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## COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS :

### A SEMINAR

A seminar was held at Palo Alto, Stanford, U. S. A., in the first half of 1958 on the comparative study of civilizations. One of the papers read at the seminar has already been published under the title 'East and West in Bengal' in *Man in India*, Vol. 38, No. 3. A discussion followed the reading of that paper in which Professors A. L. Kroeber, Robert Redfield and others participated. The discussion is being presented in the following pages.

### DISCUSSION

March 10, 1958

CHAIRMAN : ROBERT REDFIELD

SINGER : One thing that struck me in this picture of the interaction of East and West in Bengal is the extent to which a very similar picture, except for some details, would hold for Madras - another point of entry for the East India Company. But I want to dwell more on the general and very interesting perspective which Prof. Bose's approach gives us on the problem of the characterization and comparison of civilizations. Here for the the first time, though it has come up implicitly in other papers, particularly in Mr. Wright's, we have

the proposition advanced with cogency that what a civilization appears to be, at least to its members, is to a large extent dependent on a situation of interaction with other civilizations. A proposition which in American sociology and in the Harry Stack Sullivan type of psychiatry would be reformulated to say that the self-image that a people form depends to a large extent on the interaction of their self-image with the image they think others have of them. It seems to me this is very important, and I think this is, in our discussions, a new way of looking at civilizational identity, and a very fluid way because it enables us to analyze how this image has changed over several hundred years.

I would like to propose another type of consideration within this approach. Among the examples of specific changes induced in the self-image, we might try to separate a number of different kinds of influences and reactions. Your first example of how Chaitanya, the religious devotional saint, leading a kind of resistance movement insisting on the right to sing Hindu hymns in processions, became itself a symbol of Hinduism, is largely a kind of reaction of negation—elements of the image were formed in terms of what the foreign power prohibited. A very different kind of influence is represented by the influence of English education, where the English may have dragged their feet in the beginning but in the end were glad to teach English—this is a more positive relationship. The development of the new middle class composed of the leading elements of the different castes that came from the villages represents still a different kind of interaction—largely impersonal, unplanned, determined by self-seeking motives of the different groups, and not anticipated. And finally a fourth class of influences, where some self-conscious ideals or ideology, like 'liberty, equality and fraternity,' or a universal code of laws, is applied to a situation which is different from

the European one so that the result is different although it has a superficial type of resemblance. These different kinds of results of the interaction of East and West in Bengal crossed my mind as you were speaking, and it might be useful to analyse this interaction along these different lines.

I want to add one little point. About the printing press and other technical innovations, one is struck in India by the fact that the most conservative and orthodox were the first to make use of these inventions. Nowadays it is the radio, the films, etc. At one of the biggest shrine centres in India, these songs are recorded on tape which people can buy, take home and play over and over. The stereotypes of the orthodox religious person resisting technical innovations has to be revised. It suggests the question whether the orthodox Indians were not thinking of these instruments purely as technical instruments, as techniques of communication that should be used for chants and religious forms, etc.

HANSEN: I was particularly interested in two things which are of comparative interest: (1) What you said about the old villages, as old as the 17th century, as very highly developed and as cultural entities. I was surprised to know about the existence of a village poet and village teachers in rural communities at such an early time. A complex problem is to get to know how these complex entities were disintegrated over time in connection with the new relations with the outside world. (2) The other is, what happened when people moved from villages to towns; in what respect did the immigrants to the towns keep their relations with the village or cut these relations? It would be interesting to hear something about that. What you have said comes to something like not only the disintegration of the old system, but a new kind of inter-local interaction through migration and the rise of a new middle class in the towns. I would also like to know

how the new immigrants to the towns reacted to the new environment. Do we find anything like new religious movements or new kinds of associations growing up as the people in the towns lost their relations with the old villages ?

BOSE : Village self-sufficiency was never 100%, as far back as we can reach. There was no village and no small territory within which all the needs of the local community could be satisfied. In some things like food, clothing, houses, etc., yes. When it came to metals, most villages had to look abroad. It was also the same with regard to cultural activities.

With regard to payments, let us take the case of education. Schoolmasters were paid in two ways ; land was set apart for their maintenance by villagers and some share-cropper would work the land for them. And then in every social ceremony like marriage, initiation or the sacred thread ceremony, the village schoolmaster was invited and paid a traditional gift which might consist of a piece of cloth and 4 annas. Payments were made by every household to support the person. Occasionally the landlord might take charge of the entire family and supply its needs. It was the same in respect of artisans, like carpenters, potters and blacksmiths (though not weavers). They were paid in the traditional manner by a share of grain, or land was assigned to them in return for which they had to supply the farmers with such needs as earthen pots and pans, etc.

With the growth of cities, some of the artisan castes lost their occupation. One that suffered most was the Chamar, the village tanner. Formerly his payment was of a special kind ; he had to supply his clients with one pair of shoes or slippers (depending on the part of India) for every adult in the household ; in return, every cow that died belonged to him and he tanned the skin. Under the influence of cities,

trade developed in hides and skins. Mussulman merchants went to villages and employed Chamars to gather hides of dead cattle ; or the farmer himself sold dead cattle to merchants for cash, when the latter had them processed for export as well as for city trade. So, ultimately, the Chamar lost his supply of raw materials in the village, and had to turn to a different occupation. The one to which he usually drifted was landless agricultural labour. This occupation has increased at a rapid rate. This is one way in which economic self-sufficiency has been broken down.

A second way was that land changed hands. Farmers who could not carry on would sell land to a neighbour or someone who came from somewhere else. And the new people who came into the villages after railways were built were not subject to the rules of the village community as the old inhabitants had been. So the community, as such, gradually disappeared. (Cites example of a village in West Bengal where carpenters did poor, inefficient work but villagers had no choice but to patronize them—they had a monopoly. Then, when a town grew in the neighbourhood, some of its carpenters offered to work for the various villages around, travelling from one to the other by bicycle. The monopolistic village carpenter thus lost his job.)

Some occupations became bankrupt, some skills disappeared, and there was a reshuffling of occupations which were no longer subject to the old traditional codes. This was the important thing—the old codes didn't have a hold on the present inhabitants as they did formerly, except in respect of certain matters like caste, intermarriage, etc. But not with respect to prices. Other changes occurred with the movement from villages to towns. (Cites example of an old village in which a large number of blacksmiths had collected so that the village became an industrial village specializing in the making of cutlery which were sold through

seasonal fairs to customers coming from a very large surrounding area. When city-produced cutlery destroyed their trade, they took up the manufacture of brass ornaments—cheap imitations of gold ornaments. There is a whole village of blacksmiths in this trade who command a large market through Calcutta, an industrial village whose ties are not with the local area but with the distant capital.) Changes in traditional caste occupations have occurred—we tried to work out these changes in Calcutta. Let us take the case of a caste of agriculturalists specializing in raising betel vine leaves. According to the census of 1901, there were 94.96% of this caste in their traditional occupation; in 1911, only 61%; in 1921, 44%. They have become mainly labourers on land, day labourers.

WRIGHT: In the Chinese situation, comparable to the one you are describing, the Chinese came up with a formula by which they differentiated what was essentially Chinese—the uncompromising something—from that which was useful and could be adopted without damage to the core—the formula of *t'i* and *yung*, substance and function, root and branch, etc. I have heard it said, I don't remember where, that the Indians came up with a similar metaphor about a tree. Is that true, that they had some symbolic way of what was at the core of their civilization and about things that might be dispensable?

BOSE: I have not come across anything in the form of such a clear statement; but certainly in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century there was a restatement of Hinduism, or *Vedanta*—the idea which lies at the root of Hinduism.

REDFIELD: This is clearly something we shall want to consider in our second meeting, especially in the references of your paper as to the pluralistic truth of Hinduism, and then consider whether it is like or different from the notion of substance.

WRIGHT: In China, we found that by the middle of the century the missionaries were using the technology from the West as a selling point for Christianity. They had societies; one whose name I've always loved was, 'The Society for the Diffusion of Christianity and Useful Knowledge among the Chinese.' Did the missionaries in India introduce technical innovations and useful knowledge?

BOSE: No, not so much in towns or villages. They generally did not go beyond education and medical help—hospitals and schools. But in tribal areas they introduced arts and crafts, such as lace making, carpentry, agricultural skills, etc.

