Face aux cosmopolitismes sud-asiatiques

Kumkum Chatterjee (Pennsylvania State University):

"The English East India Company and Cultural Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern South Asia"

The early modern period, particularly the period from the 16th till the 18th centuries were particularly momentous ones in South Asian history. These years witnessed the consolidation of Mughal rule, the decline of the empire and the establishment of the political power of the English East India Company. The cultural history of this period has typically received much less attention from scholars than the administrative, economic and other facets of the history of this period. This is particularly true of Mughal India; but, the history of early colonial rule in South Asia is also typically studied without much reference to how the Mughal cultural milieu may have shaped British colonial perceptions of South Asian society and culture in the late eighteenth century. This paper will focus firstly on an Indo-Persian cultural configuration which was associated with the political culture of Mughal and late Mughal India. It was associated in particular with the political elites of Mughal India and was linked as well to a notion of cultural cosmopolitanism which prevailed over a large part of the Islamic world beyond the South Asian Sub-continent.

The second emphasis of this paper will be to trace how the English East India company attempted to appropriate and emulate aspects of Mughal cultural cosmopolitanism . In this segment of the paper I attempt to explore the factors that lay behind the Company's endeavours in this direction and the forms that such endeavours took.





Audrey Truschke (Columbia University):

"Regional Perceptions: Writing to the Mughal Court in Sanskrit"

In 1582, Akbar declared Persian the language of the Mughal Empire. Taking Akbar's proclamation at face value, modern academics have often assumed that Persian was the exclusive language of the Mughal imperium and allowed no political role for Indian tongues. On the contrary, however, a series of contemporary regional rulers and religious leaders thought it appropriate to address the Mughals not in Persian, not even in a vernacular, but rather in Sanskrit. In total, three authors dedicated six full Sanskrit praise poems to members of the central imperial courts of Akbar through Shah Jahan. In this paper, I explore this neglected body of materials and analyze how such works operated in what was at least nominally a Persianate milieu.

Sanskrit panegyrics addressed to Mughal figures emerge from different regions (Deccan, Gujarat, and Kashmir) and diverse social groups (Jains and Brahmans). In content they also diverge greatly from one another and demonstrate the wide range of concerns that different political actors felt they could best pursue through the medium of Sanskrit. These works are important both for the political claims they extend concerning the active role of Sanskrit in Mughal circles as well as the aesthetic claims in how they treat the subjects of their praises. This small body of Sanskrit praise poems constitutes an important aspect of how Mughal imperial culture was perceived to operate outside of its own delineated boundaries and challenges our understanding of the relationship between politics and aesthetics in early modern South Asia.

Gijs Kruijtzer (Rechtskulturen Fellow at Humboldt University / Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin):

"European Participation in Persianate Court Culture in the Seventeenth Century"

As the organisers suggest, reading together European and South Asian cosmopolitanisms may be a profitable way to explore the formulations and practices of both. Metaphors such as the 'garden' and 'all-pervading peace,' were balanced by claims of universal nature and a certain collecting frenzy. Yet what looks like cosmopolitanism from one angle may look like empire from another. A profitable way to explore the questions of empire and cosmopolitanism in seventeenth-century South Asia is to look at the measure of acceptance of Europeans, as the farthest-flung others present, into the courtly folds of Islamicate South Asia. What were the necessary conditions for becoming a Mughal, Adil Shahi or Qutb Shahi noble? To what extent could such European *padshahi* nobles still participate in the imperialisms of their fatherlands? And conversely, at what point did they become renegades *(arnegados)* from the point of view of the members of their nation *(qaum)* by birth?



