolie
is "the best and the most ambitious of his works... Transcending the
limits of time and space". Concludes with E.M. Forster's observation about
Anand's insight and delineations.

Lal, P. English and English Writing in India. Conspectus 2, no 2 (Second
Considers Anand an "extinct volcano". ( p. 42 )

- Literary traditions - 6 (Final) Indian Writing in English. Illustrated Weekly of India (25 Oct. 1964) 33,35

A personal appraisal of the achievements of certain Indian writers and their works from Shri Aurobindo to Raja Rao and what constitutes Indian writing in English. On Mulk Raj Anand: "is now an extinct volcano after lighting up the leftist skies of the 'thirties'; we must wait for the promised Mahabharat of his gargantuan autobiographical reminiscences... before assessing..."

- Indian Writing in English since Independence. Illustrated Weekly of India (29 May, 1967) 32-4

Has general comments, especially on Indianness and technique of writing.


See also his contribution in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies. Section III

MacGutchion, David. Can English be a Creative Language for India? Adam International Review Thirty seven year, Nos. 355-60 (1971) (Special Double issue on the literatures of India) XX 26-35

On growth and development of Indian English. Of Mulk Raj Anand he praises "militant vitality of his fiction". See also his scholarly work Section IV


Madhav Singh, (Deepak). Felicitations to Dr. K.C. Saiyidkum and Mulk Raj Anand. Indian P.E.N. 33, no 4 (April 1967) II4

«—Manifesto of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association. London: Left
Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan and Mulk Raj Anand are to him the "three most significant novelists in India today" (p. 187)
Comments on Anand are on p. 190 - 192. - Says he "is the most gifted and easily the most outstanding of the three" (p. 190) His last novel, The Big Heart (1946): "is a powerful study of a group of coppersmiths in Amritsar"

Comments much on Untouchable and The Road.
See also his contribution in Perspectives of Mulk Raj Anand / edited by K.K. Sharma (1978) Section IV

Menon, K.P.S. It is the Morning Sun. Tribune Sunday (I9 Oct. 1961)

Mishra, M.L. Indo-Anglian Literature: Mulk Raj Anand's 'Two Leaves and a Bud!' Modern Review 143, no 6 (June 1979) 376-81, bibl.

On Mulk Raj Anand's Untouchable and his application of the stream of consciousness technique.

Has comments on Mulk Raj Anand among others in this reported version of his talk delivered at the India International Centre on April 17, 1976. M.R. Anand's reply appears in Onlooker Aug. 1 - 15, 1976 in extract form.

Mishra, K. P.S. Indian Literature in English. India International Centre Quarterly 3, no 2 (1976) 143-56
Based on the talk delivered at the Centre on April 17, 1976.
"Anand started to write his novels at a time when the English book market was (a) empty of erotica and (b) when the intellectuals in England were mainly leftists. ...But his work still demands respect, especially his latest work (p. 147)


- Reprinted in *Considerations* / edited by Menakshi Mukherjee. (1978)
- in *Indian Literature of the Past Fifty Years* / edited by C.D. Narasimhaiah (1969) 121-32

- See also her scholarly work and contributions, Section IV


"Only an able artist like Mulk Raj Anand and R.K. Narayan can fit philosophy into his plots in a natural way moulding it into a real work of art of high calibre. In other words, philosophic ideas are presented in terms of social plots in their novels..." The type of the theme of salvation adopted by both Anand and Narayan is salvation through death. However, he finds their approach to this theme is different. Comments on Anand's novels are on p. 54-55


Says Anand identifies himself with his heroes through "his fictional experimentation in truth" and portrays his concept of the pathetic "human dance", or the "Body - Soul drama" in his novels. This is a "sensational technique" which is all his own and is, he says, akin to Aldous Huxley's "musicalism of fiction".

- See also his full-length study, Section I


"From the author's forthcoming study on Mulk Raj Anand in the Arnold-Heinemann Indian Writers Series" (Footnote)
- The Political Novel in Indian Writing in English. ACLAIS Bulletin
Fourth Series no 2 (1975) 33-42

- Post-Independence Indo-English Fiction. Littcrit VIII, no 4 (June 1982)
7-12
On Anand's Private Life of an Indian Prince and Untouchable, 7, 9.
See also his full-length study (Section I) and Scholarly Contributions (Section IV)


Comments on Anand, p. 8 - "Dubbed a social propagandist".

- Indian Writing in English: A Reply to Dom Moraes. Literary Criterion XII, nos 2 & 3 (1976) 6-15
On Anand, p. 13. Opines that Anand "proffers an Indian electric fusion of the best of both cultures".
See also his full-length study (Section I) and Scholarly Works (Section IV)

See also Shyamala B.

Niranjan, Shiva see Shiva Niranjan


Reprinted in Readings in Commonwealth Literature / edited by William Walsh (1973)

Reprinted in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies. Special number on Anand (Section III)


This paragraph on Anand, p. 301-302

See also his full-length Study (Section I) and Scholarly Contributions (Section IV)


Orwell, George. Letter to the Editor on The Sword and the Sickle. Times Literary Supplement (23 May 1942)

- Selected Notice. Horizon (July 1942)
- Letter to an Indian. Tribune (19 March 1943)
- They Threw New Light on India. Manchester Evening News (8 Aug. 1945)

See also his reviews of Anand's works.

Palmer, Arnold. Mr. Anand's Novels. London Mercury 36, no 2II (May 1937)

Pandia, M.D. Indo-Anglian Fiction since Independence. Triveni 27, no 3 (Oct. 1956) 204-11

This commentary cites many works within 3 groups. Among the first group of novels dealing with both social and political scenes in a wider sense are included novels by Anand: Private Life - "a picture of the changing face of India; The Big Heart and The Sword and the Sickle.


Paul, Premila. Anand's Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts. Journal of Indian Writing in English 6, no 2 (July 1978) 70-72

See also her full-length study, Section I

Payevskaya, E. India's Writers in the Struggle for Peace. Soviet Literature no 2 (1953)

Pritchett, V.S. The Art of Mr. Anand. London Mercury XXXIV, no 202 (1936)

- a review article of studies. (see Section I).

Comments on Anand's style and language patterns. Asserts that Anand was
the 'first' writer that "evoked international respect for the Indian novel in English" (p. 80)

Poonjar, Hariharan. Mulk Raj Anand and His Fiction. Free Press Journal (18 Feb. 1978) 4: 3-6 (Perspectives Column) - a review article of Cowasjee's So Many Freedoms (see Section I)
Copious comments on Anand as a writer.


Prasad, R. Narendra. Pollution in 'Untouchable' and the 'Scavenger's Son'. Littcrit 6 no 2 (Dec. 1980) 32-39
About these two novels that have fictionalized the theme of untouchables.

Quennell, Peter. New Novels. New Statesman and Nation XII, no 280 (1936)


- On Mulk Raj Anand. Indian Book Chronicle (I May 1978) 165-66
* An editorial-cum-review of Saros Cowasjee's So Many Freedoms - 20

See also his Scholarly Works (Section IV)

In this review article he has much to comment on Anand.


Comments on Mulk Raj Anand along with Narayan, Raja Rao, B. Rajan and Bhabani Bhattacharya.
N. & Item belongs to Section IV.

On Anand, p. 39-43
Sets out to examine the interesting currents and cross-currents of similarities and variations discernible in the approach to Indian reality in these four major writers based on their respective works - An Area of Darkness (1960), A Passage to India (1924), The Continent of Circe (1965)
and The Big Heart (1945) - "The Big Heart is in essence a search in fictional terms for the change that is taking place in Indian Social reality." (p. 39)

Ranjiva, Stanley F. Contemporary Indian Writing in English. Quest No 60 (Jan.-Mar. 1969) 72-75
In his review of its beginnings, comments on Anand.

Selects Anand among the authors discussed.
See also Narayan, Shyamala A.

Rao, K.P. Indo-English Literature of Yesterday and Today: A Brief Survey of Poetry, Fiction, Drama, Biography and Criticism. All-India Weekly Literature Annual XII (1946) 85-87
On novels, p. 86-87. - "Latterly Dr. Mulk Raj Anand sprang into international fame by the publication of his epoch-making works, the Untouchable, the Coolie, Two Leaves and a Bud, all of which drew pointed attention to the fact that since the days of Macaulay, the face of India had undergone almost a sea-change and the sooner the West realized this the better it would be for all concerned. His great obsession is with the underdog whether he be found in political, social or religious life." (p. 86)


Rao, Venad. Feudal Caste Terror on Hapless Harijans. Blitz (Dec.16, 1972) - (general article)

Ray, Sibhara. Asian Creative Writing: Key to Contemporary Asia. Hemisphere (April 1965) 2-7
"Some of the so-called Indo-Anglian writers like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, B. Battacharya, Sudhin Ghose, Kamala Markandaya, are admittedly clever craftsmen. What they write however, is rather like an legendary Indian curry which is served in Indian Hotels to foreign tourists but which resembles nothing cooked in any Indian home. The only exception possibly is R.K. Narayan, but even his novels betray uneasy signs of compromise and laissez-faire." (p. 7)

Reddy, K. Venkata see Venkata Reddy, K.

See also his review of Coolie; reprinted in Kakitya Journal of English
Studies (special number on Anand) — Section III

Riemenschneider, Dietrich. The Ideal of Man in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels. 
Indian Literature 8, no 1 (Jan - March 1967) 29-51
Also published as a full-length study by Kutub-Popular (1967)
See Section I
Concerned primarily with the individual's self realization as presented in the main character or characters in Anand's novels and short stories.

- The Function of Labour in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels. Journal of the School of Languages (J.N.U.) I4, no I (Monsoon 1976) 1-20

- Mulk Raj Anand's 'Confession of a Lover'. World Literature Written in English XVI, no I (April 1977) 105-9
See also his contributions in Scholarly Works (Section II) and Kakatiya Journal of English Studies (Section III)

Robertson, R.T. 'Untouchable' as an Archetypal Novel. World Literature Written in English I4, no 2 (Nov. 1975) 339-46
Reprinted in Kakatiya Journal of English Studies. (Special number on M.R.A.) (Section III)


Refers to Professor C.D. Narasimhaiha's article in No.5 Journal of Commonwealth Literature wherein he states that Mulk Raj Anand has been "dubbed a social propagandist without being read". She holds this statement is correct and cites P. Panduranga Rao's comments on Mulk Raj Anand in his article "The Art of R.K. Narayan". Therein Rao's states that M.R.A. commenced Coolie in 1933 and holds Narayan as "the more prolific writer". Her contention is that 'If Mr. Panduranga Rao does not know much about Anand, he should not drag him into his essay.' To which in reply, P. Panduranga Rao (N.D.) states: "Guilty".


Scott-James, R.A. An Indian Out-caste. London Mercury XXXII, no 187 (1935)
A review article.

Takes up Georg Lukac's major concepts of the novel in relation to such
novelists as Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and Anita Desai. And opines that his definition of a novel "as an epic of an age of absolute sinfulness... the chronicle of a world in which the gods are dead", (The Theory of Novel, p. 88, 155) can possibly be applied to Anand's fiction, not Raja Rao's Serpent.


Sharma, Atma Ram. Folk Elements in Anand's Novels. Kakatiya Journal of English Studies (Special Number on Mulk Raj Anand) see Section III

This is a typescript of 12 p., preceded by an abstract; sent to Mulk Raj Anand.


Has comments on Mulk Raj Anand and novel form. (p.39) "The melodrama is practised so relentlessly by Mulk Raj Anand; for instance, it is appropriate for the working out of fate or any other inexorable farce which may be conceived as impugning on ordinary human life — In the comedy of manners and in the melodrama, character is important only in so far as it contributes to the social or metaphysical machinery".