SINGER: In South India there was something similar to the Chinese situation—there was a Danish Christian society which had a similar name to the one mentioned by Wright.

WRIGHT: Many of the missionaries who came to China were from the artisan class in Europe and could provide very competent instruction in these fields.

March 13, 1958

CHAIRMAN: ROBERT REDFIELD

REDFIELD: I see some here today who I wish had been with us on Tuesday when Professor Bose led us on a journey into Bengal and dealt with the development of what we may call Bengali civilization since the beginning of the British period. One of the impressions staying strongly with me is the way in which the meeting of these elements of the civilizational life of these two peoples, India and England, produced a stimulation of traditional culture, at least in that part of India, as well as the importation of many elements from the West; and how out of this meeting there came about something one is tempted to describe as an efflorescence as well as

an intermingling. We were impressed by the way in which something at once pluralistic and yet unified was coming about. Today I think Professor Bose will continue the account of the history of this cultural life in the later period and then give us some suggestions as to how this can be analysed in terms of the interests of this seminar.

BOSE : On the last occasion, we dealt with some of the movements that took place in Bengal up to about the middle of the 19th century.

[ Reads the second part of his paper.]

The question now arises—when we look at these new combinations of culture, what is East and what is West? What is Bengali? The culture of Rammohan Roy, or the culture of Chaitanya, or that of the orthodox aristocrats? Or, that now discovered among the common people of the villages—the poor, low caste, and suppressed? Whose life is the real Bengali life? At different moments, under the stress of different moods, different elements have been selected from the totality of India's inheritance, and also elements from across the ocean. But when we look at the West as reflected in India, was that a true representation of Western culture? Today the choice of Auden, Spender, Joyce; yesterday of Ibsen, Tolstoy, etc. Were they representative of a totality, or did they fit into the mood of the people of Bengal for the time being and were therefore selected? As to Eastern culture, the culture of Bengal today is far removed from that of the middle 19th century and probably would not be recognized as Bengali civilization by those who lived in 18th century Bengal. They would say, it is all Western. Can we call it Bengali civilization just because historically there is continuity with the old civilization, or because it lies geographically in the same region?

There is probably one element, however, that has been more or less continuous. In spite of the fact that the Bengalis of the early 19th century tried to recast

Hinduism in terms of Islamic or Christian monotheism, there was one element that was perpetually Hindu all through. It came to the surface more clearly towards the latter part of the 19th century when Hinduism was rediscovered through the experiences of Ramakrishna and others. It is what they considered to be one of the fundamental values of Hinduism, namely, that truth is pluralistic. Gandhi used to say that no man can attain the fullness of truth ; that all experienced truth is relative. Therefore, if we take a stand on our truth there is no harm in accepting truth from other people, because every truth is a partial truth—truth belongs to the whole human family. Someone asked Gandhi : 'Do you want your windows to be closed to the winds of the world ?' And he answered, 'No, I want all my windows to be open, but I don't want myself to be blown off my feet by any of the winds. I want to take my stand on my own culture and accept the best from others. Mine is only one of many possible ways of living.' ( This is not an exact quotation, but a paraphrase of what he said.—N. K. B. )

This idea is continuous. It is evident in Rammohan Roy, in a more aggressive form in the Ramakrishna movement ; and the nationalist revolutionaries incorporated many elements from the West without hurting their own pride, because they accepted whatever was acceptable from any country. This idea of the pluralism of truth is continuous from the earliest times to the 19th century.

The old civilization, up to now, has thus kept one of its vital roots alive, which made it possible to stand on its own ground and yet absorb from others. According to what suited the mood, a selected West came into Bengal. Hindu civilization stood on its own, but tried to remodel itself in terms of the needs of modern life. So, both East and West were practically the creation of the people of Bengal. If they had been beaten in the nationalist movement, probably a new combination

would have resulted. As the needs of contemporary life have changed, the combination of East and West and the restatement of Eastern values has varied. Our aim should be to relate the outward framework of culture to the inner needs of man and to understand how they stand in relation to one another.

WRIGHT: I wonder if you can add another element to the importation of Western culture—that is accident. In China and Japan the strangest accidents accounted for the fact that one Western thinker gets through and another does not. Someone goes to France and brings a book back from Paris—that person perhaps picked up something from a counter that might not be as good as the book next to it, but it becomes very influential. This sort of thing makes the intellectual history of China and Japan very difficult to deal with.

BOSE: In the case of Bengal this has not happened for the simple reason that we did not select books. The books came into Bengal through the English schools and quite often through the influence of English teachers. The physical contact between Bengal and England was deep. There may have been elements of accident in terms of the preferences of teachers, as to what one particular teacher considered to be more important and necessary for Bengali students; but they were less influential than conscious attempts at incorporation from both directions. The English were, at the same time, introducing commerce, industry and political organization. And from the Bengalis there was acceptance of what suited their own needs.

KROEBER: One point, which is carrying over what you discussed last time in the beginning of your manuscript, on page 2, concerns self-sufficiency of communities like villages, and you made the point that self-sufficiency was never as great as has been alleged. Theoretically it is possible to have complete self-sufficiency, but I doubt whether it ever really could be except through catastrophe or complete physical insulation. Human

impulses are almost always against such insulation—always there are the enticements of new customs, rituals, festivals, outside—the pasture does not always look greener across the fence, but it often does and sometimes it is greener. So I think the point you made in regard to India is one that would apply to relatively wide areas—perhaps over the whole world. I am thinking of situations where we don't have a number of villages with a common dialect or language, but situations such as I have encountered in my ethnographic field work, where a language changes fundamentally over a few dozen miles, or changes in customs were intensive within 100 or 200 miles, as among the California Indians. There we find that in spite of these islands of languages and larger and vaguer islands of common culture, elements of culture are constantly seen to be borrowed from one another—a deep-seated human impulse manifested socially and culturally which does not relish the idea of complete self-sufficiency. There I am entirely with you and confirm, on a general basis, your point of view.

Another point I'd like to comment on is one you made toward the end of your manuscript. A theoretical point, that what is characteristic of any civilization is not its being, but its becoming. That I would agree with very firmly. Civilizations are, in their very nature, flows in time—currents that go along in time. One can of course make a cross-section, as of a moment of civilization, as of a house or of anything, and for certain purposes it is done. But whenever we do that, when we take a synchronic view of something of the nature of civilization, we should always remember that this is only a view that is valid for particular purposes or at a particular moment. But if we are aiming at the fundamental nature of the phenomena we call civilizations ultimately it is a diachronic one. It is of their nature that they don't stand still and as soon as they do their essence evaporates.

With regard to the relations of East and West, what struck me is that the influence of the West is not the way we in the West would tend to think of it naively as emanating from us—or the question of how far and how much we were the givers—but that the influence of the West on Bengal has been something in the nature of a catalysis. Of course there has been taking over, selectively, but along with that followed a stimulation of what was native, a building up again as a result of the influence of the foreign catalyst, going back to the past and strengthening what had decayed. And in the third place we have the development of a native element along new lines and new constellations or patterns. Some of them would be syncretic—the native and the imported, the Indian and the Western—like the Brahma Samaj, but in which these syncretisms served a function for part of the society for a while, but not permanently. And in general I think this is likely to be the fate of that which is avowedly and consciously syncretistic. I use ‘syncretistic’ not as another way of saying ‘selective’, but rather as contrast with selectivity. What you made clear, it seemed to me, was that more and more the question of what should be taken over or revived from the past, or what existing Bengali patterns were to be insisted upon or emphasized, all gradually became submerged in the rising tide of nationalism which overpowered them—they became subordinate.

That raises a question in my mind—you more or less answered it—it seems quite evident that it was felt more important to the population of Bengal that nationalism be first achieved than that this or that element of cultural content developed. That raises the question of what happens once nationalism is achieved. Then you still have the problem of what are you going to be nationalistic about—you cannot fill your life permanently with nationalism. It would be like having fire-crackers and Fourth of July every day in the year. You finally gave the answer that the first principle in the content

of the altered civilization was pluralistic. That is a principle with which I have great sympathy, both personally and as an anthropologist who grew up in the doctrine of relativism. But again it seems to me an instrumental principle ; at any rate, in anthropology the relativism or pluralism of anthropology has disconcerted a great many people because they feel that if truth is relative, one thing is as good as another, therefore there is no truth. And it leads to a frustrated or nihilistic attitude. I don't think it has made many anthropologists feel that way, but they have been accused of leading others to it. I think where it has been true, there is something the matter with the people who became nihilistically frustrated, not with the doctrine. But the relativistic stage is only a stage in the becoming. What there is to be, maybe you don't know or don't want to say—perhaps it is better to wait and see. And the results will probably be different in India—I hope that will be true. If all the people in the world were joined and made one gene pool, we would have no variation and the species would be in danger of being limited. I think in the same way about civilizations as a parallel situation.