Le voyage comme fabrique du cosmopolite? Des pratiques aux *habitus*

Giuseppe Marcocci (Università degli Studi della Tuscia):

"Renaissance Italy meets South Asia: Florentine and Venetian Travellers in a Cosmopolitan World"

Renaissance is usually considered the period of recovery of the concept of "cosmopolitanism", which had been shaped in the Classical Antiquity. Recent historiography, however, has remarked that this reinterpretation did not go beyond the limits of eurocentrism. On the other hand, scholars have stressed that early modern South Asia was a cosmopolitan world, whose inhabitants would have been able to face a wide-ranging variety of languages, cultural settings, and religions, while respecting the different religious, social, and cultural practices of their neighbours. Even if the use of an 'etic' concept like cosmopolitanism for South Asia might appear problematic, this paper aims to look at what might be called a "cosmopolitan European reaction" to a disparate set of societies, from Persia to Philippines, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In other words, what did it happen when European cosmopolitans met South Asian cosmopolitan world? Is it possible an entangled history of Eurasian cosmopolitism?

This paper focuses on a selection of texts, published and unpublished, which were produced by travellers coming from two of the most representative towns of Renaissance Italy, Florence and Venice. Indeed, in this period, while aggressive empires supported European expansionism, and the "desire for the Indies" inspired missionaries who acted to reduce South Asian plurality to Christian order, a quite different desire for wider knowledge and personal experience influenced individuals, including Italians, who visited and spent part of their lives in South Asia. Among the questions that this paper addresses is: To what extent and in what sense can the inclination and the behaviour of these men be classified as "cosmopolitan"? In the period in which Guillaume Postel first went back to use the ancient term "cosmopolitan" as "a person who could live in one country or another" (1560), and the English geographer Richard Hakluyt defined a "cosmopolitan" as "a citizen ... of the ... one mysticall citie universall, and so consequently to meditate of the cosmopoliticall government thereof" (1598), did Florentine merchants and Venetian diplomats elaborate a more pragmatic, but effective pattern of cosmopolitanism by experiencing South Asian societies?

Sentences like that by the Venetian Luigi Roncinotto, who went to Calicut "burning with desire to see with my eyes what I had heard of this travel" (1529), draw attention to secular desire and circulation as possible factors of cosmopolitanism. However, the sources also show other aspects that claim for a more careful analysis. Did trade promote a spirit of observation that contributed to cross-cultural relationship and exchange? Did reports and journals originating by authentic curiosity reflect local agency and interaction? How should we understand the recurrent criticism of European Empires as means of global control against free circulation, or useless and weak political systems, especially considering the influence that empires will have in subsequent periods in the formulation of cosmopolitan European utopias?



Vikas Rathee (University of Arizona):

"A Case of Cosmopolitan Particularism: The Laldas *Bitak* and Mahamati Pran-nath's Journeys to Eminent Places and Persons of the Late-Seventeenth Century"

The *Bitak* (from Sans., *vritra*, to occur) of Laldas is an account of the life of Mehraj Thakur (1618 – 1703), or Mahamati Pran-nath, in 4473 chaupais (quatrains). The Mahamati succeeded Sri Devchandra (d.1655) as the head of the Pranami (a.k.a. Nijanandi) sect of Saurashtra, and helped it gain presence across North India. The *Bitak* is the second most important Pranami text after the *Kuljam Swaroop*, a.k.a *Tartam Sagar* and *Kuljam Sharif*, serially revealed to the Mahamati over the nocturnal parts of the late-seventeenth century. Both, the *Bitak* and the *Kuljam Swarup*, partake in the idioms of Ismailism and Krishna *bhakti*. The *Bitak* bestows upon the Mahamati, the titles of Imam Mahdi and the Nishkalank Avatar (better known as Kalki), amongst others. Written soon after the death of the Mahamati, the *Bitak* tells us about the Mahamati's spiritual quest which took him to places like Burhanpur, Baghdad, Bandar Abbas, Muscat, Delhi, Mathura and Hardwar. The *Bitak* reports that on his mission to spread his message, the Mahamati met a range of politically powerful people in late-seventeenth century India including the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, Chhatarsal Bundela of Panna and others. Panna, the Bundela capital, became a major Pranami site during the reign of Aurangzeb, and continues to be so today.