On Untouchable, p. 54-56, 58


Comments on Untouchable (p. 38-40) and The Sword and the Sickle (p.40-41)

"Anand's novels are frankly realistic and portray man with all his faults and virtues. His major characters seem to step out of the printed page and merge with humanity. They embody a particular vision of reality which the novelist assigns them acquiring in this process a rich substance of life(4) (p. 40)

"Anand true to his Oriental origin, believes in the entertainment of idle people. Actually, they shake us out of mental lethargy and shock us out of dead habits. They have this power because they were written with great sincerity and from 'felt experience' "(p. I2)


Suggestions for introducing Indian Writing in English. To him, aesthetic problems are related to critical social issues and to national history, past, present and future. Finds a single paragraph in Untouchable that demonstrates this relationship clearly - the description of the bazaar or local market was not that of a destitute untouchable, not with the reaction of a poor man to a bazaar but as Anand's reactions.


Comments on Anand's The Big Heart and The Barber's Trade Union volume. "As for Anand, well, it is the same Anand, eager, agitated aggressive understanding an adept creator of characters and situations that are destined to live"(p. I6-I7)

- Towards an Indian Sensibility in Indo-English Fiction. Littcrit 8, no I (June 1982) 42-46

Sets out to display the difference between a novel translated into English and one written originally in English. "It is true that novels like Anand's, R.K. Narayan's, Raja Rao's, K. Nagarajan's, Anita Desai's are in different degrees sensitive recordants for Indian sensibility"(p. 46)

See also his scholarly works and contributions - Section IV

Steinworth, Klaus. Mulk Raj Anand's 'Private Life of an Indian Prince' and Malgonkar's 'The Princes'. Literary Half-Yearly 14, no I (Jan. 1973) 73-91

This comparison shows how much alike Anand and Malgonkar have treated the
subject of the Maharajas for western readers.

See also his scholarly study - Section IV


Symons, Julian. The Evil that Men Do. The Times (London) (22 Nov. 1970)

Tarinayya, M. Mulk Raj Anand's 'Untouchable': an Analysis. Journal of Mysore University (Arts) XXVI (March 1969) 22-45

"A paper read at the Seminar held on the occasion of Jawaharlal Nehru's Birth Anniversary in the Dept. of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in English" (Footnote). Takes off from Dr. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar's comment on Anand in his Indian Writing in English. Analyses the treatment of untouchables at length and quoting passages from the novel centred around Bakha in particular, the last page of the novel to prove his contention that Anand's place is assured "among our best novelists". (p. 43)

See also his scholarly contributions - Section IV


A revised version of a talk over A.I.R. Mysore, May 1978. Considers Mulk Raj Anand among "the less-rooted Indian English writers - grown up speaking no language but English", and finds "the English such writers use is natural, rich in vocabulary and image, an instrument well attuned to convey what they wish to express to an English or American reader."

Later on: "Mulk Raj Anand much praised abroad for his compassionate novels about the harijans - especially Untouchable and Coolie - has failed to hit on a convincing speech or thought pattern for his illiterate propagandists. He makes them too refined as Dickens did in his novels."

Tupikova, Y. Mulk Raj Anand. Soviet Literature (1953)

Thakkre, V.P. 'Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Akashvani (23 April 1973) I3-I4

A talk in the programme: Indian Writers in English Literature, broadcast over A.I.R. Rajkot.


Much of this essay is an exposition of the story ... than a study of Mulk Raj Anand's Humanistic philosophy. However, in Note 4 on p. 36, Mulk Raj Anand's reason for his modification and simplification of the 'stream of consciousness technique' is given. It comes from the questionnaire quoted by Dr. M.K. Naik: *Mulk Raj Anand* p.I53-54


Comments on Anand, p. 52-53 - "His Experiments with style are consistent with the world view. Rendering proletarian speech correctly in English is his aim, and his unconventional diction and radiant experiments with vocabulary are all geared to this end. He distinguished between 'Babu English' and genuine Indian English used for artistic purposes." (p. 52)


- Munoo and Mrs. Mainwaring: a Note on the Last Chapter of Anand's 'Coolie'. *Karnatak University Journal (Humanities)* XVIII (1975) I40-56

Answers the dislike of M.K. Naik and C.D. Narasimhaiah for this concluding portion of the novel and justifies such a conclusion.

- Bakha's Deliverance; a Consideration of the Last Part of Anand's 'Untouchable'. *Karnatak University Journal (Humanities)* XXI (1977) I06 - I10

See also his scholarly work - Section IV


Considers Anand along with Raja Rao and Narayan as foremost writers of fiction in English. In analyzing the writings in English, he finds Anand was the first writer to adapt English to suit his purpose. However, he disapproves of Anand's verbatim translation of certain phrases and abuses of the Punjabi peasantry. Holds that there are some drawbacks
and some comments were not liked by Anand, so his letters to Verghese (Feb. II, 1970) and the Editor of Quest (of Feb. 12, 1970) along with Verghese's reply dated 22 Feb. 1970, are reproduced in this chapter.

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Considers *Private Life*, *Seven Summers*, and *Morning Face* as the only novels free from obtrusive propaganda. Finds his "missionary zeal" one of the weaknesses of Anand's novels, and he illustrates his point by comments on *Untouchable* and *Cooie*.


Comments on Mulk Raj Anand as a writer. Considers that he "belongs to the tradition of the nineteenth century in his approach to the novel and his techniques." Believes that his first five novels contain some of his best work.

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See also his Contribution: Some Observations on Mulk Raj Anand's Fiction. in *Perspectives on Mulk Raj Anand* / edited by K.K. Sharma. Ghaziabad, 1978 177-80 (Section 1 a)


According to Saros Cowasjee this chapter gives "a fair assessment" of
in his descriptive and narrative prose.
- Raja Rao, Mulk Raj, Narayan and Others. Indian Writing Today 3, no 1 (Jan.-March 1969) 31-8

"Perhaps one of the drawbacks of Mulk Raj Anand's novels arises from the missionary zeal with which he pleads in them for the amelioration of the lot of the have-nots. This defect is in evidence more in his later novels. The Old Woman and the Cow and The Road both published in the sixties - are examples (p. 31)

see also his contributions in Scholarly Works - Section IV

Wilkinson, Nicholas. Cultural Conflicts in Indo-Anglian Novels. Adam International Review: Passage from India Thirty-eight Year nos 355-60 (1971) 36-39
On Anand's Coolie, p. 37

- Mulk Raj Anand and Politics. Miscellany 55 (Feb. 1973) 9-12
see also his Scholarly Works - Section IV

Comments on Anand on p. 135.

- The Future of the PWA Movement. Contemporary Indian Literature 7, no 1 (Feb. 1967)

VI Items in Non-English Languages

French entry

German entry
Gujarati entry

Mohan, Sarlajag. Mulk Raj Anand. (Bharatna Angreji Lekhak) Granth I, no II (Nov. 1964) pp. 53-8

Discusses first the influence of English Literature on Indian Writers such as Anand, Raja Rao and Narayan. Then examines the background, the psychology of Anand's characters and his insight in treatment of Indian life and society.

Russian Entries


Much on Anand's farmers and soldiers in The Village, The Sword and the Sickle, Across the Black Waters and The Big Heart.

See also Primary Sources, Section M - Russian entries translated into English.

See also Secondary Sources. Section I and Section IV for more Russian entries.
VII  UNTOUCHABLE: A Select Bibliography

I  Mulk Raj Anand's Comments on 'Untouchable'

a. Literary Articles and Contributions

1967  The Story of My Experiment with a White Lie. Indian Literature X, no 3 (1967) 28-43

Has details about rewriting 'Untouchable' at M.K. Gandhi's advice.


Also appears in Karnataka University Journal Humanities XVI (1972) 62-90. Much on his craft of writing and justification for his Indian English phraseology.

Reprinted 1972 as 'The Changeling' in Indian Writing in English... edited by Ramesh Mohan. Madras: Orient Longman, I978, II-20
Comments much on his experimentation in writing Indian English, especially Untouchable.

I982 Roots and Flowers: Content and Form in Untouchable and Kanthapura
Littcrit 8, no I (June I982) 47-60
On Untouchable, p.48 - 56; and Bakha's character on p. 50.
("The Novel is, for me, the creative weapon for attaining humanism." (p. 60)

II CRITICS on 'Untouchable'

Arora, V.M. Mulk Raj Anand's Claim to Fame. The English Association
Journal no I (April I955) 25-30
Much on his hero Bakha in Untouchable.

Asnani, Shyam M. Socio-Political Concerns in the Novels of Dr. Mulk
Traces these concerns in the first Trilogy.

The Theme of East-West Encounter in the Novels of Mulk Raj Anand.
Considers Untouchable on p. 12.

Form and Technique in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels. Indian Scholar 2,
no 2 (July I980) 89-I00, ref. p. I00-I03:
On Untouchable p. 95 and other references.

Bandopadhyay, Manohar. 'Untouchable'. Patriot (18 April I982) 2:3-8

Berry, Margaret. Mulk Raj Anand: the Man and the Novelist. Amsterdam,
Oriental Press, I971
Comments on Untouchable, 86-87, 93

Bhatnagar, K.C. Mulk Raj Anand: Poetic Realism of Protest in his
Realism in Major Indo-English Fiction; with Special Reference to
I980, I3I-69
On use of the stream of consciousness technique in Untouchable p.138-
9
About Anand's adherence to norms of Marxist critique of realism in
Untouchable as opined by Jack Lindsay, p.24


On *Untouchable*, p. 14-19


Refers to The Story and Conversation with Gandhi re: *Untouchable*.


Comments on *Untouchable*, p. 41-60


- The Problems of Teaching Indian Fiction in Commonwealth Countries. Regina, University of Regina. 8p.

Has many laudatory remarks on Anand's *Untouchable*, *Coolie*, *Private Life of an Indian Prince*, etc.

Derrett, M.E. The Characters in the Indian Novel in English in *her Modern Indian Novel in English*. Quotes from *Untouchable* on p. 66


Reviews Anand's handling of the theme in *Untouchable*.


Comments on Anand's 'writing with a purpose' and finds that his best novels, *Coolie*, *Untouchable* and *Two Leaves and a Bud* are good examples of this special writing. (p. 194)
Goyal, Bhagwat S. Novels and Novelists. Hindustan Times Magazine (27 Feb. 1977) 6-7
Finds Anand's *Untouchable* among the novels of the 1930s deeply influenced by Gandhian philosophy.

Gupta, G.S. Balarama. 'Untouchable': A Study. Contemporary Indian Literature 7, no II (Nov. 1967) 12-13
See also his full-length study (Section I) and his Scholarly Contributions (Section III & IV)

Gupta, P.S. Indian Fiction in English. British Book News (March 1982) 140-41
Comments on Mulk Raj Anand, p. 140. "In novels like *Untouchable* and *Coolie* which are his best early works, Anand strikes the note of compassion for the underprivileged for which his works is known."

Comments on Untouchable, p. 182 - 83.

Jha, Akhleshwar. Intellectual Poverty in Indian Literature. Times of India (4 Sept. 1977) 8: 2-8
Comments on *Untouchable* as a social document.

Much on Anand and *Untouchable*.

Harrex, S.C. Search for an Indian Form of Indo-English Fiction. Littcrit 8, no 1 (June 1982) 1-6
Comments on *Untouchable*, p. 1-2

Comments on protest literature in Indian Writing in English and on the impact of Gandhi philosophy as seen in novels of 1935, such as Anand's *Untouchable*, on p. 17, 19

Also in *World Literature Written in English* I9, no I (Spring 1980) 84-91


Much on *Untouchable*.


Has comments on *Untouchable*. Opines *Untouchable* is Anand's most notable achievement. (p. 51)

Lindsay, Jack. The Elephant and the Lotus: A Study of the Novels of Nulk Raj Anand. Bombay: Kutub-Popular, 1965, 7-8

Comments on Anand's over simplification in the delineation of characters, including Bakha.


On Nulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* and his application of the stream-of-conscious technique (p. 4)


Comments on *Untouchable* p. 59-60.


Naik, M.K. Two Untouchables: Bakha and Bikhu. in his Nulk Raj Anand.