**BEN-DAVID :** You described nationalism as having replaced religion, or having become a religion fulfilling the same functions. I suppose it can become the religion of some selected few, but not of the masses or of the population as a whole. I wonder if there was not opposition against this secular religion from the orthodox, and whether the nationalists were content to stop with nationalism themselves, or whether they regarded themselves as reformers who would like to destroy actively all orthodox religion in order to create something like a modern nation where there are no fetters of ritual, etc. The second thing, you said something about it, but I wonder if you could be more explicit on this—what has happened since independence? Nationalism, from our own experience, is a

wonderful religion as long as you have an oppressor. But as soon as the oppressor departs, it very often is not enough of a religion. That is, certain phenomena which could not be accepted during the period of conflict because it would have meant identification with the enemy, become accepted without onus after the conflict has ceased. Has there been, since independence, a kind of development which would involve a more complete acceptance of, let us say, English culture and less concern about whether we are still Hindu or not ?

BOSE : The first question, as I understand it, is how do the nationalists stand in relation to orthodox people ? In Bengal, they staked their lives ; even when it was a non-violent movement it meant taking risks which quite often led from jail to being shot. Nationalism was not merely expressing itself in literature, but in activity involving great risks, and therefore even the orthodox would hesitate to say anything against these people because their heroism protected them against hostile criticism. Some of the orthodox people swung over to this side through the example of this heroism. There was no opposition from them, although they did not often agree. They didn't dare oppose.

To the question, what has happened after independence ? The only answer is that nationalists have been thrown out of employment, these enthusiastic heroes of yesterday. When asked to take an administrative responsibility, they say, 'We are race horses ; do not harness us to a bullock cart ; let us retire.' But now there is a new kind of fight against poverty ; in the same way, William James wanted us to stop fighting against one another, but to fight against nature. There is work enough in India today for enthusiastic people. But let me confess, on the whole, it is a sorry spectacle which confronts one in many cases.

With regard to the question of attitude towards the West, I believe, after independence there is a new surge towards acceptance of the West. The technological advance of the West attracts India towards itself, and India suffers from miserable poverty. Formerly one could place all the blame upon British rule, and try to become 'nationalistic'; but now, when the situation is different, there is a rising tide of westernism, particularly in parts of India which had lagged behind.

HANSEN: I have a series of historically oriented questions, starting with 17th century villages which fascinate me. Regarding barter and trade of these highly differentiated villages, it seems improbable that so many artisans in one village could have produced both for the local village market and for distant markets, and I wonder what is known about this? Also, we must consider the position of the different strata in the village, where the peasants must have been more self-sufficient relying on local resources, whereas the artisans must have moved around in wider circles. It doesn't seem probable that one village could produce many different artisans, but rather that the education of artisans must have taken place in a wider circle than the local village. Here also enters another problem—the geographical distribution of different castes which may have been different for differently specialized castes. It is also a comparative problem: if we have villages with many different artisans, what is the definition of a village and what was a town? The kinds of villages I hear about from India in the 17th century would have been called towns in Sweden of the same time. Was the difference from an economic point of view, or was it only a juridical difference? The Bhakti movement of the 15th and 16th centuries has been said to be carried by the village and town artisans and merchants, rather than the peasantry. It is not clear to me how one explains the decay of

these specialized villages after the beginning of the 18th century. In other parts of the world we have more of a continuous rise in the division of labour in both villages and in towns, and in spite of the fact that there were more relations between villages and towns in the 18th century in Scandinavia, we have more artisans in the village at the same time as a growing specialization of the town. They worked at different levels for different markets, but one wonders if this discontinuous rise of villages in India—I mean the impoverishment of the villages, had something to do with things like the East India Company and the economic relations with the West. I would also be interested to hear your position on the question of how the East India Company and relations with England affected the Indian economy of the 18th and 19th centuries. What you told us last time was how Hinduism was positively affected by the contacts with the West. On the other hand, we have this problem of the villages which changed for the worse. Do you think that has anything to do with the economic relations with the West ?

BOSE: With regard to village self-sufficiency: in the 16th, or even the 15th centuries, we don't really get any completely self-sufficient villages, as Professor Kroeber has pointed out. In some matters, yes; in others, no. For food there was a small ring, for marriage, a large one, for cloth, still another circle, and so on. The village always had its fingers stretched in all directions across its own geographical boundary, except under catastrophe, as Professor Kroeber has indicated.

As to the question, what were the different classes of artisans. Practically every long-established village had a complement of certain artisans—usually carpenters, blacksmiths, potters if the right clay was available, plus some who were not artisans—an astrologer, a schoolmaster. If a village was broken down in the sense that there were too few people there,

the carpenters and blacksmiths would be the first to leave. In some places in India we find market villages in which trade is mainly carried on. Certain others can even be called industrial villages; still others are really colleges—an old temple and pilgrimage centre with many Brahman pundits, i.e. sacred villages. In addition to such special kinds of villages and artisans, the fairs brought people together for exchange of goods with an abundant use of money. For example, brass workers worked nearly all through the year producing their wares and then went from fair to fair with them. People came to these fairs from all over the country. In some parts of the country, blacksmiths became itinerant.

WAGLEY: I just wanted to say how much I was stimulated by Professor Bose's paper and that he has in a way stimulated me to be bothered, because two weeks ago, I reported to this seminar and stressed the continuity and persistence in an essentially European culture in the New World, namely, Brazil. I think I used the terms 'remarkable persistence of ideal patterns and values'. Now you stress the multiplicity and change. This leads me to wonder—I know so little about India and about Bengal in particular—is this distinctive of India or is it distinctive of Bengal? And is it limited to particular social segments of the population, or does it filter down beyond the intellectuals?

BOSE: If we compare Bengal with the rest of India, Bengal has gone through certain special changes. At one time, the focal point of India was in the middle Ganges valley—a region always looked upon as the most sacred place for Brahmans—and at that time Bengal was on the outskirts or fringe and so open to influences from all around. Even in Vedic times, Bengal was looked upon as a kind of place that was so unholy that if a real holy Brahman went there, he had to undergo penance. It was also a place where people 'chattered like birds'. When the English came by sea and settled

in Calcutta, Bengal became the focal point of the new influence and its whole position was reversed. This extreme knocking about has led to a kind of fluidity which is not shared by every part of India ; it is true to a lesser extent of Madras, but whose economy was not broken down to the same extent and so it did not go through the same economic destitution as Bengal. After the Battle of Plassey a large amount of tribute was collected for export, and in 1770 was the worst famine. After this, Bengal's economy was completely remodelled and switched over to commercial cultivation—like jute and indigo—which did not take place in Bombay or Madras or the central Ganges plain. So this might be called a historical accident—that the Westerners came by way of the sea, and Bengal that had been peripheral became central.

MANDELBAUM : My question has to do with the two terms Bengali civilization or culture, and Indic civilization and culture, and my question is two-fold : (1) All of us now having suddenly become Bengalis ; under what circumstances do we think of ourselves as participants in Bengali culture, and (2) Under what circumstances do we think of ourselves as operating with the Indic culture ?