This paper considers whether the Mahamati lived a cosmopolitan life, and explores what constitutes cosmopolitanism. It looks at the *Bitak* of Laldas to locate the networks and worldviews, which made such diverse journeys and interactions possible for the Mahamati. Does breaking the Hindu-Muslim binary as a pilgrim or as a spiritual guru make the Mahamati cosmopolitan in the religious sense? Does visiting the Mughal, Sisodiya and Bundela capitals make the Mahamati cosmopolitan in the political sense? Was doing all of the above mutually inclusive or exclusive in the Mahamati's worldview, and what was cosmopolitan about such a worldview?







Istvan Perczel (Central European University):

"Arabian Sea Cosmopolitanism: a Way of Life for the Saint Thomas Christians and their West Asian Interlocutors"

The origins of the Saint Thomas Christian community are quite obscure. According to their founding traditions they are descendants of indigenous groups converted in Apostolic times and of Syrian traders who intermarried with the former. Be this as it may, all their life has been determined, throughout history, by a double identity, that is, their Indian-ness on the one hand, given the fact that they constituted and still constitute two endogamous Indian castes *(jati)*, and their transnational Syrian Christian identity that links them to West Asia. With the European colonial conquest of India a third layer was also added to this: a complex interaction with the European colonisers and missionaries. My talk will present some individual cases for this triple context: Cosmopolitan Indian Christians who made full use of this complex situation and also, some little-known "cosmopolitans", namely Syrian prelates and priests (Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean, Syrian Catholic) who came to Kerala in order to create or to renew the links, jurisdictions, but also trade connections, between the Middle Eastern mother churches and the Kerala Christians, or to pursue their own, adventurous, aims.

My case studies will be, first, Joseph the Indian, a parish priest in Kodungallur/Cranganore, who was perhaps the first Indian in early modern times to explore both the Middle East and Europe. He was a member of an Indian delegation visiting the Nestorian Catholicos Patriarch in Gazarta, in the year 1490, asking him to send a bishop to India. There he was consecrated to the priesthood, together with George Pakalomattam, who was going to become the Archdeacon of All India in 1502. In the year 1500, Joseph also went to Europe on the ship of Pedro Alvares Cabral, had interviews with Manuel I, King of Portugal and with Pope Alexander VI, before returning to India and acting as one of the principal opponents to the Portuguese attempts at the Latinisation of the Indian Church. A later famous Indian mission to Europe was that of Joseph Kariatty and Thomas Paramakkal in 1779, whose story has been told by Thomas Paramakkal in his famous travelogue, the Vartamanam Pustakam. Interestingly, after this mission, Thomas Paramakkal became the Governor of the Malabar Catholic Church and the main opponent to the Latin bishops, sending several secret envoys to Rabban Hormizd Monastery in Northern Iraq in order to restore the Chaldean jurisdiction in India, missions whose documents, written in Syriac and Malayalam, have been recently found.