Comments on Bakha, p. 28-31

- Post-Independence Indo-English Fiction. *Littcrit* III, no 4 (June 1982) 7-I2

On Anand's *Untouchable*, 9

On Anand's Untouchable and other novels p. 62 - 70; especially on Bakha's acceptance of his status. Takes much from the story.


Comments on Untouchable on p. III - I8. Untouchable is redeemed from becoming a piece of propaganda because Anand 'maintains' an ambivalent attitude towards his character.


Prasad, R. Narendra. Pollution in 'Untouchable' and the 'Scavenger's Son' Littcrit VI, no 2 (Dec. 1980) 32-39

About these two novels that have fictionalized the theme of untouchable.


"Novels with a gap of 26 years between the dates of their publication... gives a thorough listing of the linguistic innovations and experimentations attempted by Anand".


Among novels discussed on p. 86-87, is Untouchable as Anand's 'epoch-making work' which along with Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud brought him international fame.


Finds Untouchable should be grouped with The Big Heart.


A contrastive analysis of dialogue in A Passage to India and Untouchable "as these novels have the closest linguistic, geographical and cultural background that one can hope for" (p. I78)

Also published as a full-length study by Kutub-Popular, Bombay, 1967. Concerned with the individual's realisation as presented in the main character or characters in Anand's novels and short stories.

Robertson, R.T. 'Untouchable' as an Archetypal Novel. *World Literature Written in English* 14, no 2 (Nov. 1975) 339-46

Reprinted in *Kakatiya Journal of English Studies* II, no I (Spring 1977) 5-15

"Untouchable is the best example we have in Commonwealth Literature of the archetype of the conflict between society and the individual who is trying to free himself from it." (p. 7-8)


Comments on Untouchable, p. 134-36


On Untouchable, p.54-56, 58


Comments on Anand's Untouchable, p. 38-40


Analyses Untouchable on p. 27-31. Concludes "Untouchable then is a phenomenal success as a special realistic novel." (p. 31)


To him, aesthetic problems are related to critical social issues and to national history, past, present and future. Finds a single paragraph in Untouchable that demonstrates this relationship clearly - a description of a bazaar which gives Anand's reactions rather than that of a destitute untouchable.


Good comments on 'Untouchable', p. 338-40

"A paper read at a seminar held on the occasion of Jawaharlal Nehru's Birth Anniversary in the Dept. of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in English." (Footnote). Analyses the treatment of untouchability at length and quotes passages from the novel.

A revised version of a talk over A.I.R. Mysore, May 1978 - "Mulk Raj Anand, much praised abroad for his compassionate novels about the harijans especially Untouchable and Coolie - has failed to hit on a convincing speech or thought pattern for his illiterate propagandists. He makes them too refined, as Dickens did in his novels[1]

See also his scholarly work - Section IV

Concludes with comparison between Untouchable and Coolie on p. 132.

Comments on Untouchable on p. 30-33

Research Studies on Untouchable

Chaswal, Balram. The Stylistic Development of Mulk Raj Anand. (Research Diploma) Central Institute for English and Foreign Languages (Hyderabad) 1973. ii, 325; bibl. 326-34
Examines Untouchable.
See also Secondary Sources - Section C Dissertations and Theses
C. **THESES AND DISSERTATIONS** (Indian & Foreign)

(arrangement is alphabetical by surname)

I. On Mulk Raj Anand

a) **Indian Universities**


CHASWAL, Balram. The Stylistic Development of Mulk Raj Anand. (Research Diploma). Central Institute for English and Foreign Languages (Hyderabad) 1973 (ii), v, 325; Bibliogr., 326-34. — Examines Untouchable (1935), Private Life of an Indian Prince (1963) and Morning Face (1968).


In Progress


Published. See Criticism (Section B)


SETI, Shaileshwar. Social Racialism in the Novels of Mulk Raj Anand. 1969. Patna


Foreign Universities


II. INDIAN-ENGLISH LITERATURE and FICTION

N.B.(These scholarly researches cover Mulk Raj Anand, sometimes as a separate chapter)

a) Indian Universities


CHAKRAVATI, V.V. The Indian Short Story in English: A Critical Study. Karnatak 1970-73


Considers Anand as the most significant novelist ... whose works are a testament to his proletarian humanity • Covers novels and stories.


MELWANI, Murli Das. The Indian Short Story in English. Gauhati 1972-77.

MINOCHERHOMJI, Reshan Nadirsha. Indian Writers of Fiction in English I931-41 Bombay 1944, iv, 220, Bibl. 219-220.


+ Published. See Criticism(Section B)


RAJAPPA, C.K. Indian Writers of Fiction in English. Mysore 1963


+ SINHA, S.P. English in India. Bhagalpur 1962

+ VENUGOPAL, C.V. The Indian Short Story in English: A Survey. Karnatak 1969


VISWANATHA RAO, Cheemakoeti. Indian Fiction in English Since 1947. Karnatak 1971-77

In Progress

GONDAL, Y.C. The Indian Novel in English. 1969 Delhi


MISRA, U. Characterization of, and the Attitude to, the Major Communities in India in Indian Novels. 1970. Dibrugarh.


Foreign Universities

+ BALD, Suresht R. Indian Novelists 1919 -1947: A Study in Political Con-

+ Published. See Criticism (Section B)
soiousness, Cambridge, (Mass): Harvard University 1968

† BERRY, Margaret. Mulk Raj Anand: Novelist, Editor and Art Critic. I970, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University.


Ch VII: Literature in Colonial Society covers Indian Writers in English. Gives details on Dr. Anand being active in the Progressive Writers Association..."His experience in literature and loyalties were at once nationalist and intellectual. His political interests to a large extent, grew out of personal conflict; he leeked to Marxism for a revolution of his abhivalence towards his own Society and towards that of his rulers; he was drawn to Gandhi by his charasmatic force and the obvious relevance of his message and his tactics."

† HARREX, S.C.A Study of Indian Novelists Writing in English from I930 to the present. I971, University of Tasmania.

++ TYRNE-STRASTNY, Alice Gabreille. Indo-Anglian Literature and the Colonial Elite. I969 Cornell University (Sewial Psychology Department).

Ch. VII: Literature in Colonial Society, pp. 228-41 covers Indian Writers in English.


† Xerox Copies published by University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan.

++ Microfilm Copies are available.
In Part II there are sections containing Anand's published works and other contributions including Addresses and Lectures. The chronological arrangement has been maintained under various headings. See Part III for ART AND SCULPTURE works and other writings.

CONTENTS

I HISTORY AND CULTURE 302
   a. Works 302
   b. Introduction and Prefaces 302
   c. Contributions in Monographs 302
d. Periodical Contributions 303
e. Addresses and Lectures 304

II EDUCATION 306
   a. Works 306
   b. Contribution in Monographs 306
c. Periodical Contributions 306
d. Addresses and Lectures 306

III GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS 307
   a. Periodical Contributions 307
   b. Addresses and Lectures 308

IV PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION 310
   a. Contributions in Monographs 310
   b. Periodical Contributions 311

V GENERAL 313
   a. Contributions in Monographs 313
   b. Periodical Contributions 313
c. Addresses and Lectures 315

VI MISCELLANEOUS 316
   a. Profiles 316
   b. Conversations 316
c. Dialogues 316
d. Reminiscences 317
I. HISTORY AND CULTURE

a. Works


1963 Is There a Contemporary Indian Civilization? Bombay; New York: Asia Publishing House, xii, 208 p. This collection of talks was given as a paper at a Unesco Seminar on Traditional Values in India, 1960. Only in the final essay does Anand begin to answer the title question. It contains also Anand's personal philosophy, i.e. socialist scientific humanism. Also published in *Comprendre* Vol. 20 (1969).


b. Introductions and Prefaces


c. Contributions in Monographs


Details Untraced

1956 Traditional Values in Modern Indian Life ... (Paper) Read at the Seminar, India International Centre.
"Only Connect" - the need for Mutual Appreciation of Eastern & Western Values. New Delhi, India International Centre (Paper for the Seminar) Unesco.  


Periodical Contributions

1938 Our Cultural Heritage. Spectator Weekly (1938)
Based on a review of H.G. Rawlinson: India: A Short Cultural History.

1938 The One and the Many. Some Changing Social Patterns of New India. United Asia 18, no I (Jan.-Feb. 1966)
Appears also in Tribune (1972)

1966 The Spirit of Man in India and South-East Asian Culture since the End of the Western Dominion. Cultural Forum III, no 4 (July 1966) 30-38
Originally contributed as a paper to a Seminar on South-East Asia, organized by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations (Delhi).
Appears also in Lotus: Afro-Asian Writings II nos 2 & 3 (Oct.1970) 10-27; ill.

Generally on India and social problems; specially on Gandhiji.

1968 What is History? Times of India (16 Jan. 1968)


1971 Contemporary Indian Culture and the Present-Day Social Milieu. Onlooker (1971)

Folklore from India - Achilles and the Tortoise. Lotus: Afro-Asian Writings Issue No 8 (April 1971) I36-43; ill.
Much on the watering down of Indian folklore by the British values of property etc. Has comments with examples on some Punjab folk poetry.

1971 Culture: Decoration or Felt-Experience. Cultural Forum XIII no I (Oct. 1971) 6-15

On Nehru's encouragement towards 'Destination Man'.


The One and the Many: Some Changing Social Patterns in New India. *Tribune* (1972)


1975 Towards India's Cultural Revolution. *Art of Living* II, no I (Jan. 1975) 5-7. (Guest Editorial)

With an Open Note (given after the Editorial), addressed to "Dear Friends", p. 7. Contains his New Year message.

The Immorality of Socio-text. *Solidarity* 9, no 5 (May-June 1975) 105-108


Contributors are three eminent writers describing the Indian type as they see it. Mulk Raj Anand sees: "a residuum of character (in) our millions of peasants have become resilient through suffering, ascetism and sacrifice... generation after generation.... There cannot be any Indian character without a neo-Gandhian cultural revolution."

Details Untraced

Musings on Mahableshwar.


The Map of Indian Culture. *Bharat Jyoti*.

About Nehru's ideals of international culture.

On Kissing and Nudity and the Tender Moment. *Times of India*

Addresses and Lectures

1953 Dr. Anand's Talk on "Crisis in Indian Culture: Challenges can be met through four basic values". *Indian Nation* (20 July 1953)

Anand's address at a meeting of the Patna College Debating Society.


About "Crisis of Culture East and West" at the Inde-German Cultural
Society meeting, Bombay. Has much on his recent tour of Europe and Britain.


1965 Jawaharlal Nehru as an Intellectual. Speech at Writers' Meeting in Berlin and Weimer held between 14-22 May, 1965, pp. 99-100


II. EDUCATION.

a. Works.

1948 ON EDUCATION. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 64 p.

1956

b. Contributions in Monographs


Need of the Time, Seminar 97 (Sept. 1967), 9-12.


c. Periodical Contributions

1964 In Praise of the 9th Inter-University Youth Festival. Message. (New Delhi) (1964)


d. Addresses and Lectures


Address of Dr. Anand on March 25, 1975.
III. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

a. Periodical Contributions

1958

1960
National Study Group of Intellectuals Formed: Protecting Sovereignty 'This Hour of Trial'. Times of India (5 March 1960)

About the formation of the '26th January Movement', the group's name, in support of Prime Minister Nehru's policies. Anand explains its objectives as a member of the sponsoring committee.

Fighting Forces of Reaction: New Movement Launched. Times of India (8 March 1960)

About the above-mentioned, launched at C.J. Hall, Bombay.

1961
India After Fourteen Years of Freedom. INFA Syndicate.

1962

Concept of Liberty. Contemporary Indian Literature II, no 5 (May 1962) 6-7, 23

Jawaharlal Nehru as a Democratic Socialist. Publications Syndicate

1963
Mr. Khrushev's Proposal for Total Disarmament. Soviet Land (1963)

1964
Bihar - Permanent Famine or Renewal. INFA Syndicate

1967
India's Policy. Times of India (12 July 1967) 6:5

On the Arab-Israel Conflict.