BOSE : As far as we can trace the history of Bengali culture, we find elements which were non-Brahmanical or non-Vedic. At least as early as the 13th century we find clearly in the literature of Bengal a deep element of humanism, in striking contrast with Brahmanism with its emphasis on ritualism. Crudely stated, in Brahmanism the gods are great like emperors and must be worshipped and one must subordinate oneself to them. The temples of India are roughly of two kinds—in North India the temples were built as images of the human body and the different parts of temples have names corresponding to parts of the human body. The idea is that just as the human body has a soul, so the temple enshrines the soul which is the image in the

sanctum. In Bengal we had the same gods and goddesses which we imported from the Middle Ganges plain, but we converted them into domestic people like ourselves. And the temples we built were houses for the gods to live in. From the 15th and 16th century onwards, the Bengali temple is a dwelling house like that of the ordinary villagers except that it is made of stone or brick. There is a slant in Bengali culture which marks it as something distinct from the rest. One of the 13th century poets sang, 'Oh, my brother, man, listen to me. Above everything else, it is man who exists as the highest truth and beyond that there is no other truth.' He was recording a tradition that goes back at least to the 8th and 9th centuries when it was stated in the early songs of Buddhism that instead of seeking for a God who lives elsewhere, why not seek Him within man? The apotheosis of the human body—this is what happened to God in Bengal. But the laws to which we subjected ourselves were Brahmanical, the caste system was Brahmanical, the entire organization of economy was common to Bengal and the rest of India. When it came to thought and literature, there was a slight slant in a different direction. A great Sanskrit pundit, Haraprasad Sastri, an orthodox Brahman, said that the eastern portion of India had always been outlandish—non-conformist—giving rise to religions like Buddhism and Jainism. He made a list of eighteen items or 'glories' belonging to Bengal and the entire eastern zone. Also there were certain customs in the eastern zone of India for which no authority could be found in the Vedas. So, when the law-makers or pundits, in discussing certain ceremonial matters, could not discover such authority, it was usual to say, the authority for that particular custom must have been lost, as parts of the Vedas were known to have been lost. (Redfield asks Mandelbaum if he wants to continue with the second part of his question and Mandelbaum says it has been answered.)

WRIGHT: I was struck by the fact that some of the same things obtain in China under the impact of the West. The foreigners came to the fringe of Chinese civilization and the Northerners said of the Southerners the same thing exactly—that their speech was ‘chattering of birds’. Also these peripheral people were more malleable and flexible, and I think we could do some very interesting comparisons between them.

REDFIELD: As I look at these materials from Bengal and ask what do they tell me about this civilization, if it is a civilization or a strand thereof, three or four considerations come to my mind. This of course is a mixed civilization, and a recent mixture, and among other civilizations of recent mixture it is a fairly balanced mixture. The two civilizations met, and they met in their major components, each ingredient being massively opposed to the other. In Latin America, we find something different: American Indian civilization, as it has been said, we decapitated. In this case, and this follows from the first session, what we have been presented today was a meeting of the elements of the two civilizations through the educated minds of both. They meet, and more by meeting the books of one another in which the good minds of each were recorded, and also in which not only the books of the other but of their own were recorded. It is this character of the mixture which gives the situation, for me, its extraordinarily original and interesting character. This leads to the importance of the considered and reframed idea in the course of the redevelopment of the civilization, if it was a civilization. What we have heard about are not just elements of custom and ideas moving around, but men worrying about what they were thinking about and trying to rethink it in some other direction. It was this more reflective aspect that mattered.

My third observation is my extension of Dr. Kroeber's acceptance of Professor Bose's characterization of this civilization, and perhaps all civilizations, as a

becoming and not as a being. Dr. Kroeber thought of this, I believe, as things going on through time. This I accept at once—that you understand civilizations better, if you can get the information, if you see them through time. But if I read Professor Bose correctly, he meant something more than that, for in the same passage he uses the word ‘aspiration’. As a formidable defender of culture organization, it is not only to be seen as going on through time, but as minds in an effort to restate themselves to themselves and their direction of further growth through time. And therefore the question arises, to what extent is this characteristic of mixed civilizations? To what extent is it characteristic of a special case, like Bengal, where cultivated minds met, or is it characteristic of all civilizations? On this we should ask Wright about China, and ask an Egyptologist who is dealing with what is thought to be a more fixed type of ancient civilization, etc., and so see whether aspiration toward the future, and a perpetual intellectual crisis as to what I am, is characteristic of this case or of a wider group.

I think the central issue is unresolved, but provokingly raised: how is this civilization of Bengal to be identified and characterized? Does it have a characteristic identity; and if so, is it to be separated from the West, identified with India, or so different that although spawned by the latter it is also something new begun? And to relate it to a persisting set of ideas—the matter of cultural pluralism—and if this is really an important fact I would like to hear more about Islam which rested on a completed revelation of truth; and what happened to it when it was imported into India. And we are fortunate to have an Islamism scholar as our next speaker—Dr. von Grunebaum.

# THE CASE OF THE POTTER AND THE PRIEST

by M. N. SRINIVAS\*

( Received on 10 July, 1959 )

Characters in the disputes narrated below :

1. Peasant KARAGU.
2. Peasant KEMPU (elder brother of 1).
3. Peasant MOLLE MARI (agnatic cousin of 1 and 2).
4. Lingayat BASAPPA.
5. Shepherd CHIKKAVA alias JAVARAYI.
6. Potter NINGA.
7. Lingayat PUTTA, agnatic cousin of 4.
8. Oilman MADA.
9. Potter SUBBA (brother of 6 and seasonal labourer in the house of 7).
10. The VILLAGE ACCOUNTANT, a Brahmin.
11. Peasant JAPI, agnatic cousin of 1 and 2 and brother of 3.
12. Lingayat THAMMA, elder brother of 7 and head of the joint family.
13. Trader SAPPA has kept a grocery and cloth shop.
14. Peasant YANTRA, operator of the biggest rice mill in Rampura.
15. Peasant SWAMY, elder brother of 1 and 2.
16. Peasant NADU GOWDA, father of 1, 2 and 15.
17. Peasant HEADMAN of the village.
18. Peasant MILLAYYA, member of the same lineage as 15, and owner of the biggest rice mill in Rampura.
19. Peasant LAKSHMANA, 17's second son.
20. Lingayat MAHANT, a lawyer, elder brother of 4.
21. Lingayat SANNAPPA, elder brother of 20, and Food Depot Clerk in 18's mill.
22. Toddyman SENDI.

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23. Peasant KULLE GOWDA, a busybody.
24. Lingayat KANNUR, a bachelor.
25. Peasant KARASI, a widow.
26. Peasants CHAMAYYA, CHIKKA DEVA, and CHELUVA, complainants.
27. Peasant DADDA, son of KARI HONNU, agnatic kinsman of the Headman.
28. Smith SUBBA's wife.

## I

The dispute which I am about to describe occurred in the summer of 1952 when I was doing a second spell of field-work in Rampura, a village in the south-eastern part of Mysore State in South India. The earlier spell was ten months long in 1948, and the second trip was undertaken to cover certain gaps in the data. One of the subjects to which I wanted to pay some attention was the mode of settling disputes in the village.

I give the present case more or less as it is in my notebooks as I want to convey an idea of how the dispute gradually unfolded itself to me. Each informant gave his version of the dispute, which not only added to the information which I had obtained from the others, but also modified and contradicted it in some places. In doing so he revealed a new dimension to the dispute. It is hardly necessary for me to add that the version which emerges finally in this paper is only an approximation to the truth—nearer probably than the earlier versions but still not the truth.

I may mention here that during my stay in Rampura in 1948, I was lucky enough to win the friendship of some of the influential young men in the village. When I returned to the village in 1952, I told these young men that I wanted to learn how disputes were settled and they agreed to help me. In the course of a hearing of a dispute, one of my friends would turn to me and say, 'Come on, you give us your verdict'. This had the embarrassing effect of suddenly switching the

attention over to me and if I was foolhardy enough to accept the challenge and say something, my friends proceeded to dissect in public the implications of my verdict. They had no difficulty in showing what a great ignoramus I was, much to the amusement of the assembled crowd.

The main characters in this dispute are Ninga and Putta. The former is a Kumbara or Potter by caste but he does not pursue the traditional occupation of his caste. He owns very little land and he is the brother of Subba who is an agricultural servant in Putta's house. Putta is a Lingayat, which is a non-Brahmin sectarian caste. The Lingayats are mainly recruited from the non-Brahmin castes, and a Lingayat is often found to be following the traditional occupation of the caste to which he belonged before being converted to Lingayatism. Some Lingayats are, however, priests. In Putta's agnatic lineage vests the hereditary priesthood of the temple of Madeshwara in Gudi village which is only a mile from Rampura. The priestly lineage lives in Rampura, and cultivates the lands with which the Madeshwara temple is endowed. The lineage is considered well off by village standards.