On the other side I will present some Syrian prelates who came to India in early modern times: first four Nestorian bishops, Mar Yahballaha, Mar Thomas, Mar Jacob and Mar Denkha, who came to India in 1503, witnessed the Portuguese conquests and sent a report on these to their Patriarch. One of them, Mar Denkha, stayed in the church of Kadamattam, presently a Jacobite Church, and is venerated there by the Syrian Orthodox as Mar Abba (Holy Father). However, he is also reputed, according to some newly found Malayalam documents, to have been the introducer of magic into Kerala and the teacher of the famous magician, reported in fairy tales, called Kadamattam Kattanar. I will also evoke the memory of the Syrian missionaries coming after the famous Synod of Diamper (1599), first Mar Atallah, whose visit in 1653 provoked the Coonan Cross Revolt but who proves to be a Syrian Catholic, then, Mor Gregorios Abd al-Jaleel, Mor Baselios Yaldo and Mor Iyovannis Hidayat Allah, who introduced the Syrian Orthodox faith into India, but also a mysterious Mar Andraios Bawa, who resided in Kallada and is venerated there as a Syrian Orthodox saint but who, according to some newly found Syriac documents and also to European testimonies, was, in fact, a Syrian Catholic priest and adventurer who very successfully fooled his Indian hosts, pretending to be a Jacobite Patriarch. I will also speak about Mar Shem'on of Ada, a Nestorian bishop and adventurer who, in 1702, came to India claiming to be a Chaldean bishop, was arrested by the Portuguese, was used by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to consecrate the first non-Padroado Vicar Apostolic, but was, then, confined to home detention until his death, and also Mar Gabriel, another Nestorian bishop who came to India in 1704, pretended to have been sent by the Pope, seceded communities both from the Catholics and the Syrian Orthodox, and ended his life in 1732 in Kottayam, where he is buried, without any sign or commemoration, in the Indian Orthodox church of Cheriyapally.





Paul Wormser (Inalco, Paris):

"Reading or living cosmopolitanism:
the paradoxical experience of Nuruddin ar-Raniri across the 17th century Indian Ocean"

Nuruddin ar-Raniri, a Muslim scholar born in a Hadrami family living in Gujarat at the turn of the 17th century, traveled widely across the Indian Ocean. Born in India, he completed his religious education in the Holy Cities of Arabia in the 1620's. He became the main religious adviser of the sultanate of Aceh (present-day Indonesia) and the most prolific writer of classical Malay in the 1640's. We will see in our presentation that his cosmopolitan experiences almost never appear in his numerous books. Although he does at times describe the world as he sees it, the picture that emerges from his writings is closer to the classical Arabic geography of the 10th to 12th century than to the universe he was really living in. How could such a well-traveled man remain so parochial? Why does the past situation of his community seem so different than the experience of the outward-looking Hadrami diasporas of present-day India and Indonesia? We will try to figure out what this particular case-study can tell us about the limits of cosmopolitanism in 17th century South Asia.

Rencontres cosmopolites et réseaux d'information



Jorge Flores (European University Institute, Florence):

"How Cosmopolitan were the Hindu Interpreters of Early Modern Goa?"

This paper deals with a family of Shenvi Brahamins who worked for the Portuguese in Goa throughout the seventeenth century as chief interpreters (línguas do Estado) and "translators of Persian writing" (trasladadores da língua pársia). They belonged to a subgroup of Saraswat Brahmins of the Konkan region who, as members of a larger secretarial class dominating the bureaucratic life of Peninsular India, have consequently specialized in administrative tasks and politico-diplomatic functions. As many other of their contemporaries, the Shenvi Brahmins managed to explore available job opportunities offered by the different states of the Deccan. The Portuguese and Catholic capital-city of the Estado da Índia represented just another market where these "Transcultural political elites" (Wagoner) could make a living and a career.

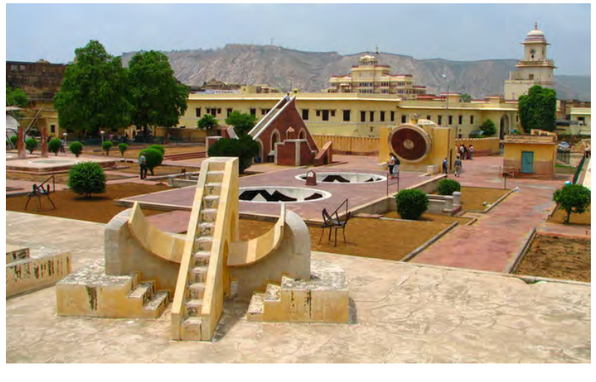
My work seeks to explore the profile of this family in close connection to the overall debate on what may have meant to be cosmopolitan in early modern South Asia. I am particularly interested in discussing the exchange of correspondence between Ajju Nayak and his son-in-law Khrisna Shenvi (living in Goa) with Dom Francisco da Gama and his son Dom Vasco Luís da Gama (back in Lisbon) during the first half of the seventeenth century.