Intellectuals Urged to back Arabs. Times of India (28 Sept. 1967)

This is Anand's statement as President, Lalit Kala Akademi, calling for support to the Arab's struggle for justice.

1968


1970

1971
Will the Indian Ocean develop into 'The Power of Vacuum' or 'Area of Peace'? Indian & Foreign Review (15 May 1971) 9-10
Foreign Policy must be rooted in Self-Sufficiency, Self-Reliance.

INFA Syndicate

Bangla Desh: Task before Friends. Youth Indian (30 Sept. 1971) 10

1972 Symposium: India After Bangla Desh. Gandhi Marg XVI, no. 2 (April 1972) I08-II

Will There be a World War before 2000 A.D.? The Onlooker XXXIV, p. 6 (1972) 18

Other contributors: Dr. Aloo Dastur; Dr. Vasant Pandit & Mr. Douglas; recorded by Vimal Mehta & Jyoti Pandit.

The Legend of Lenin and the Reality of His Teachings. A.S. Rana's Syndicate

Our 25 years for Peace and Security. Publications Syndicate


On Nehru’s political philosophy and encouragement of his tenet 'Destination Man'.

1973 One Cheer for Democracy. Tribune (1973)


1976 Doors to Future Have to be Opened. Indian & Foreign Review (15 March 1976) 22-3

On the changes in life styles. The last section is on the 20-pt. programme.


b. Addresses and Lectures

1949 Averting Future World War: Dr. Mulk Raj Anand on India's Role. Times of India (17 Feb. 1949)

This is the theme of his speech: 'Intellectuals and the World Peace' at the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Bombay Branch, Town Hall, Bombay.

1952 India's Two Fashions. Times of India (27 July, 1952)

A talk to the Indian Journalists Association in Britain during a short visit after his return from Berlin. He says Indians talk politics and are against the Government.
Publicising India's case on Kashmir: Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's Advice.

Times of India (9 Sept. 1957)

His address at a meeting organised by the All-India Peace Council at New Delhi on his return from a tour of United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Anand was one of the four members of an unofficial goodwill delegation of writers.
a. **Contributions in Monographs**

1943  
Among the many contributors are Sir Bernard Shaw, C.E.M. Joad and Sir Stafford Cripps.  
The expanded version is his work: *Apology for Heroism* (1947)

1958  
Religions and Philosophical Traditions. *India*, New Delhi: Tourist Dept., Govt. of India, Sept. 1958, I2-I5.

1967  

1968  

1969  

The first paper of seventeen read within section D: Gandhi's Political Ideas and Movements at the IIth Seminar held at the Institute from October 13 to October 24, 1968. He also participated in the discussion of papers.

1970  


The first paper of nine, read within Section C. Science Art Religion and Philosophy at the 9th Seminar held at the Institute from Tuesday May 14 to Saturday May 25, 1968. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand participated in the discussions of papers and the Concluding Session.

1973  

Has brief sketch and account of his teachings. This is a paper read

1979


This remarkable collection of contemporary memoirs by 40 eminent men and women from various walks of life in India contains the essence of a purposeful rich and fruitful life.


After the two elder sons of Guru Govind Singh, i.e. Baba Ajit Singh and Baba Tujhar Singh had attained martyrdom in the Battle of Chankur on Dec. 22, 1704, the two younger brothers, Bahu Zorawar Singh and Baba Fateh Singh were bricked alive at Sirhind on Dec. 28, 1704 by the Mughal Subedar because they would not accept Islam.

b.

Periodical Contributions

1949

Myths and Legends. Toy Cast I, no I (1949-50).

1960


1971

Transformation of Man into God in India. Tribune (1971).

Burning Conscience. Afro-Asian Writings (July 1971).

1972


1974

Why I am a Hindu. Illustrated Weekly of India (17 Nov. 1974) 7-17.

One of 13 contributors.

1975

Other Statements are by Khushwant Singh (8) - Jayaprakash Narayan (9) - S.A. Dange (9) - Dr. Hemi Sethna (10) - Nandini Sattapathy (10) - M. Chalapathi Rai (11) - Mirad Chaudhari (11) - Shammi Kapoor (11) and Sam (11)

**1979**
The Need for a Philosophy of Life, Publication Syndicate (1979)


The Living and the Dead: Experiments of a humanist with the Faiths. (A New Religion for a New World Series) New Delhi 2. issue 12 (17 Sept. 1979) 56-66

**Editor's Note.** "Continuing our series on 'a new religion' is this passionate, personal and philosophical odyssey which seeks the sun through all the murk."

**Details Untraced**

**1946**
Prolegomena to a New Humanism. Bharat Jyoti (Bombay)

**1949**
Myself. Illustrated Weekly of India (Bombay)
V. GENERAL

a. Contributions in Monographs

1973 On the Pleasures of Reading. Public Libraries (Symposium No.1). Bombay: Shri Hansraj Pragji Thackersey School of Library Science, 7 p. (Typescript)
A paper contributed to the Symposium held on 18 November 1973.

This contribution in English (with many printing mistakes) is included in a Marathi work brought out for the Centenary celebrations of Lonavla Municipal Council, November 1977.

To attend a Seminar on Ananda Coomaraswamy held at Nandi Hills (Mysore State), Anand took this seminar journey by train 'Janata Express', with passengers all going for the New Year Festival held at Nandi Hills.

b. Periodical Contributions

1964 The Concept of an Asian Nivid. Contemporary Indian Literature 4 (Oct.-Nov. 1964)
Jawaharlal Nehru. Cultural Forum 6, no.4 (Nov. 1964) 57-9
(Jawaharlal Nehru Number)

Nehru: Portrait of a Humanist. Indian&Foreign Review (15 Nov. 1964) 8-9

1968 When Our Hearts were Young and Gay. Times of India (22 Dec. 1968)


1972 The Bone of Contention on the Dead. Times of India (12 Feb. 1972)
Comments on a tussle for carcass flesh by dogs and vultures.

On publishing, publishers and books.
1973


Envy all the Way. Illustrated Weekly of India (16 Sept. 1973) 26-7

A Meeting with Neruda. Times of India (29 Sept. 1973) 6:3 (Middle article).

Met at Paris where Anand had gone to attend a Unesco Meeting in 1971. Neruda was then Ambassador for Chile and Guyana.


Pinjere. Times of India (6 Oct. 1973) 6 (Middle article)

Jealousy and Envy. Illustrated Weekly of India (II Nov. 1973) 20,21,23

The Road Makers. Times of India (14 Nov. 1972) 6 (Middle article)

1974

Intellectuals, the Society and the State. Triveni 42, no 4 (Jan-March 1974) 53-9

A plea for the fundamental right of freedom expression. Appears in Bharat Jyoti (14 Jan. 1974) II

Mulk Raj Anand on Youth. Youth Times (15 April 1974) 23


1975


The Indian Woman Through the Ages. Eve's Weekly (3 May 1974) 16-17 and (May 10, 1975) 41, 43

"Startling commentary; points at reasons behind female infanticide and child marriages." (Editorial note)


A contribution to the Symposium: How to be Happy though Human.

The India You Do Not Know - Madhya Pradesh. Illustrated Weekly of India (22 Oct. 1975) 25-27, 29, 31

1976

A New Light on Love. Femina (22 Oct.-4 Nov.1976) 32

A contribution to a Femina series. Anand holds: "Only the restoration of trust between man and woman can bring about genuine love between the two sexes." (Editorial note)

1977

Achieving Human Values. Art of Living (3rd Annual Number) IV, no 4
(April 1977) 43-7
A contribution to the symposium: My Idea of Success, to which 45 other persons contributed.


Addresses and Lectures

1957 Modern Humanism. Illustrated Weekly of India (July 1957)
A talk at Delhi.

1972 New Caste System as Mulk Raj Sees It. Times of India (1 June 1972)
On his speech "Role of the Intellectuals" at the meeting of the Rotary Club, Bombay Midtown the previous Wednesday. It was on the I.A.S., I.C.S., and businessmen.

"Only the restoration of trust between men and women can bring about genuine love between the two sexes." (Editor)

1977 Notes from Presidential Address. Indian Literature (25 March 1977) 61
VI. MISCELLANEOUS

a. Profiles

Jawaharlal Nehru - A Sketch for a three-fourth review

Profile of Krishna Menon

Profile of Lala Siraram

+Profile of E.M. Forster

+Profile of Attia Hosain

+A Souvenir of Dr. Balbir Singh

Annual published for Indian National Congress Session in Assam and then Publication Syndicate, 1962.

Syndicate, New Delhi, 1963

Running Commentary (Introductory notes and Texts for a film documentary) 1967.

Commonwealth Quarterly, 3, no 9 (Sept. 1978) pp 1-12

Panchbati Sandesh, I issue 2 (Oct, 1978) 8-II

b. Conversations

1938 +Conversation with Mahatma Gandhi. Revised and Reprinted in Indian Literature.

Conversation with Le Corbusier. Architectural Review.


(Gandhi Centenary 1969 - 1969 Souvenir)

A contribution to Part IV: Homage to Gandhi by Eminent Indians. Set in dialogue form in two - column. This conversation took place in 1929.

1977 Conversation with Gandhiji: Home Life III, no 7 (July 1977)

At Sevagram Village during Anand's first visit to the Ashram in 1929. Gives much on panchayatraj.

Details Untraced

Conversation with Sheikh Mujib.

c. Dialogues

A Dialogue between Jawaharlal Nehru and Ashoka Mehta. Bharat Jyoti

An Imaginary Dialogue between Pandit Nehru and His Conscience on Reading Eisenhower's Declaration of American Policy on India. Bharat Jyoti

A Talk Between Shaw and Shakespeare. Bharat Jyoti

+ See Part I Section. Periodical Contributions for full details.
A Happy Birthday (A dialogue between Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx).
Bharat Jyoti.


Homage to Balzac. Homage to Balzac. (Unesco) 41-70
Reprinted in English in Vak Magazine (New Delhi) 1957.

Reminiscences

Childhood. Tribune, I9

Prithviraj Kapoor - Some Words. Broadcast on A.I.R., I9

Nawah Mohdi Nawaz Jung (in-memoriam). Lalit Kala Newsletter

Some Reminiscences of Sajjad Zaheer of the Early Thirties. Aftak
Magazine, (Pakistan)

1961
Some Reminiscences of Rabindranath Tagore. Rabindra Centenary Souvenir
I961, II-15

1965
Obituary on the Death of Pratap Singh Kairon. Tribune (May 1965)
Some Reminiscences of Principal Teja Singh. Tribune
In Memoriam - Rashid Jehani. Literary Gazette of Moscow
PART III  MULK RAJ ANAND - The Art Critic
and Journalist

PRIMARY SOURCES
(The arrangement is chronological)

A. WORKS
B. TRANSLATIONS
C. CONTRIBUTIONS  1) In monographs
                     2) In periodicals  a) MARG
                              b) OTHER PERIODICALS
D. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES: a) In MARG
                              b) Other Periodicals, Art,
                                  Chronicles, etc.
E. INTERVIEWS
F. BOOK REVIEWS BY MULK RAJ ANAND

SECONDARY SOURCES
(The arrangement is alphabetical)

Book Reviews

"This introduction to Persian Painting, by a distinguished oriental critic, owes its inspiration to the 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House. Mr. Anand traces the development of the principal schools, and lucidly describes their characteristics. His observations are original and important - as in the suggestion that Bilzad, Persia's greatest painter, was inspired by the religion of Sufism. And his interpretation is throughout clear and understandable." (Front Blurb)


Dedicated to E.B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy. Introductory Essay on Art and Reality by Eric Gill, p.(9) - 28. The 35 illustrations include 16 plates. In 3 parts; each has a separate title page; p.223 contains a chronology for which 'Grateful acknowledgements are due to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy for the material embodied in the following tables.'