## II

I begin the narration with an extract from my diary<sup>a</sup>, 'I went to Karagu's grocery shop. Karagu is an Okkaliga or Peasant by caste. I found sitting there, besides Karagu, his elder brother Kempu, their agnatic cousin Molle Mari, Lingayat Basappa, agnatic cousin of Putta, and Shepherd Chikkava alias Javarayi. They were engaged in animated discussion. Kempu told me that there was an interesting dispute which he would describe to me and he would like me to give my verdict on it. Kempu gave me a brief account of the dispute.'

'Potter Ninga had lent Rs. 100 to Putta, younger brother of Thammayya. Ninga himself owed money to Oilman Mada and was about to clear it, when Putta took the money from

him saying that he, Putta, needed it urgently. Putta left for Mysore saying that he would be returning by the following morning, by the Lalita Bus. Putta did not return as he promised. The following evening Potter Ninga sat in a teashop abusing Putta. Shepherd Chikkava was also in the teashop at that time. The Potter said, "May I sleep with the Priest's wife. May I sleep with his mother." Then he said something even more serious. "I am going to beat him with my sandals, and I am going to beat him till five pairs of sandals wear out". (Leather defiles and if a man is beaten with sandals he loses his caste. He may be readmitted only after he has undergone an elaborate and expensive rite of purification.)

'Chikkava was annoyed that the Potter was abusing the Priest in so foul a manner. He got up to leave the teashop, and said, as he was leaving, "Stop abusing. Remember that man is your *guru*".' (The Potter's and Priest's families have been friends for a long time, and at the time the dispute occurred, Ninga's elder brother Subba was working as a seasonal labourer in Putta's house. The Potters may be described as clients of the Priests. As the patron family are Priests, Putta is called Ninga's *guru*. While Subba and some others are clients of the Priests, Ninga may be described as a client of Peasant Kulle Gowda. Different members of a family may have ties with different families.)\*

'Someone went and informed Putta's brothers and agnatic cousins about what had occurred in the teashop. The Priests went in a body to the teashop to beat up the Potter. But the Potter managed to leave the teashop in the nick of time by a back door, and he hid from the Priests for some time. Basappa, addressing Kempu, said, "You Peasants will have to decide this case. We shall see how you settle it. We Lingayats are very few here". (The Peasants are the dominant caste in this area. In Rampura they are a little less than 50% of the

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\* See my 'Social Structure of a Mysore Village' in McKim Marriott's *Village India*, Chicago, 1955, for a fuller account of Patron-Client relationship in Rampura.

total strength of the village, and are wealthier than all the castes put together. Disputes are referred to the Peasant elders by everyone and not merely by Peasants. The two most powerful Peasant elders are the village Headman or Patel, and Nadu Gowda, Kempu's father. It is relevant to point out in this connection that in the local hierarchy of castes, Lingayats are ritually higher than Peasants. But because the Peasants are numerically the largest caste, and are wealthy, everyone including Brahmins and Lingayats are subordinate to them, if not dependent upon them.)

### III

'The case was then discussed by us. Karagu said that if the dispute was allowed to take a legalistic turn, it would make matters worse. He was for seeing the dispute in its proper perspective and for making it up soon. Otherwise it would be blown up into a big thing. He also said that as the Priest was the richer party—"fat bottom" to quote him—, there was a tendency to take his side against the poor man.' (Until then I had regarded Karagu as a placid person and I was surprised to find him so excited over this matter.) 'When Basappa said that even Shepherd Chikkava was angered by the abuse which the Potter had poured forth, Karagu countered, "Perhaps Chikkava owes money to the Potter".'

'Then Kempu playfully put the matter up to me for a decision. I rose to the bait. I said, "It is a very simple case. It could be settled in a minute." This was a challenge.'

'Kempu: "Come on then. Give us your verdict."

'Srinivas: "Both the parties are in the wrong here. The Priest failed to keep his promise while the Potter used grave abuse. The first should be fined five rupees, and the second twenty-five rupees".'

'There was a chorus of approval. Molle Mari stated that this was exactly his decision the previous day.'

'I was called upon to state my reasons for such a verdict. While I conceded the Potter had enough provocation, the mention of sandals was a serious matter indeed and he ought to be fined heavily.' (Perhaps there would have been no case if 'sandals' had not been mentioned.)

'Kempu, however, pointed out that a creditor has to be patient. He must expect the debtor to procrastinate repayment. For instance, he had lent Rs. 50 to X over a year ago, and he had not been paid either principal or interest. Karagu answered him. "The Potter is a poor man and he is not used to lending. Your arguments would have held good if he were wealthy".'

(In 1948, Basappa and his brothers formally partitioned their property including the hereditary right to the priesthood of the Madeshwara temple. During the course of partition feelings had been strained between the brothers. But in the face of this attack by the Potter not only did Basappa unite with his brothers but the two branches of the lineage came together. In fact, it was even regarded as an insult to the entire caste of Lingayats in Rampura.)

'Basappa said that had he met the Potter on that day he would have beaten him thoroughly. Even now, when he thought of it, his stomach burned like a lime-kiln. He said, in his anger, that the matter would have to be referred to the elders of the Lingayat caste, and they would come and decide. Everyone deprecated the idea. The Lingayat elders would probably throw Putta out of caste. The Potter might reconcile himself to the loss of Rs. 100 for the pleasure of seeing the Priest outcasted. Basappa replied, "It does not matter. We shall take the matter to the caste elders". It was obvious that he was very incensed.'

'I asked Basappa, "How can your caste elders have jurisdiction over the Potter? They can only bind you, but not the Potter. You will have to go to Peasants in Rampura for justice." Karagu, "Don't allow this matter to become big. It is best to settle it here (in Rampura). If you press it too far, things may go against you".'

'The Village Accountant chipped in, "If you bring in outsiders, local people may refuse to give evidence." One of the ways in which elders force the truth out of parties and witnesses is to ask them to swear in a temple as to the truth of their statement. Such a step is, however, serious, and the elders use it only as a last resort. But while they are able to put most villagers on oath, the elders of a caste can only put members of their caste on oath. The others would refuse to be put on oath.'

'I said, "The matter could be closed by taking a small fine—say a rupee—from the Potter".'

'Basappa : "If the fine is so small, it will encourage everyone to indulge in abuse. The fine should be so heavy that he will remember it for the rest of his life".'

'Basappa then cited the case of Kannur, a Lingayat bachelor, and Karasi, a young Peasant widow. The two were discovered cohabiting, late one night, by a group of Peasant youths. They reported the matter to the village elders and they fined Kannur Rs. 50. (The case is described at the end.) Basappa seemed to think that the dispute was promptly settled, and Kannur was fined heavily because he was a Lingayat, and he had the audacity to sleep with a Peasant girl.'

#### IV

'Later that evening I ran into Japi, a young Peasant, a member of the same lineage as Kempu and Karagu, and I brought up the dispute in my talk with him. I told him that Karagu had been very sympathetic to the Potter and was against the Priest. Japi said that Karagu was ignorant of the real facts of the case. He then proceeded to give me his version of the dispute which revealed complications of which I was ignorant.'

'As I have mentioned earlier, Ninga's elder brother is an agricultural servant in the Priest's house. Subba's wages,

amounting to about Rs. 100, had not been paid. Subba was telling his close friends that he wanted to leave the service of Thammayya. When the latter was away in Ganjam village to buy a tree<sup>3</sup>, Subba requested Putta for his wages. Oilman Mada was demanding the repayment of the money he had lent Subba. Would Putta please pay? Putta gave Subba a hundred-rupee note which Subba passed on to his younger brother Ninga to be returned to the creditor. Ninga went to Sappa's shop to get the note changed. As the note was being changed, Yantra, the operator of the rice mill, came into the shop, and requested Ninga for a loan of Rs. 50. He said he would return the money, without fail, on the following morning. The Shopkeeper told Yantra, "If you are born to your father you will stick to your word." Ninga lent him Rs. 50, and then went to the teashop and ate a high tea.'

'Very soon after he had paid the hundred rupees to Subba, Putta came to learn that Subba was contemplating a change of masters. Putta realized that he had been tricked. He knew that his elder brother Thammayya would be very angry when he learnt about what had happened during his brief absence from Rampura. Putta decided to try and take back the money he had paid Subba. He went to Subba and said that he needed Rs. 100 urgently. He would repay on the following morning. Together they went to the Shopkeeper and recovered the note.' (For the sake of greater clarity I should mention now alone that Subba had borrowed the money from Oilman Mada with his younger brother Ninga as his guarantor.)