Dhruv Raina (Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi):

"Circulation and Cosmopolitanism in 18th Century Jaipur:
The Workshop of Jyotishis, Nujumi and Jesuit Astronomers"

Ironically enough the huge and impossible masonry astronomical and architectural projects that the 18th century astronomer king Jai Singh embarked on would be easier perhaps to understand in the age of Big Science. However, the project finds its place among several other monumental projects of the 18th century. Many other gargantuan projects extended over centuries. In the history of the so called modern sciences the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries are particularly marked by the circulation of artefacts, objects, specimens, data, textual collections and more importantly individuals – at one level it becomes impossible to speak of this circulation without engaging with this cosmopolitanism of things and peoples. However, in this talk I shall attempt to situate a much discussed "cosmopolitan encounter" between French and Bavarian astronomers with the astronomers in the court of Jai Singh, charting out the entangled nature of this engagement with a variety of objects, knowledge forms and practices. In doing so it will be seen that the term cosmopolitan science, astronomy or medicine acquires different meanings in the practice of historians of science especially in engaging with epochs preceding our own.





Sumit Guha (Rutgers University):

"Westerners and knowledge of the West at the Maratha courts c.1670-1820"

Even though Chatrapati Shivaji (1630-1680) had a long series of political and military dealings with European powers, both the French and the English knew little of the Marathas at the beginning of the eighteenth century and some remarkable misconceptions are to be found in both the Madura Mission documents and early English accounts of India.

It is only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the two sides began to actively collect information on each other. This paper will look at what they learned and how they learned it by looking at Europeans presenting themselves at the Pune (Poona) Court such as the famous St. Lubin but also of men such as the portraitist James Wales and the surgeon Thomas Coats who published Marathi pamphlet advocating vaccination in 1813. It will also look at what Nana Phadnis' famously efficient intelligence service could gather about English institutions and politics via the dispatches preserved in their records.

Le cosmopolitisme mis en scène

Ananaya Chakravarti (University of Chicago):

"The Coffee-House of God: Conversation, Cosmopolitanism and Religious Dialogue"

In the preface to their volume on cosmopolitanism, published as the fourth part of Public Culture's Millenium Quartet, Pollock et al. insist upon the indeterminacy of the concept as essential to it, either as the horizon of political practice or as the object of academic analysis. Thus, "as a historical category, the cosmopolitan should be considered entirely open, and not pregiven or foreclosed by the definition of any particular society or discourse. Its various embodiments, including past embodiments, await discovery and explication." As this insightful resistance to definition suggests, the historian of cosmopolitanism is led to some extent by the same principle as Justice Stewart in his sweeping diagnosis of obscenity: one recognizes the cosmopolitan when one sees (or rather, hears) it. Still, in debates surrounding this topic— whether popular, academic, or political— one of the few recurring signs of the cosmopolitan, recognized with broad consensus as such, is conversation. Kwame Appiah, for example, begins his work on cosmopolitanism as an ethical practice with a chapter entitled, "Making conversation." (Synonyms and cognates abound in this discourse identifying cross-cultural talk and cosmopolitanism but conversation is useful shorthand.) Cosmopolitanism thrives in the coffee house, in courtly *mehfils,* in the dinner parties of diplomats, in inter-faith debates and academic seminars. The greater the number of languages, the more varied the speakers, the more one hears, rising above the gaggle of talk, the pleasing hum of cosmopolitanism.

Undoubtedly, my description is exaggerated if not downright parodic. Yet, given the prevalence of this discourse, it may be useful to ask: are all kinds of cross-cultural talk created equal? In this paper, I will consider two dialogic texts in Marathi from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century: the Vārkarī saint Eknath's famous *bhārūḍ, Hindu-Turk Saṁvād*, and the English Jesuit, Thomas Stephens' *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo*, or the *Kristapurāṇa*. By considering the ways in which these two texts stage inter-religious dialogue, I hope to explore how conversation and silence may and may not be read as signs of the cosmopolitan.