"It is the only book on its subject in any language, and is specifically designed as a popular, elementary treatise, suited to the tastes of the plain reader, uninitiated into the mysteries of Indian Art." (Front Blurb)


Originally an essay entitled: "Survival of the Folk Tradition in Indian Drama" in Lines Written to an Indian Air (Bombay, 1949)

"Each chapter deals with the theatre of a province, of a language, describing briefly but graphically its older traditions, their decline and their new life which is being given to them by poets and playwrights
of the new India." (Front Blurb)


The Ceylon Custom Authorities banned this book as obscene. (ref. Times of India "Kamakali" (note) I Nov. 1962)


Delivered as a Inaugural Lecture by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, as Tagore Professor of Art and Literature, University of Punjab, in August 1962. Has margin notes.


"In the Album of Indian Paintings, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand has reproduced significant pictures from the earliest cave paintings of India till the 19th Century. He has tried to show the continuity of the over two thousand years' old tradition by presenting links between one period and another." (Front Blurb)


Dedicated to John Berger with whom I share many ideas. May this little book help to bring the phoenix bird of imagination back into the contemplation of art works."

"Illustrated and discussed are the beautiful murals and breath-taking architecture of India, ancient symbols and modern experiments... As the late, eminent critic Herbert Reed pointed out, Dr. Anand does not stop at the usual Western discussion of art and visual appreciation." (Front Blurb)
I981  KAMA SUTRA OF VATSYAYAMA. Edited by Mulk Raj Anand; illustrated by Lance Dane; designed by Dolly Sahiar. New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann (India). 276 p.; ill.

b)  As Collaborator


"A new series designed for publication of books on Art and Culture by eminent artists and authors published by Western Printers and Publishers, Bombay".


6 plates (mounted).

Published on the occasion of Ameer Khusrau seventh centenary.
c) As Editor and Compiler


B. TRANSLATIONS


1967  Indische Miniaturen, translated by Josef Zimmering, Dresden: Verlag Der Kinst, 42, 43 p. German

INDISCHE MINIATUREN (with Hermann Geetz)
C. CONTRIBUTIONS

I. In Monographs

1961

The Aims and Achievements of the (Vienna) Meeting. Information Bulletin of the International Association of Plastic Arts (Unesco) No. 29; Eastern Artists and Western Arts (Special issue) (Feb.1961) 3-4

The Meeting, held in Vienna (Sept. 24 - 28 1960), was organized by the International Association of Plastic Arts within the framework of Unesco's major project for mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. It "represents the first attempt to improve reciprocal knowledge between painters, sculptors and engravers". Among artists and participants attending was Dr. Mulk Raj Anand (India). He was a discussion leader, Chairman of Theme I: Comparison of Techniques (1st meeting, Saturday 24th Sept. at 10.00 a.m.). Speech (pp.7-8) discussion (pp.9-10). Chairman of 2nd meeting Saturday, 24th Sept. at 4.00 p.m. - introduction talk (p.II). Chairman of 4th meeting, Tuesday, 27th Sept. at 3.30 p.m. - Opening the meeting speech (p.19). Participated in discussions of 3rd & 5th meetings - Concluding Session (p.27).

1966


Other contributions: Bhabani Bhattacharya. Our Cultural Links: a Plea for Revival (10-15) - D.P. Ghosh. Impact of Hinduism on South-East Asia (17-20) - V.S. Naravane. Tagore and Nehru on South-East Asia. (22-9) - Vishal Singh. Impact of Ramayana and Mahabharath on some South-East Asian Countries. (39-40)

1967


The other 12 contributors are on other aspects.

1968


Dr. Mulk Raj Anand was the Director of this Seminar, held May 16-28,
I966, in which "experts in the field of speculative aesthetics, critics and historians of art" participated along with creative artists - "a unique academic experiment." He was also Chairman of the Sixth and Seventh Business Sessions, May 21-23, I968.

**I970**


The first paper in the Section C: Science, Art, Religion and Philosophy; there were 8 other papers.

**I971**


**I972**


**I974**


The third paper of the 4 papers in the Section VII: Sri Aurobindo as Critic and Interpreter of Poetry and Sculpture.

**I978**


**I979**

The Monkey Business, or A New Experimental Architecture in India. In *The Indian Institute of Architects Diamond Jubilee Year Souvenir I979*, Bombay I979, 20-21
2. **In Periodicals**


1949

Letter to an Englishman (Editorial). II, no 2, (March 1949), 4-9

Addressed to Lord Listowel, the last Secretary of State for India; also a co-research student of philosophy and aesthetics and who represents all Englishmen of goodwill. Mulk proposes the establishment of a Central Museum of Oriental Art in London, with a good Indian section.

Museums, Junk Shops or Living Cultural Centres? (Editorial) II, no 4 (September 1949), 4-8

A plea for vitalizing museums and their role in the education of people. Also agitates for a museum movement in India and for rationalizing the existing museums by changing them from "ad hoc collection of local archaeological finds, nicknacks and bric-a-brac plus some paintings and sculpture". Advocates special travelling museum exhibitions.

French Impressions: A catalogue of Facsimile Reproductions; organized by the 43 Group, Colombo (Ceylon). VI, no 5 (Christmas issue), 70

This is Ceylon's chief centre of paintings. This exhibition was on the history of Impressionism. Has also a French resume (1 page).

1950

An Appeal for the Association of Ananda Coomaraswamy's name with a section in the National Museum of Art and Archaeology at New Delhi. VIII, no 1 (December 1950) 43.

Of the 32 signatories, Mulk Raj Anand is the last one.

1952

Report on The International Sculpture Competition. VI, no 2 (March 1952) 73-4

Anand was invited to join the international jury of this Competition, sponsored by The Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, on the theme: "The Contemporary Arts, London" and the theme "The Unknown Political Prisoner". This invitation as "Editor of Marg" implied a recognition of the journal itself.

1954

Chamba Rumiis. VII, no 4 (September 1954), 35-40

The Place of Indian Art in India, (Editorial) VIII, no 1 (December 1954) 2-5

Comments on contributions contained in this special issue on Goan and Christian Art in India.
1955

On Inheriting the Past. (Editorial) VIII, no 2 (March 1955), 2-5
Contemporaries. VIII, no.2 (March 1955), 101-II
Preface by Editor, p. 101-2; Bibliography, p. 159.
Contemporaries. VIII, no.3 (June 1955) 43-52.
Homage to Orissa. (Editorial) VIII, no 4 (September 1955) 2-4
In Praise of Early Buddhist Art. (Editorial) IX, no.1 (December 1955), 2-6; ill.
On monuments of early Buddhist art of the First Century B.D. to Second Century A.D.
The Continuity of Tradition. IX; no.I (Dec.1955), 7-8
Portfolio (Orissa), IX, no I, (Dec. 1955), 9-I9

1956

In Praise of Later Buddhist Art. (Editorial) IX, no. 2 (March 1956), 2-6
The issue reproduces some of the most important pieces of sculpture and painting and later Buddhist art, during the centuries after the Second Century A.D. - Gandhara School (pp.3-4); Mathura School (pp.3) Deccan School (p.4) upto Tibetan School.
Links Between Early and Later Buddhist Art: Painting. IX, no.2 (March 1956), 15-16
The Road to Central Asia. IX, no.2 (March 1956), 50-60; ill.
Contents: I. Afghanistan, pp.50-52; 2. Central Asia, pp.53-6;
In Praise of Buddhist Art in Burma. (Editorial) IX, no.3 (June 1956), 2-3; map p. 4.
A Continuation of the two earlier issues on Buddhist Art.
In Praise of Buddhist Art in Cambodia, Champa, Laos, Siam and Bondudur. IX, no.4 (Sept. 1956), 2-10; ill. (2 plates) pp.(II-10).
This series of 4 portfolios have been "brought out in connection with the Buddha Parinirvana Celebrations." (p. 2)
Has comments on Medieval Christian art (pp. 6-7)
Sculptures, reproduced from his book My Sculpture (Oxford Book & Stationery Mart)
Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs. X, no.2, (March 1957) 37-44
Praises the Kangra masters of the great Rajput art of the late 18th
and early 19th centuries which were produced in this period of
"leisurely feudalism which gave birth to the miracles of our old
paintings and sculptures". (p.44)

Homage to Khajurahao (Editorial) X, no.3 (June 1957), 2-5; Ruins of
Khajurahao, p.6. (signed by Dr. R.A. and C.P.)

Portfolio-Life's Daily Round from Dawn to Dusk, X, no.3 (June 1956),

Shrines in the Landscapes of the Absolute, X, no.3, (June 1957) 24-6.

Of Kamakala: Some Notes on the Philosophical Basis of Hindu Erotic
Sculpture* (Sketches by Dr. F. Hussain). X, no.3 (June 1957), 45-64;
Bibliography, p.64.

In Praise of Bharata Natyam. (Editorial) X, no.4 (September 1957),
2-4

Contemporary Experiments. (Marg Note), X, no.4, (September 1957),
43-58; with folded sheets of poses of Tillai, Roshan Vazifdar (pp.56-7)

Kathakali: Theatre of Imagination. (Editorial) XI, no.1, (Dec. 1957),
2-5; ill. (p.6).

The Heroic Encounter. (Editorial) XI, no.2 (March 1958), 2-3

The Issue is devoted to Islamic Architecture and Painting

The Background of Early Mughal Painting. XI, no.3 (June 1958) 30-33.
Traces origin of Indo-Mughal Art.

Prolegomena to Contemporary Indian Painting. XII, no.1 (Supplement)
Reviews Marg Publication ventures.

"Marg publications have tried to specialize, apart from Marg Magazine in fine paintings and get up, with their monographs George Keyt by Martin Russell and India's Printed Textiles by Smt. Rupal Jayaben". Mentions also the Asia Publishing House publication of The Hindu View of Art by Mulk Raj Anand.

Homage to Konarak. (Editorial) XII, no.1, (December 1958), 2-4
(Jointly with K.F. -Route Map, p.5)

Portfolio—The Rising Splendour of the Sun. XII, no.1, (December 1958), 6-25.

The Great Delight—An Essay on the Spiritual Background of the Erotic Sculpture of Konarak. XII, no.1, (December 1958), 45-58, with plates of illus.

1959

Rajasthan Sculpture. (Editorial) XII, no.2 (March 1959), 2-3
On Marg's "first tentative effort, in our contemporary period at recording the remarkable tradition of carving which has miraculously survived in Rajasthan".

On the Origins of the Descendants of the Sun: Some Notes on the Historical Background of the Rajasthani, XII, no.2 (March 1959), 4-10

In Praise of Mandur. (Editorial) XII, no.3, (June 1959), 2-3;
(I) Chronological chart of Mandur, p.4

In Praise of Kathak. (Editorial) XII, no.4, (September 1959), 2-3
This issue is the third in the Marg series of special numbers on classical dance Art of India.

Folk Dance of India. (Editorial) XII, no.1, (December 1959), 2-3; Folk and Tribal Dance Map of India, pp.4-5 Appendix: Classification of Folk Dances; p.78

1960

Reflections on Orissa Dance. (Editorial) XIII, no.2, (March 1960), 2-3

Historical Survey—Preliminary Note. XII, no.2, (March 1960), 7

Short Films of India. (Editorial) XIII, no.3 (June 1960), 2-3
On the special contributors to the third eye of the imagination; i.e. aesthetic and technical values of the documentary.
1960  A Digest of Distinguished Documentary Films (1946-1960). XIII, no. 3 (June 1960), 71
Homage to Elephanta, (Editorial) XII, no. 4, (September 1960), 2-8
A Portfolio (pp. 9-19), containing photographs with comments.
Photography as an Art Form, (Editorial) XVI, no. 1 (December 1960), 2-3
Has many photos reproduced from The Images of India Exhibition.