'The following morning I met Karagu and we had a talk about many things including the dispute. I told Karagu that I thought he was being partial to the Potter. Karagu replied, "He is a poor man. Why should Putta have borrowed money from him? He is in the wrong to begin with".'

'A villager who was present told Karagu, "Ninga is weeping. You should see that he gets the money soon. Putta will be tempted not to return the money to the Potter. Ninga will be forced to complain to the Headman and Nadu Gowda".'

'A few minutes later Ninga met me and I asked him, "Why on earth did you drag in sandals?" He seemed unrepentant. "I shall say it again before the elders".'

## V

'I must have had some doubts regarding the truth of Japi's version because I discussed it with Kempu and his elder brother Swamy. They said that Japi and Putta were friends, and Japi was naturally giving a version favouring his friend.'

I have now to make a brief digression.

In the summer of 1952, there was a serious split in the largest Peasant lineage in Rampura. Kempu's father Nadu Gowda was the traditional leader of this lineage. Nadu Gowda was wealthy by village standards, but the richest man in the lineage was, however, Millayya. In 1951 the Headman and Nadu Gowda both encouraged Millayya to start a mill to hull, clean and polish paddy, and a smaller one to grind rice flour. Millayya invested a considerable sum of money and started a big mill. A few weeks after that mill had started working, Kempu urged his father to instal a mill of their own. Kempu was encouraged by the Headman's son, Lakshmana, in this enterprise. Millayya and his brothers were upset by this. They petitioned to the Government not to grant a licence for starting a second mill in Rampura. But Kempu, aided by Lakshmana, succeeded in securing a licence, and another mill was installed. It was smaller than Millayya's and it was made in Japan. Millayya's group carried on propaganda against Nadu Gowda's mill.

While all this was happening, Putta's agnatic cousin Mahant, a lawyer in a neighbouring town, had obtained a licence to install a paddy-huller. Sannappa, Mahant's elder brother, was at that time employed by the Government of Mysore as a Food Depot Clerk and he was friendly with

Millayya. His office was in the mill itself, and he spent a great deal of his time in his office. He, Yantra, the mechanic of the mill, Japi<sup>4</sup> and Putta were all working together in connection with the installation of a huller.

Swamy and Kempu saw Millayya's hand in the huller. They believed that Millayya was encouraging the installation of the huller in order to take trade away from them. I remember Kempu telling me, in a different context, that he was annoyed that a fellow-casteman was injuring them and helping a Lingayat.

## VI

'Yet another version was forthcoming from Sendi : Subba urged Thammayya to pay him his wages, and just before he left for Ganjam he told Putta, "Give Subba four pallas of paddy". ( One palla is equal to hundred seers, and a seer is equal to a little over two lbs. ) Putta replied, "How can we pay him his wages when he still owes us three months of labour ?" Thammayya, "He will do it. Where will he go ? He is with us. Give him the money".'

'The paddy was measured and given. Subba sold the paddy for Rs. 108. Subba and Ninga together took the money to Oilman Mada's house. But Mada was not at home. As they came out of the house they met Yantra who asked for a loan of Rs. 50. After some discussion, the brothers agreed to lend the money to Yantra. They went to Sappa's shop to get the note changed. Sappa did not have change for a hundred rupees. He had only Rs. 50 which he gave Yantra. Putta owed Yantra Rs. 25, and the latter requested the former for return of the loan before the following morning. Putta replied that he himself needed Rs. 100 urgently. He requested Ninga to lend him Rs. 100. He assured Ninga that he would secure the return of the loan-deed from Oilman Mada, and that no interest would be charged on the loan as from that day. Ninga handed the hundred-rupee note to Putta. Putta then

left for Mysore without telling anyone.' ( This assumes that the hundred-rupee note remained with Ninga even after Sappa paid fifty rupees to Yantra. )

'On the following morning, Oilman Mada asked Subba for the return of the loan. Subba took him to his younger brother. Ninga narrated to him what had happened on the previous day. Oilman Mada said that Putta had not seen him at all. Ninga looked everywhere for Putta. It was only then that Ninga learnt that Putta had gone to Mysore the previous evening.'

'I told Sendi that I had already listened to three versions of the case and I wondered whether there was not a fourth. He said that his was the true version, and if he was proved to be lying he would pay me any damages that I cared to stipulate.'

'Both Swamy and Kempu were inclined to accept the latest version as true. They wondered whether Clerk Sannappa and his brothers had got together to get Ninga punished because Ninga was a close friend and follower of Kulle Gowda, who was the Food Depot Clerk before Sannappa, and from whom Sannappa had taken over. Kulle Gowda, angry at having to give way to Sannappa, had carried on propaganda against the latter.' ( I mention this here to illustrate how two big people fight each other through their clients or followers, or events are interpreted in terms of previously existing relations. )

'Swamy said, "I now see why Ninga abused Putta".'

'I asked, "Isn't there a tradition of friendship between the Priest's lineage and the Potter's ?"'

'Kempu : "There is. They will come together again".'

'Kempu then said that the elders would abuse Basava. Poor men cannot escape abuse. They would also pull up Putta and make him return Rs. 100.'

'Srinivas : "But Basappa seemed furious yesterday".'

'Kempu : "They are a furious before you and me. Do you think they will be furious before the Headman and Nadu Gowda ?"'

## VII

*The Case of Kannur and Karasi, daughter of Devi*

It has already been mentioned that in the course of the discussion, Basappa referred to the case of Kannur and Karasi. Sometime before the occurrence of the dispute between the Potter and the Priest, Kannur, a Lingayat bachelor, was adjudged guilty of having had sexual relations with Karasi, a young Peasant widow. He was fined Rs. 50, and she Rs. 25, by the village elders.

I obtained a brief account of the case as it was quoted as a precedent. I must add a warning here that villagers' memories regarding past events are not reliable. Hence the description given below should be taken as only broadly true, and not in every detail.

Kannur was seen visiting Karasi's house by three Peasant youths, Chamayya, Chikka Deva and Cheluva. The complainants, it is alleged, were jealous as they had been snubbed by the girl in their efforts to get friendly with her. Kannur knew that the complainants wanted to catch him *in flagrante delicto*, and report him to the elders. He insulted the complainants saying, 'What can these Peasant youths do?' (He actually said, 'What can they pluck?' meaning that they may pluck his pubic hairs. The phrase denotes great contempt.)

One night sometime after midnight, Kannur was seen coming out of Karasi's house. Kempu said that Kannur was caught thirty yards away from the house. The complainants took him to the Headman. The latter sent for Swamy as his father Nadu Gowda was away on a pilgrimage to Banaras. But Swamy refused to go. Kannur was fined Rs. 50 and Karasi Rs. 25. Karasi was told that she ought to get re-married soon, and to someone in another village. Two or three days after the incident she left Rampura for her elder sister's village where she spent two or three months. She was then married in the *Kudavali* form (an abbreviated form for widows and divorcees) to a man in Hotte village. The Head-

man seemed to take a serious view of the incident. He told Kannur that he would be tied to a pillar in the Mari temple till the fine was paid. He was made to sit in the verandah of the temple. His fellow-casteman Thammayya paid the fine and freed him. Karasi left her gold necklace with the Headman to be redeemed after the fine was paid.

Karasi's mother is known to be one of the masters of abuse in Rampura. This is a skill in which some women excel, for which they are feared, disliked and admired by the men. When the incident narrated above occurred, she was out of Rampura and she was expected to return on the following morning. The complainants told the Headman, 'When Karasi's mother returns she will abuse us all. Karasi should see to it that we are not abused. If we are, she should be fined Rs. 100.'

The mother returned on the following morning, and in spite of the warning issued by the Headman, she started abusing everyone involved in the previous night's incident. The complainants reported the matter to the Headman who, again, sent for all elders in the village—Peasants Millayya, Lakkayya, and Kempu (representing Nadu Gowda), and Lingayats Thammayya and Sannappa. The Headman's eldest son was also present.

It was on this occasion that Kempu was irritated by the aggression and righteousness of the complainants, in particular Chikkā Deva. Kempu knew that Chikka Deva's mother had slept with everyone including Untouchables. He wanted to say, "If there are holes in the pancakes everyone makes, there are holes in our pan." (This remark has the same meaning as the Biblical one referring to the beam in one's own eye.) Headman (Junior) guessed that Kempu wanted to interfere on behalf of the respondents. So he winked to Kempu and Kempu took the hint and kept quiet.