Paolo Aranha (Warburg Institute, London):

"*Vulgaris seu universalis:* Early modern missionary representations of an Indian cosmopolitan space"

In 1703 the French Capuchin Francois-Marie de Tours († 1709) presented to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome a manuscript copy of a *Grammatica Linguæ Indianæ Vulgaris sive Mogolanæ*, as well as a *Thesaurus Linguæ Indianæ seu Mogolanæ* and a *Dictionarium Indo-latinum*. In the preface to his *Grammatica*, that I have elsewhere demonstrated to be the first grammar of the Hindustānī language ever composed using the devanāgarī script, Fr. Francois-Marie distinguished three different types of languages spoken in India. First, there was Sanskrit, the *lingua scientifica* used primarily by the Brahmans for those scholarly and religious purposes that were pursued in Europe by the means of Latin. Secondly, each region of India had its own *lingua gentilitia*, whose main character was precisely its limited geographic diffusion. Finally, there was a *lingua vulgaris seu universalis* that was spoken throughout the Mughal Empire, its neighbouring regions and the vast coastal areas of all India. Francois-Marie de Tours had come to Rome to plead Propaganda Fide's favour in a series of disputes erupted between the Capuchin and the Jesuit missionaries to India. The latter had gained a well established reputation of competence and effectiveness also thanks to their widely publicized skills in both Sanskrit and the various regional languages of India, that made them possible to convert Brahmans and to preach to each Indian ethnic group in their own native language. The Capuchin envoy tried to convince Propaganda Fide that, rather than focusing on the *lingua scientifica* and the various *linguæ gentilitiæ*, it was more convenient to train the missionaries in Hindustānī, the *lingua universalis* spoken and understood by everyone in India. Fr. Francois-Marie sought to promote a missionary niche where the Capuchins could claim a comparative advantage over the Jesuits. In order to make their case, the friars prospected a new space of evangelization, extended primarily along the Indian coastlines, from Surat to Bengal, passing through Pondichery and Madras. A firm command of the *lingua universalis* and the mobility ensured by an ever expanding maritime connectivity would allow the development of a truly cosmopolitan Indian Christianity, including different ethnic groups and castes.

If previous studies on early modern Christianity in India have focused mainly on missionary endeavours undertaken in specific regions of the subcontinent, with my paper I would like to explore a different geographical and cultural space, that can be characterised as "vulgar", universal, Indian and cosmopolitan. I argue that such a space was not only a rhetorical constructions built up to justify Francois-Marie de Tours' linguistic endeavour, but a concrete field of spiritual energies flowing along the Indian coast, extending within the Mughal Empire and spilling out into neighbouring regions such as Tibet and Burma. This was a cosmopolitan and universal space not only for its pan-Indian nature, but also because it was the stage of multiple inter-cultural and interreligious encounters taking place also in various European trading settlements. Finally, such a space was "vulgar" in a sense that was not subject to well-defined cultural hierarchies. Before the time of Francois-Marie the *Lingua Mogolana* -as far as it is known now- had not yet been standardized in grammars and dictionaries: it had not been subjugated by norms and prescriptions. While this Indian "vulgar" cosmopolis was a fluid cultural space, it also constituted a field where social and physical mobility articulated instances of subaltern agency and challenged those caste hierarchies that elsewhere where able to become real social dynamics and not mere representations of hegemonic dreams.