Sub-sections: The Background (pp. 4-5) - Rhythm as the Essence of his Approach (pp. 6-8) - Unconscious as the Source of his Paintings (pp. 9-12) - Transition from Child Art to Man Art (pp. 13-18) - Reproduction of Tagore's paintings - uncaptioned (by Tagore); with comments, pp. 39-44
The Issue is devoted to Pottery.
In Praise of Manipurä. (Editorial) XIV, no. 4 (September 1961), 2-3
A New Planned City. (Editorial) XV, no. 1, (December 1961), 2-4
The Issue is at Chandigarh. All sketches used are by Le Corbusier.

Chronology, p. 4
Origins of the Buddha XV, no. 2, (March 1962),
Pt(a) by Mulk Raj Anand, pp. 8-14; Pt (b) by Y. Krishnam, pp. 15-16; with copious notes and references.
Portfolio (Mathura). XV, no. 2, (March 1962), 17-21; Bibliography; 59-60
Homage to Africa. (Editorial) XV, no. 3, (June 1962), 2-3
Discourse II (on African Art). XV, no. 3, (June 1962), 7-11
Much on Tribal Art and Sculpture. Bibliography (African Art), p. 66
Homage to Handloom. XV, no. 4, (September 1962), 2 along with Pupal Jayakar (Hon. Advisor, All-India Handloom Board) p. 3
Confusion Worse Compounded. (Editorial) XVI, no. 1, (December 1962) 2-3
The Issue is devoted to contemporary sculpture.

A "historical Note on the tradition of painting in the Deccan".
Portfolio (Aurangabad Sculpture) - Note. XVI, no.3, (June 1963), 2 (facing loose sheet) 19 plates; pp.3-12
All captions by Mulk Raj Anand. Sketches by K.K. Hebbar.

The Lesser Vehicle, The Greater Vehicle and the Worshippers of the Many Gods. (The Background to the Aurangabad Cave Sculptures) XVI, no. 3, (June 1963), 15-33; with two plates (full-page) preceding the article on pp. 13-14; and 3 plates inserted between pp. 28-29, plus line sketches (by K.K. Hebbar) (from title page note on Issue).

The Editorial and II Sculptures in Aurangabad are by Anita Ray. The Issue attempts to present "a new approach towards the understanding of the values of the art and sculpture as seen in these last Buddhist Caves of India" (ref: Title page note).

Three Answers from the Dalai Lama. (Editorial) XVI, no.4, (September 1963), 2-3
The Issue is devoted to Tibetan Art.

The Many Precious Things in the Story of Tibetan Lamaism. XVI, no.4, (September 1963), 6-13
A background historical note on the religion of Tibet.

The ARTS - Preliminary. XVI, no.4, (September 1963), 14

Living, Working, Care of Body and Spirit. (Editorial) XVII, no.1, (December 1963), 2-3 (unsigned)

Reflections on the House, the Stupa, the Temple, the Mosque, the Mausoleum and the Town Plan from the Earlier Times till Today. (Being notes on the social and spiritual imagination in Indian architecture.) XVII, no.1, (December 1963), 8-40; ill.
Plates with comments, pp. 41-58 of Living & Working.

The World of Colour. (Editorial) XVII, no.3, (June 1964), 2-3

Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals. XVII, no.3, (June 1964), 8-14

Technical Notes. XVII, no.3, (June 1964), text and illus. in the notes 20-22

Arki (pp. 18-19) - Kankal (pp. 45-47) - Dharamshal (pp. 38-9) - Jammu (pp. 41-43) - Kulu (pp. 52-54) - Mandi (pp. 55-57) - Nandaun (pp. 59-60) Norpur (pp. 63-65) - Sijanpor Tira (pp. 66-70) - Test (p. 66)
Homage to the Jeweller's Craft. (Editorial) XVII, no.4, (September 1964), 2-8

Revival or Transformation. (Editorial) XVIII, no.1, (December 1964), 2-3
The Issue is devoted to Rajasthani Handicrafts. Guest Editor: Smt. Jayleen Dhamija. The line drawings are by Shri Navneet Gupta and architectural sketches by Shri Ashok Krishnan.

I965 Old Criticism and New Criticism. (Editorial) XVII, no.2, (March 1965), 2-3
The Issue is devoted to Nagarjunakanda Sculpture.

The conversation is between three persons - A Madhyamik monk, an Indian Shilpi engaged on the repairs of the tomb of an abbot, and a Roman artist, "who had ventured into Andhra with a merchant from the seven hills, in search of what the Greeks had called, the regime of Masalia on both sides of the river Maisoles, reputed for the manufacture of muslin". (p. 6)

The Plastic Situation - Sculptures in Nagarjunakanda in relation to earlier and later carvings. XVII, no.2, (March 1965), 44-55, with 29 plates with notes; some of them are inserts.

In Dreams Begins Responsibility. (Editorial) XVII, no.3, (June 1965), 2-3
This Issue is devoted to 'Bombay Planning and Dreaming'.

Splendours and Miseries of Bombay. XVIII, no.3, (June 1965), 4-20, with map, sketches and plates.


The Theme of this Issue is "The relatively less known dances of South India".

In Memoriam: Homi Bhabha. XIX, no.2, (March 1966) (Supplement) ii-iii
Research in Laquer Magic. (Editorial) XIX, no. 3, (June 1966), 2-3
This Issue is devoted to Indian Laquerware. Guest Editor: Shri O.P. Ratra.

The Genesis of Graphics. (Part I Genesis, Tasks, Techniques) XIX, no. 4, (September 1966), 4-9, with reproductions.
The Issue is devoted to Graphics. Guest Editor: Bhupendra Karia, to whom we owe the planning and realization of this issue.

Handicrafts in the Nations Economy. (Editorial) XIX, no. 1, (December 1966), p. 2-3
This number on the Handicrafts is substantially compiled by Smt. Jagileen Dhamija and Shri J.C. Mathur, mainly on the rich products of Bihar handicrafts industry.

1967

Ajanta to Ellora - Shapes of Things Unknown. (Editorial) XX, no. 2, (March 1967), 2-3 (signed)
This Issue on Ajanta and Ellora sculptures "is to be an introduction to the study of the problems of integral advances of the chisel of the sculpture in the 6th and 7th centuries". (note).

Design for Living. (Editorial) XX, no. 3, (June 1967), 2-3 (signed)
In this Issue is Remiah Thapar's paper 'Design for Living' presented to Unesco, and its Resolution, plus a 40-page document on the experiments carried out at National Institute of Design (p. 21-60).

Delhi, Agra, Sikandra. XX, no. 4, (September 1967), 67
The Text of this issue is by Mulk Raj Anand (so stated on the title page in contents.) It is "a pioneering survey, mainly from the late 12th century till the 16th".

CONTENTS - Preliminary: The Rhythmic Fury of Ancient Cities - The Many Delhis (p. 4-8) - Delhi Under the Sultans (pp. 9-30) - Under the Mughals: Delhi (pp. 31-67).

The Breakthrough : Notes on the Modern Movement in Sculpture. (Editorial) XXI, no. 1 (December 1967), 3-16; with a narrative poem "Breakthrough" p. 2 (signed).
The Issue is devoted to the Modern Movement in Sculpture, and is "the prolegomena to the forthcoming number on contemporary World Sculpture". The Editorial is followed by 3 short essays, mainly on painting of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.
This Issue is a sequel to Issue No. 1 and is dedicated to the first Triennale of Contemporary Art, sponsored by Lalit Kala Akademi and held in New Delhi, February-March 1968.

The Contemporaries: Notes by Mulk Raj Anand. XXI, no. 2, (March 1968) I6-59
31 countries are covered with plates of reproductions of the artists mentioned; for most of them "full documentation" has been done.

The Creator, the Creation and the Sutradhara. (Editorial) XXI, no. 3, (June 1968), 2-4 - signed MRA - M.C. (i.e. Smt. Meher Contractor).
An Issue on Indian Puppetry which deals with various types of traditional puppets of India and contemporary puppeteers (pp.39-43); has reproductions of their puppets.

The Pictorial Situation in Pahari Painting. (Editorial) XXI, no. 4, (September 1968), 2-I6; with 13 reproductions plus notes and 2 pasted in plates -(signed)

Chhau Dance - Anāndan. (Editorial) XXII, no. 1 (December 1968), 2-4
This Issue on Chhau Dances of India owes much "to Sunil Kothari and Jivan Pani, who have acted as Guest Editors". The Photographs mostly are by Sunil Kothari, Sketches by Shivax Chavda.

1969 Bhitargaon: Art and Architecture of Humanism. XXII, no. 2, (March 1969), 2-I0, 2I-23; with a Portfolio of 32 plates (pp.II-20)
This Issue is on Bhitargaon in Kanpur District of the Gupta period; it has much on its neglected Gupta brick temples.

This Issue on the Taj Mahal is entitled "Dream in Marble".

Gandhi or Art. (Editorial) XXII, no. 4 (September 1969), 2-3
An Issue on The Forgotten arts of India - offered by way of "Homage to Mahatma Gandhi".

The Head and the Heart; Notes on the Creative Process and the Folk Imagination. XXII, no. 4 (September 1969), 4-I0
Clay in the Hands of Man in India made for the "Quick" of Life in Terracotta Images. XXIII, no.1 (December 1969), 3-II (signed).

Beauties Born in the Mind of the Potter's Yard: Notes on Old Terracottas. XXIII, no.1, (December 1969), 3-II (signed).


Within the portfolio, anonymity is mainly maintained, occasionally, signatures, e.g. D.P.G. RCA or D.G. appear.

1970

Himachal Heritage. (Editorial) XXII, no.2 (March 1970), 2-3 (signed)

Much of the issue's contents are by MARG team.

Hymn to Mahabalipuram. (Editorial) XXIII, no.3 (June 1970), 2-3; ill.

This issue is "in homage to the devoted work of Padmabhushan Shri T.N. Ramachandran in the field of art history." His scholarly text has been divided into two parts; that on the Great Rock is being reproduced in this number; while the Cave Temples, the Rathas, and the Shore Temple will come in the next issue of Marg, i.e. Vol. XXIII, no.4 (September 1970).

"The Editor has presented the background of the inspiration given by the talented Mahendravarnan to this noblest of all South Indian Monuments. The Portfolio analyses the plastic situation of certain important details". (T.p. contents)

The Ballad and the Source. XXIII, no.3 (June 1970), 4-9

The Legend of Arjuna's Penance. XXIII, no. 3 (June 1970), IO-I3

The Vision of the Rock and the Plastic Situation of the Panels. XXIII, no.3, (June 1970) pp. I4-22 (portfolio)

The Great Wrestler - The Continuity under Mahamalla. (Editorial) XXIII, no.4 (September 1970), 52-60; illus., II plates. (unsigned)

The Temple and Sculptures under Rajasimha. XXIII, no.4, (September 1970) IO-II.

Afghanistan: Cross-Roads. XXIV, no.1, (December 1970), 2-4; illus.
Space, Time and Deity: the Background of Islamic Architecture. XXIV, no. I (December 1970), 5-12

Has a large section on tradition - going back to Sumerian and Arab rulers.

Colour, Form and Design in Islamic Architecture. XXIV, no. I, (December 1970), I3-I6; illus. (col) on pp. II-I8

The Development of Islamic Architecture in Afghanistan. XXIV, no. I, (December 1970), I8A-45; illus., plates (some inserted)

The Buddha as Cosmos. (Editorial) XXIV, no. 2, (March 1971) 2-4, with single folded reproduction.

A Special issue on Bamiyan Caves in Afghanistan.

Bamiyan: Historical. XXIV, no. 2 (March 1971), 5-IO

Bamiyan: The Development of the standing Buddha Sculpture from Hoti Mardhan to Bamiyan. XXIV, no. 2 (March 1972), II-I5


Held at New Delhi; 47 countries participating in the 2 international exhibitions. President Giri inaugurated the Triennale on January 31, 1971.

Glimpses of Wonder and Beauty in Ivory. (Editorial) XXIV, 3 (June 1971), pp. 2-3, p.4 (unsigned) - illus. (full page plate).