Kempu boasted that he could have had the case against Kannur dismissed by asking the simple question, 'Was Kannur really caught red-handed?'

Self: 'Couldn't Kannur himself have asked that question?'

'No. They would then have made him take the oath. Whereas if any arbitrator had raised the question, the case would have been dismissed for lack of evidence. One supposes that the friends of the respondent could have raised this point ; but it was up to the arbitrators to decide whether to put a man on oath or not. A hostile arbitrator would not resist the temptation to use the weapons at his disposal.

According to Basappa, on the second day, the Headman wanted to settle the case leniently and without much fuss as he had to take up another case in which an agnatic kinsman of his was involved as respondent. Dadda (son of Kari Honna) was accused of trying to sleep with Smith Subba's wife. The latter was walking near the Basava Pond when Dadda met her. It was not clear whether Dadda tried to rape her. Smith Subba's wife ran to the Headman and complained to him about Dadda's conduct. In his desire to see that Dadda was not punished severely, the Headman let off Karasi lightly.

Dadda's case was more serious than Kannur's as in the former, the husband was alive and Dadda's attentions were unwelcome. Finally, while in Kannur's case, the complainants were in no way related to either party, in Dadda's case, it was the victim who complained. But the Headman merely abused Dadda and let it go at that.

## VIII

### *General Remarks*

Kempu and Swamy then said a few things about justice in village courts. Kempu stressed the distinction between a Government law court in the city and a court of village elders. The former is able to decide an issue entirely on its merits, while a village court has to look to the wealth and following of the disputants in the village. If one of the disputants is capable of building a 'party' against the elders then the law is not strictly enforced. You have to allow the string to sag (*saḍḍila biḍḍabēku*) for otherwise it will snap. Sometimes, facts have to be ignored. 'Let the facts slip through your fingers'

(*beraḷu sandiyalli biḍabēku*). An issue is sometime 'floated away' (*tēlisi bitṭevu*), i.e. let off lightly.

One of the essentials in an elder is *jabardasti*, i.e. a capacity to inspire fear in the disputants. If the parties are not afraid of the elders, then there can be no justice. And one thing everyone is agreed upon is that the poor always get abuse from the arbitrators.

An example was given to show that where a man has a large following in the village he can defy the arbitrators. Eight or ten years ago (prior to 1952), three close kinsmen of Nadu Gowda and Molle Gowda (father of Mari, Japi and Kempayya) stole paddy from a field just before the harvest. The culprits were fined heavily by the two elders. About the same time Shepherd Chenna, tenant of the Headman, stole horsegram leaves (fodder) from J. L. Sab's fields. Sab caught him red-handed and took him to the Headman. As Chenna was his favourite tenant, the Headman merely abused him and sent him away.

This made Molle Gowda very angry with the Headman, for, while he and Nadu Gowda had fined close kinsmen very heavily, the Headman had let go a mere tenant. He vowed to teach the Headman a lesson.

There is a village rule to the effect that during paddy harvest, the shops which sell edibles, *beedies* and matches to the labourers should not be kept in the fields but inside the village site. This rule is enforced in order to prevent the theft of paddy. Molle Gowda asked his followers to keep shops everywhere in the fields. He did this to challenge the Headman to try and punish one of the offenders. The Headman realized that Molle Gowda's lineage, consisting of over thirty houses of Peasants, were with him in this matter, and kept quiet discreetly.

## IX

### *Discussion of the Case*

The dispute may be said to have a caste origin. While the Potter's expressing a wish to sleep with the Priest's wife and mother is certainly serious abuse, threatening to beat him

with sandals is even more serious. While the abuse, 'May I sleep with your wife or mother?' is occasionally heard in rural areas, the other abuse, 'I shall beat you with sandals' is much rarer.

The seriousness of beating with sandals arises from the fact that only Untouchables handle leather, and when a high caste man is beaten with sandals, he becomes an outcaste and may be readmitted to caste only after he has undergone an expensive ceremony of purification. When Basappa threatened to take the matter to his caste elders, his friends warned him that it would probably result in Putta having to undergo the ritual of purification. Putta is a priest and in an important temple at that, and the Potter's threat to beat him with sandals was likely to be interpreted by the caste elders as being equivalent to the act itself. I may mention here that a feature of village ethics which I had difficulty in comprehending was that when a case of sexual union between members of different castes was reported, the older and more conservative members seemed to think more of the resultant pollution than of immorality of the act itself.

The dispute reveals the strength of caste as a principle of social affiliation, and it follows from this that village society is divided into as many layers as there are castes. The Peasant elders of Rampura of whom the Headman was, and still continues to be, the leader, acted with exemplary promptness in the case of Kannur and Karasi, and fined the former heavily, and made him stay in the verandah of the Mari temple till the fine was paid. Basappa, a Lingayat, felt that all this was due to the fact that a Lingayat boy had slept with a Peasant girl. Basappa's agnatic cousin Thammayya, one of the village elders before whom Kannur and Karasi were tried, himself paid the fine because a man is expected to go to the aid of his casteman. It may be added that usually the members of a caste living in a village are also related by agnatic or affinal links. A casteman is, also, very frequently, a kinsman. Needless to say he is usually also kith.

The Peasant youths who apprehended Kannur were probably angry because a Peasant girl had chosen to confer

her favours on a Lingayat boy in preference to themselves. Kannur expressed his contempt for the Peasant youths in such a way that it was also a challenge to their caste. This was probably why the Headman levied a heavy fine.

The harshness of the first day's verdict contrasted with the lenience of the second day's; Karasi's mother was not punished inspite of the threat of a heavy fine. Basappa attributed this to the fact that in the case which came up after Karasi's, the accused was an agnatic kinsman of the Headman. The kinsman was let off with abuse.

Kempu thought he saw Millayya's hand in the Priest's attempt to obtain a licence for a paddy-huller and he interpreted it in caste terms. A more immediate idiom would have been the ties of lineage, and when I heard Kempu using the caste idiom, I thought it was due to Kempu's recent increased contact with towns. Lingayat—Peasant rivalry is a feature of urban Mysore, and Kempu was seeing village relations in urban terms. I mention this because nowadays urban influences reach the more accessible villages principally through youths who go to the towns frequently.

The Peasants are the dominant caste in Rampura—and also in the two paddy-growing districts of Mysore and Mandya—and some of the implications of their dominance are made clear in this dispute. The Lingayats are regarded as ritually superior to the Peasants, but as the latter are numerically preponderant and economically powerful, all the other castes including Brahmins, are dependent upon them. This means that the picture of caste hierarchy implicit in the all-India concept of *varna* does not have much meaning in the village, except in a few contexts. The economic and political power at the disposal of each of the castes varies from village to village and, therefore, each multi-caste village represents to some extent a unique instance of caste hierarchy. The dominance of a caste occasionally extends over a whole district or region, giving rise to a uniform hierarchical pattern over the entire area. But even in such a situation, there will be slight differences from village to village.

Caste, however, is not the only principle of social affiliation. The village is another, and it is based on the common interests which people inhabiting a restricted piece of territory possess. The common interests cut across caste. When Basappa mentioned that he wanted to take the dispute to Lingayat elders, everyone was against the idea. The general opinion was in favour of settlement of the dispute within the village. The dangers of taking it out of the village were pointed out. The court of village elders seems more friendly, and more likely to take a lenient view of the case than a remote court of caste elders. What is even more significant, the elders of a caste are helpless if they do not have the support and cooperation of the elders of the locally dominant caste. Only the latter are able to ensure the presence and cooperation of all parties to a dispute—they have physical force at their disposal, they can enforce a boycott on the non-cooperator, and they can bring economic sanctions to bear on him. The elders of any caste have to cultivate friendly relations with the elders of the village which in turn means the elders of the locally dominant caste. Seen this way, caste and village are complementary and not conflicting.