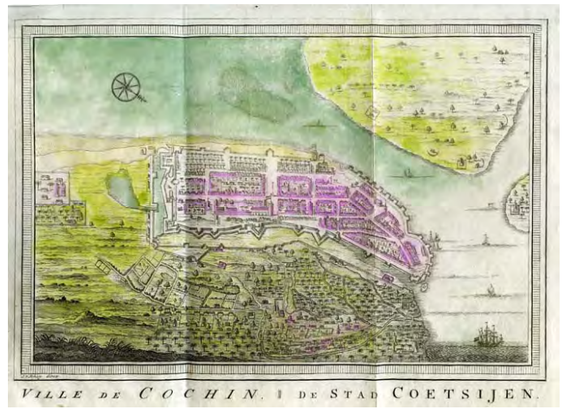
Cosmopolitisme et entreprise coloniale

Jos Gommans (Leiden University):

"Early Modern Dutch Cosmopolitanism in South Asia: The Case of Cochin"

Early Modern Dutch involvement with South Asia has mostly been analyzed from the economic perspective of the Dutch East India Company. Hence the archetype of a gradually pacified merchant-warrior still pervades colonial and Indian Ocean historiography. At the same time, though, during the last two decades Dutch encounters with societies in other parts of the world, have given rise to whole range of alternative characterizations ranging from Dutch tolerance in Brazil and New Amsterdam to Dutch ethnical cleansing in the Moluccas. In the context of these contradictory evaluations, this paper will attempt to make a case for early-modern Dutch cosmopolitanism in South Asia. It will reassess the meaning of the concept of cosmopolitanism not only by raising the question of what makes it so 'Dutch', but also by asking what makes it particularly 'early-modern' or 'South Asian'. These issues will be addressed by taking the 'cosmopolitan' world of Dutch Cochin and its commander Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691) as a case in point.





Claude Markovits (CEIAS, CNRS/EHESS):

"Armed cosmopolitans: Indian sepoys and their travels in the service of the East India Company (1762-1801)"

While Indian merchants and literati had been engaged for centuries in wide-ranging circulations which took them to various destinations widely spread out between Russia, Africa and China, it was not very common, prior to the mid-18th century, for "ordinary" Indians to travel much beyond the limits of the sub-continent and the neighbouring island of Ceylon. One category of those "ordinary" Indians who became exposed in a sudden way to foreign travel in the second half of the 18th century were the sepoys of the armies of the East India Company. From 1762 onwards, they were enrolled in a series of expeditions which took them to unfamiliar parts of the world. The question the paper asks and attempts to answer is whether those displacements generated forms of "cosmopolitanism from below" that might have escaped the attention of scholars, more preoccupied with the tribulations and rationalizations of the literati.

The paper firstly looks at the representations entertained by the Company authorities of the propensity of Indian soldiers to serve outside India. These were informed by very definite views of the inadaptability of the body of the sepoys to transplantation beyond the seas. "Kala pani" became a trope and a signifier of the profound reluctance of the sepoys to cross the oceans. Based on a slight misreading of the meaning of the famous interdict on the crossing of the oceans, this discourse gave central place to the question of food. Indians needed to have their specific food, and particularly their ghee to be able to survive outside India, and providing it to troops in foreign locations, in spite of being sometimes a logistical nightmare, became an imperative for the military authorities.

This denial of even the possibility of forms of cosmopolitanism developing amongst Indian sepoys because of the nature and constitution of their bodies will be the point of departure of our attempt to retrieve a cosmopolitan dimension to the travels of the sepoys. Although it is not a method that we feel particularly attracted to, we shall have to read official sources "against the grain" to try to tease out the possibility of another reading of the sepoys' behaviour. Since we do not have sources originating from the sepoys themselves giving an account of their travels, we shall have to use indirect evidence to argue our case. This evidence is that of the development of new types of habitus amongst travelling sepoys regarding food and relationships, as well as the role of economic and other incentives on the part of the authorities to incite the soldiers to accept travelling far away from their homes and their families.

Although we shall not arrive at a definitive conclusion regarding the positive existence of forms of cosmopolitanism from below, we shall be able at least to raise the possibility of such behavioural and attitudinal shift.