This issue on Ivories is an offering of MARG to the joint heritage of Afghanistan and India.


Persepolis: the Background XXIV, no. 4 (September 1971), 5A-5-IO; Sketch 5A.

Persepolis was visited by the MARG research team in Summer 1970.

Space and Time in the Anatolian Landscape. (Editorial) XXV, no.I (December 1971), 2-5; illus.

Page 5 is a illustration of two-headed Hittite eagle.

The Metamorphosis of Magic and Art in Hittite Civilization. XXV, no.I (December 1971). 6-II

This issue is devoted to the"Mystery and Beauty of Hittite"

MARG celebrated its 25 year as a publication of Art.
Rhythm of Dance and Music in the Bagh Caves. XXV, no.3 (June 1972), 2-6 (unsigned)
This issue covers the Bagh Cave complex, both caves and painting.

Appreciation of Art in India Today. XXV, no.4 (Sept.1972)
1. All Art is Useless, pp.2-4
2. The Place of Art in Civilization, pp. 5-6, illus (p.5)
3. The Mantage of Man, pp. 8-12; (Cartoon by Mario p.7)

The Treatment of Environment by the Mughals (Editorial) XXVI, no.1 (December 1972), 3-8. (unsigned)
This issue, mostly on Mughal gardens, is compiled by the talented Scholar of Mughal architecture, D.R. Math.

Mohini Attam: Mixture or Synthesis. (Editorial) XXVI, no.2 (March 1973), 233 (unsigned)
Mohini Attam is the classical dance from Kerala.

Souvenirs of Madhya Pradesh Sculptures. (Editorial) XXVI, no.3 (June 1973), 2-4 (unsigned)
Recalls the visit made in 1929 to Sanchi for the first time and other visits to Madhya Pradesh.

Madhya Pradesh Sculptures: Portfolio, Notes. XXVI, no.3 (June 1973), 5-26 (unsigned)
This special issue has been some years in the making. MARG's team toured various areas of Madhya Pradesh.

The Turkish Heritage in Painting. (Editorial) XXVI, no.4 (Sept.1973), 2-4
The Ottoman Turkish Miniatures special issue is perhaps the first serious treatment of the imperial Ottoman tradition in any language.

Reflections on the 25th Anniversary Exhibition of Art, organized by the Lalit Kala Kendra Akademi. XXVI, no.4 (September 1973) (Supplement) xvi-xviii

A Forgotten Culture. (Editorial) XXVII, no.1 (December 1973) 4-5; p.2-3 photographs of the Mt Angkor complex.
A chronology in 4 columns as an abridged list of Cambodian Kings is given on p.15
MARG research team visited surviving remains; the Textual notes have been written jointly with Shri R.S. Bishit (Dept. of Archaeology, Haryana Monuments).

Haryana Heritage, by Mulk Raj Anand and R.S. Bishit. XXVII, no.4 (September 1974)
Pre-historic (pp.5-7) - Historical (pp. 8-10) - Early Medieval (pp.11-21) - Medieval (pp. 22-42).

Folk Art versus Fine Art. (Editorial) XXVII, no.1 (December 1974), 3-4
Page 2 is an illustration of Persian wheel well of late medieval period. The text on the Punjab Folk Art is by Mulk Raj Anand.

The Background. XXVIII, no.1 (December 1974), 5-7
The Art of Living in a Punjab Village. XXVIII, no.1 (December 1974), 9-40
Covers house, carpentry, pottery, weaving, embroidery, utensil making and leatherwork.

Dr. A.G. Archer’s Magnus Opus – Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills. XXVIII, no.2 (March 1975) (Supplement) p. iii.
A comprehensive volume compared with his early Indian Painting of the Punjab.

Homage to Amir Khusrau. (Editorial) XXVIII, no.3 (June 1975), 3-12
This issue is in honour of Amir Khusrau, a 14th century poet, a genius and one of India’s important personalities.

Bhimbhetka. (Editorial) XXVIII, no.4 (September 1975), 3-8 (unsigned).
The MARG team visited Bhimbhetka in Madhya Pradesh.
Portfolio. XXVIII, no.4 (September 1975), 9-16.
Colour drawings are by Shri Namdev. Haryana Crafts

Haryana Crafts. (Editorial) XXIX, no.1 (December 1975), 3-5; illus.

The Green City. (Editorial) XXIX, no.2 (March 1976), 3-14; illus.
The Sources of Creative Art in Persia in the Early Medieval Centuries. XXX, no.1 (December 1976), II-37 (unsigned)
The issue was on Persian Painting – Fourteenth Century.

The Sources of Poetic Imagination in the Fifteenth Century Persian
Painting. XXX, no.2 (March 1977), 5-12
The issue is mainly devoted to the genius of the great 15th century painter Bihsad and his school. Mr. B.H. Robinson's contribution, Bihsad and his School (pp.51-70) contains the most detailed work on Bihsad's authentic works and attributions in recent years, material specially compiled for the issue.

"The original interpretation about the mystical sources of Bihsad's creative imagination was given by Mulk Raj Anand in a little booklet An Persian Painting in 1952" (Contents page).

1977
Bihsad- an Album. XXX, no.3 (June 1977), 28-50 (text in double column)
Homage to Amritzar. XXX no.3 (June 1977), 2-3 p. 4-8, illus. (all col. plates) (unsigned)
"This issue is brought out on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Amritzar City. This complex of Sikh culture grew from a sacred village pond into a spiritual-temporal centre". (Contents page)

Painting and Prayer: A Note on Hieratic Pictorial Art under the Sikhs, XXX, no.3 (June 1977), 43-45
Homage to Jaipur. (Editorial) XXX, no.4 (September 1977), 2-4, illus. pp. 5-8 (unsigned)
"An Epistle Dedicatory to the Master Builder Sawai Jai Singh who lived in early 18th century. "Yet he was able to initiate a comprehensive indigenous culture of the vital arts and crafts". (Contents p.9)

Janta Mantar: Time, Space and Diety. XXX, no.4 (September 1977) 59-68

Praise of Hoysale Art. XXXI, no.1 (December 1977), 7-12
The issue is on Hoysale Art and Architecture of a brilliant dynasty, which is considered "a hitherto neglected area of silence" (Contents) The main text is by Robert J. Del Bonta, an ardent American Scholar. Carmel Berkson acted as Guest Editor.

1978
Glimpses of Wonder and Beauty - Indian Heritage. XXXI, no.2 (March 1978), 2-3 (unsigned)

The Best of Lovers: The Krishna Lila. XXXI, no.2 (March 1978), 17-19 (in verse) text, 20-22, 31-34, p.24-30 miniatures:

"A contribution in an issue on Indian Heritage."
1978

A Dream House in the Rocks - the Vision of Mehdi Nawas Jung. XXXI, no.2 (March 1978), 59-60; plates pp.61-62

Homage to Dinkar Kelkar. (Editorial) XXXI, no.3 (June 1978), 2-4. (unsigned)

The House. XXXI, no.3 (June 1978), 5-8, plates pp. 9-11

On the Museum of Everyday Art (popularly known as the Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune) to which this issue entitled "Treasures of Everyday life" is devoted.

This contribution has also the following subsections, viz.

a. Music, pp. II-I6  
b. Toilet p. I6-A  

d. Working pp.23-24  
e. Leisure, pp.25-50; illus.

Homage to Kalamkari, (with reference to the Painted cloths of India). (Editorial) XXXI, no.4 (September 1978), 2-II.

Kalamkari is a Persian word applied to the hand painting, block painting technique. Work is still going on at 2 important centres of Kalambari – Masulipatnam (Machilipatnam) and Kalashasti in Andhra Pradesh. Its "significance has been heightened by the recent transformation by the talented designer and craftswoman, Nelly Sethna". (Contents page)

Portfolio. XXXI, no.4 (September 1978), I2-I7 (unsigned)
b) OTHER PERIODICALS

Has advertisements of films shown in Bombay on alternative pages of text and thereafter up to I36.

On the "great theatrical traditions built up by ancient and classical India".
Appears in Anand's book of essays Lines Written to an Indian Air (1949)
and in his book The Indian Theatre (I95I). Reprinted in Art and Letters: India, Pakistan, Ceylon XXIV, no. I (I950), 24-32

Cinema or Cemetery: The Film in India. Bharat Jyoti (1947)

I948 The Dancing Foot. Onlecker Annual I948.
Also published as a separate publication in I95I.

I949 If Music be the Food of Love.
Appears as an essay in Lines Written to an Indian Air (1949)


With reproductions of caricatures done by this nephew of Rabindranath Tagore.
Reprinted in Hindustan Standard Diwali Annual I97I, I4-9; photo by K. Khandharia; ill. (2 in colour); Roop-Lekha 38, nos. I & 2 (1969), 163-8I; illws.

I953 The Two Sheets: Some Notes on the Costumes of India; illustrated by S. Chavda. Western Railway Annual I953, 5I-60; illws.

I958 The Tradition of the Theatre in India. Pushpanjali II(I958), I5I-53

A reprint of his essay published earlier in MARG.
Birth of Lalit Kala (Editorial). *Contemporary* I (1960), 1-7
Inauguration of the first issue of the magazine, published by Lalit Akademi. Anand was the Guest Editor.


The Four initiators of the contemporary experimentalism (Guest Editorial). *Contemporary* 2 (1961), 1-5

'The Aims and Achievements of the (Vienna) Meeting'. *Informational Bulletin of the International Association of Plastic Arts (Unesco)* No.29: Eastern Artists and Western Artists(Special issue) (Feb. 1961), 3-4

The meeting of Artists from Eastern and Western Countries was held in Vienna from Sept. 24 to Sept. 28, 1960. It was organized by the International Association of Plastic Arts within the framework of Unesco's major project for mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. It "represents the first attempt to improve reciprocal knowledge between painters, sculptors and engravers". Among artists and participants attending was Dr. Mulk Raj Anand (India).

On 'Kangra' Kalams of paintings traced in Basohli.


To foster art in India.

State Patronage of Art. (Guest Editorial) *Cultural Forum* V, no.3 (March - April 1963), 6-II

The Place of Art in University Education. *Journal of University Education* 2, no.1 (Sept.1963)

Art and Interaction of Culture. (Guest Editorial) *Cultural Forum* VII, no.4 (July 1965), 6-12

The Place of Art in University Education. In *Seminar on Art Education* 1965, 63-74
This was one of the topics discussed at this Seminar held at New Delhi, Feb. 18-25, 1965.

1966

The Role of Creative Writers and Artists in the Developing Countries of Afro-Asia. *Afro-Asia and World Affairs* 3, no.1 (Spring 1966),18-21


The Erroneous Concept of Obscenity. *Conspectus* II, no.1 (1966),6-II

His comments on Ashok Rudra; *Erotic Temple Sculpture of India.* *Conspectus* I, no.2, p.41-53 in which he quotes from Anand's *Kama Kala* and its plates of reproduction on p. 43-5


The Dancing Foot: The Role of Imagination in the Dances of India. *The East* no.2 (1966), 56-9; illus.

1968

The Artist as Hero. *Contemporary* 7 & 8 (1968), I-6

A special number on the First Triennale of World Art, India 1968, organized by Lalit Akademi at New Delhi.

Anand's article is an exposition of experimentalism in art through the ages.

Colour, Line and Form in Pahari Paintings. *Suvabhika* (1968),121-46; with 26 figures (reproductions) & line drawings.

The text is in Hindi and English.

Folk Tradition as an Aid to Modern Expression. *Advance* I6, no.2 (April-June 1968), 10-12; *Bihar Information* I6, no.16 (16 Sept.1968) 25-27; *Indo-Asian Culture* I7, no.3 (July 1968), 3-6; *Lok Rajya* 24,no. I (16 June 1968), 7-8


1969


A review of the life and work of Dr.M.S. Randhawa in the form of a letter.

Censorship of Films: Can It really protect Social and Moral Values?
Film Seminar December 1969.

The Influence of the West on Indian Dance Art (unpublished)

"Unity and Diversity in Indian Culture". IIAS (Simla) Bulletin v. III, no.3 (July 1969)
A paper presented at the Session 3B: What would be the Proper Viable Relationship of Seminar on Union-State Relations in India, held at the Institute from May 18-31, 1969 and attended by 57 politicians and several scientists, historians, economists and administrators from different parts of India.


I971 Postscript. AR India Today CL, no.898 (Dec. 1971), 389-92 Concludes this special issue, "by relating the ideas expressed in the preceding pages and the account they give of India's planning and architectural problems, to her cultural and historical background, thereby setting the scene against which the modern developments are taking place!" (Head note).

I972 Twilight over a brick kiln in Dacca. Indian Express (1972)
Ganapati. Times of India (1972) - rejected article

I975 Tradition and Modernity in the Arts. Indian P.E.N. 41, no.7 (July 1975), 1-6.
In Praise of the Indian Philosophy of Art. Socialist India (Republic Day Number) (1975), 66-9
This is the text of the prologue of the Sixth Coomaraswamy Memorial Lecture.

'Shiv Singh': Exhibition of Sculpture (Brochure), held at Gallerie Path (Frankfurt), Hassin Centre and Geinhausen from May 24 to June 21, 1975.
This brochure in German has the text on his works, bio-data and exhibitions.

Fathoming the Heavens: the Passion of Sawai Jai Singh. The Taj Magazine
An issue on Jaipur.

1978

Culture Mirrored in Murals. **Statesman** (27 June 1978) 1:5

1979

India's Erotic Sculptures. **Indians** (Jan. - March 1979), 3-7

The Monkey Business or A New Experimental Architecture for India. **The Indian Institute of Architects** (Diamond Jubilee Year Souvenir 1979) 20-21

Thoughts on Poetic Parallelism. **Contemporary** 28 (Sept. 1979), 5-II

An abridged version of Anand's speech delivered at Delhi; on W.W. Archer's critique of painting.

1980

Postscript to Contemporary Architecture. **Design** 24, no.1 (Jan-March 1980), 48-54


1981

Bharati Kala aur Sahitya ke Sanvarga (Hindi) **Navneet** Year 30, no.1 (Jan.1981), 44-8; ill.

Homage to Khajuraho. **Commerce** (Supplement) I42, no.3654 (27 June 1981), I6-8


1982

Ragini Devi (profile). **Span** (Oct. 1982), 32-36; illus., photos.
D. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES

a) In MARG


Dr. Mulk Raj Anand paints out the difficulty of a good definitive style of art particularly in India. He felt "that a lesser importance was given to form and colour as against individuality and personal taste."

Welcome address. Exhibition of Art Photograph of the British Universities, Bombay. II, no I (Dec. 1948) II5

Mulk Raj Anand introduced the Major who opened the exhibition. In his talk he urged for a Chair of Arts in the University of Bombay.

(Coomaraswamy and India) - Royal Asiatic Society Condolence Meeting (Bombay). II, no I, (Dec. 1948) II6

A meeting to pay homage to the late Ananda Coomaraswamy. Dr. Anand along with Karl Khandalwala spoke at length on Coomaraswamy's wealth of contributions to Indian art.

1950 (Opening Speech) - Exhibition of Progressive Artists Group, held at the Art Society Saloon, Bombay

In his opening speech, Mulk Raj Anand advocates for modern art with a cautionary note: "Do not subscribe to any 'issues'". The Members of the Group were then Francis Newton D'Souza, Bakre, Hussain and Gadre.

I950 (Opening Speech) - The Young's Arts and Culture Circle Exhibition, held at the Institute of Foreign Languages (Bombay) IV, no I, (Dec. 1950) 60

An exhibition of paintings, clay models, linocuts of Ceylonese children and teenagers.

(Opening Speech) - Exhibition of Paintings of D.K. Warrior, held at Bombay Art Society Saloon on June 13, 1980. IV, no I (Dec. 1950) 60

An exhibition of a self-taught artist of Malabar.

1960 (Inaugural Address) - Exhibition on Indian Painting, Bombay XIV. no 2, (March 1961)
Dr. Anand inaugurated an exhibition. "In the context of the amorphous state of Indian Painting and Sculpture, it would appear rather indistinguishable to take sides for or against particular painters or particular styles of work."

b) Other Periodicals

I954 Development of Indian Art : Mulk Raj Anand's address. *Times of India* (II March 1954)
At the Freemason's Hall, New Delhi.

He called on the USSR Academy of Art, Moscow on Jan.29, 1963. He condemned all the principal trends in Art of the 20th Century.

I967 Ehrenberg praised for his humanism. *Times of India* (28 Sept.1967)
A Speech at the meeting organized by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Bombay.


All Art is Propaganda. (Speech). *Soviet Review* 21 (21 March 1968)92

I974 LKA honours Mulk Raj. *Blitz* (9 Nov. 1954) 10
Anand had recently delivered the Ananda Coomaraswamy Memorial Lectures for 1974 at the Ravindra Bhavan.

Two talks delivered on 10 April 1975 and II April 1975.

In Praise of the Indian Philosophy of Art. *Socialist India* (Republic Day Number 1975) 66-9
Text of the Prologue to the Sixth Coomaraswamy Memorial Lectures.

A Suggestion made by Mulk Raj Anand as speaker at the condolence meeting organized by the Indo-German Cultural Society to mourn the death of Professor Langhammer, former art director of the Times of India Group.
Synthesis, Conflict or, experiment? **Eve's Weekly** (20-26 Aug. 1977) I0-II

"Lasting and at the old claptrap of pseudo-holiness, Mulk Raj Anand probes the real meaning of Indian culture and queries the wisdom of hanging up on to the dead habits of tradition.\(^1\) Makes a plea to artists to participate in a new era of experimentation in the creative arts - based on felt experience.


"The extraordinary skill of the craftsmen - as evidenced in the large-scale frescoes - produced some of the finest art anywhere in the world\(^1\) (Editor's headpiece). The article has many fine reproductions in colour of frescoes and paintings.

I978 Multi-media show on Coomaraswamy. **Times of India** (22 Aug. 1978) 4:4

"Mulk Raj Anand who gave the introductory talk, pointed out that it took an Englishman-turned-Hindu who knew nothing of India till he was 22, to make Indians aware of their great heritage\(^1\)
E. INTERVIEWS

Among the artists, promoters and Kingpins, she chatted with Dr. Mulk Raj Anand; his views are given on p. 31.

In this interview, Anand answers such questions as; How saleale is Art in India? Who are its buyers? What can be done to promote Art?
They revolved around MARG; on its role for art promotion: "We have reached libraries and museums in most cities. Monuments are better preserved."

Incorporates from interviews of "flesh-and-blood critics in India today ... a compendium both of their views on various aspects of art criticism and of the condition of this accomplishment in India today." Mulk Raj Anand has much to observe on the difference between "art contemplation" and gallery art; i.e. between "seeing and looking."

Interviewed at New Delhi on his latest publication - a lavishly illustrated version of Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana. Says wanted to project it as "love as it was once understood in India in all its beauty and tenderness."

Interviewed at his Cuff Parade residence on publication of Kama Sutra; much about his attempts to publish this version. Contains his views on marriage and sexual relations between Indian husband and wife.
F. BOOK REVIEWS BY MULK RAJ ANAND

In MARG


Lalit Kala (Ancient) XIII, 2 (March 1960) Supplement

The Lapis / by Irene Rice-Pereira. XIII, 2 (March 1960) Supplement,

1961 Contemporary Series on Indian Art. New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1960

2. Krishna Hebbar / by B.A. Amberkar.
along with Lalit Kala no 7 (April 1960). XIV, 2 (March 1961) p9-10


1962 'Rabindranath Tagore'. XVI, 2 (March 1962) Supplement, p.v

Review of Two Portraits / by Srimati Rani Chanda. Shantineketan.
(Distributed by Lalit Kala Akademi as Tagore Centenary Souvenir, 1962).


Shanker's Children's Art Number. XVI, no. 2 (March 1962) Supplement, p. viii.


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It is a very general introduction to India, this book may be useful. Mr. Anand's introduction and text are pleasant, liberal and informed. His introduction skims over 5,000 years of India's political and religious history in eighteen pages, whose beautiful typography and especially generous spacing unfortunately provide a sometimes hard comment of white silence around the thinner portions of the text, which here and there has the quality of an export confection. Mr. Anand's style, indeed, has considerably changed since the days of Untouchable, leading to the reflection that Oriental art nouveau influences wear a distinctly provincial dust in their import/export passage. ...

However, the potted history is more workman like and the photographs are indeed excellent. Miss Hansammann has combined a firm, even hard outline with the maximum of colour sensitivity; moreover, her compositions of scenes from the life are good enough to bear comparison with the compositions of the many sculptures she has photographed, wherein awe has not dimmed her photographic eye.

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A dazzling visualization of India by an awesomely gifted Swiss photographer. ... Mulk Raj Anand, an Indian writer, contributes a lucid introductory essay, an explanatory running text, and a series of brief but adequate captions.

Mish, J.L. Review. Library Journal 84 (15 May 1959) 1617

In contrast to many other such books, this is not a collection of 'beautiful' or 'exotic' pictures, but rather an intimate portrayal of India's daily life. ...

Wood, Percy. Review. Chicago Sunday Tribune (7 June 1959) 2

Finer colour photographs of India than the 70 in this magnificent
volume aren't likely to be found. ... Collectors of fine picture books should have this one.

Review. New York Times (14 June 1959) 28

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Suzanne Hausammann's photographs, beautifully printed in Switzerland, are magnificently produced in lavish lines and lavish gatefolds. ... A beautiful souvenir and a treasure for anyone who, like most travellers in India, treasure past visits like precious family heirlooms. To my taste, its Oriental-style text is pompous and unwieldy, but the backgrounds of India's myriad cultures are there if you are willing to weave your way through.
Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's Introduction contains valid comments on both the psychology involved in the very process of drawing and the psychological assessment of Hebbar primarily as a draughtsman. Hebbar's process of drawing is a process of gradual abstraction which ultimately sets out to explore the depths of his own artistic world, subjective and symbolical in brilliant splashes of sketching, and in quiet moments of controlled emotion. 

Badri Narayan

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"Dr. Anand is, perhaps one of the few of our contemporary literary men who have shown a serious regard to the value of the visual and the plastic arts as contributory agents to the replenishment of human life. The hypothesis which he offers and describes as "tentative, suggested for discussion in order to achieve some basic formulations" in Seven Little-known Birds of the Inner Eye deserves wider notice, for the book may be classed as an important work of his critical activity."

"Among the illustrations used with the text, are the swift drawings of the seven birds specially done by Hebbar." Badri Narayan.

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A review-cum-interview
THE ALL-UNION
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OF FOREIGN
LITERATURE

Uljjanovskaja Street, 1, Moscow, Zh-240, USSR
No. 7597  15th June 1978.

Miss A.H. Sales-Pontes,
Senior Lecturer,
%SMDI Women's University Library
1 Naltikai Jhakcessey Road,
Bombay 400029,
India.

Dear Miss Sales-Pontes,

In reply to your letter we are pleased to send you bibliographical lists of Russian translations of M.R.Anand's, B.Bhattacharya's, K. Markandaya's, R.K.Narayan's works and lists of the Soviet critical literature concerning their works, which we have compiled from the files of the All-Union State library of foreign literature.

We also hope that the following information will come to hand for your work:


Soviet publication of an extract from R.Rao's letter to A.M.Gorki

Saghal N. This time of morning


We regret to inform you that the files of our library do not contain the required information on S.Ghose, B.Rajan, K.Singh and R.P.Thabualala also mentioned in your letter.

Yours faithfully

Deputy-director
of the All-Union State Library
of Foreign Literature  (Signed) E.Pereslegina
Anand M.R. (born 1905)

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II. General Material


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