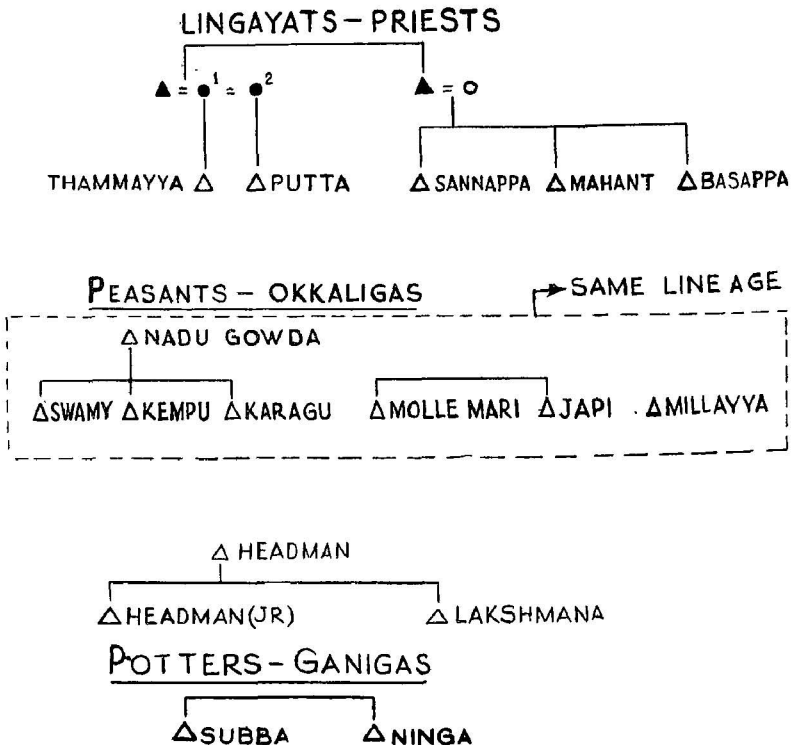
Besides caste and village, the agnatic lineage, joint family and elementary family are the other elements of the social order. During 1948, Basappa was active in demanding partition from his brothers, and on this occasion he made common cause with an agnatic cousin.

One explanation why the Priests wanted the case against Ninga to be treated seriously was that it afforded them an opportunity to wreak their vengeance against Ninga's friend and councillor, Kulle Gowda ; Ninga had previously spent a few years as a farm labourer in Kulle Gowda's house. Occasionally a fight between two poor persons leads to two more powerful persons entering the fight on either side. The poor persons become pawns in the fight that is really between their powerful supporters. In the recent history of the village, it seems to have been frequent for patrons to fight each other through their respective clients. Anyway this is how villagers interpret the events.

Where a village is deeply factionalized, the overall authority of the elders will be weak and the leaders of a faction settle dispute between members of the faction. The village elders will not be able to enforce their decision on a faction which refuses to submit itself to them. In such a situation village law resembles international law.

The ties binding individuals are multiplex and enduring. That is why Kempu is confident that the Potter and the Priest will come together again. Social relationships in rural areas are not specialized and temporary as in urban areas.

RAMPURA—APRIL-MAY 1952



## NOTES

1. This paper was read at a seminar in the Department of Anthropology in the University of Chicago in the last week of May 1957. The award of a Fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation for the academic year 1956-57 enabled me to spend the greater part of the year in working on my Rampura material. A full acknowledgement of the financial and other assistance received will be made later.

2. The parts between single inverted commas are extracts from my diaries with only slight modifications. The parts in brackets are my comments made while writing up the dispute.

3. It had been decided to have a new juggernaut made for the annual festival of the deity Madeshwara. Thammayya was busy touring neighbouring villages trying to buy a suitable tree for timber for the juggernaut,

4. In 1948 Japi installed a huller, with crude oil for fuel, in his house. He sold it, however, before Millayya and Nadu Gowda installed rice mills powered with electricity.

# LODHAS REVISITED

by R. GUPTA\*

(Received on 29 January 1959)

## I

**I**N the south-eastern parts of Midnapur district in West Bengal, still partly full of scrub jungle and the stunted sal, a small tribe called the Lodhas dwell. For the entire first half of the century,<sup>1</sup> they were regarded as a 'Criminal Tribe' and registered as such under the Criminal Tribes Act.<sup>2</sup> In 1951, the Act was repealed and the Lodhas were freed from the various disabilities they had to be under (and a word was added to 'the bureaucratise' when the Government decided to call such ex-criminal groups as 'de-notified tribes'. Their criminal propensities however remained and naturally minds turned to finding out ways and means of controlling them within the framework of ordinary laws. At this time the writer was the Superintendent of Police of the district, and therefore directly concerned with the criminality of the tribe; he had the need and later on opportunities of associating with those who made it their business to face the Lodha problem and solve it. The tribe had not, prior to 'denotification', received any attention from anthropologists or social workers. It would seem surprising to a student of human affairs that the problem of Lodha criminality had not, in the years past, excited academic curiosity and scrutiny and consequent administrative measures. But such an approach was foreign to the Law and Order system that obtained in pre-1947 India,

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<sup>1</sup>According to the census of 1951 there are 8360 Lodhas in West Bengal, out of whom 6040 reside in the district of Midnapur.

<sup>2</sup>Just before the Criminal Tribes Act was abolished, 591 Lodhas were registered. Thus more than 30% of the adult males in the tribe were considered to be habitually criminal,

and solution of the problem was sought in the simple and savage provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act.

As a matter of fact, the new approach to the Lodha criminality and the simultaneous academic scrutiny of the tribe were perhaps compelled by the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act.<sup>3</sup> The administration by one stroke was deprived of the recognized means of controlling such tribes and set the problem of finding out suitable alternatives. The governmental machinery in this country has not yet become so modern as to immediately cause an investigation of the problem by trained anthropologists when the Criminal Tribes Act disappeared. It was by merely a happy accident that a young anthropologist came forward to study the tribe at the very moment when the local policemen were wondering what to do about the Lodhas.

## II

It is the belief of the undersigned that the anthropologist and the sociologist have an important role to play in the activities of a welfare government which the government in this country rightly aim to be. The welfare government in the country have to help a very large section of the people to make economic and intellectual progress, and without proper study of the traditions and material culture of those concerned, such efforts are not only likely to fail but also lead to unforeseen harm. Not only are the tribes different from one another and the rest of the people of the country, even amongst the ordinary non-tribal population, cultural variations are many and the people's reaction to a certain matter in a particular district may easily be different from that in the neighbouring district. The broad policy from the political and administrative centre requires not only minor adjustments according to such variations but also perhaps varying tempo of application. Such departures from the norm are to be according to results of scientific investigation into the structure and cultural

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<sup>3</sup>In the pre-1947 empirical Law and Order system the Criminal Tribes Act was applied to non-tribal criminal groups as well, Many caste Hindus were registered under the Act which rendered the title of the Act misleading.

pattern of the population group concerned, planned well ahead. Such remarks from a non-anthropologist like the writer are likely to shock many anthropologists, for there is regrettably a school of anthropological thought which aims at investigating the tribal forms only with the intention of keeping such forms in their pristine purity over the times. Naturally, influences from adjacent societies or material progress are resisted and the tribes are kept in isolation. Such 'National Parkism' is, needlessly to say, unrealistic and can only result in expensive failures.

The above remarks apply with greater force to handling the problem of the 'denotified' tribes. India has many of them, some of them still on the rampage. Suffice it to say here (as this article has little room for fuller treatment of this argument) that an anthropological study of such groups will very usefully presage concrete administrative action.

### III

The Lodhas and the Police of Midnapur had at that time the advantage of Mr. P. K. Bhowmick of the Department of Anthropology, Bangabasi College, being interested in the tribe. Mr. Bhowmick has for the last six or seven years been closely associated with the tribe and has done not a little in preparing the theoretical background for the practical work that is now being done among them. He has lived among them, and at the earlier stage when the authorities were not interested in his work, without help or protection among a suspicious and violent people (and once at least he had been chased by a group of Lodhas strongly resenting anthropometry). With his help the author started enquiring why a Lodha was a criminal. In such investigation one now recalls with amusement, a lot of time was lost in speculating over the origins of the Lodha. Various theories were propounded and a lot of evidence of varying quality collected to show that the Lodha were originally Savara, a forest tribe mentioned in the epics, and that the Lodhas of Jhargram originally came from the uplands of Orissa. How useless is such speculation ! In India all

forest dwellers claim descent from the Savaras. Being outside the caste system, that is the only way a forest tribe can claim connection with the Hindu social system. Not only that, a mention in the *R a m a y a n a* also invested the Savara and his descendants with a certain status that the caste conscious villagers could not ignore.<sup>4</sup> The motive therefore renders the tradition a useless piece of evidence and one is not surprised to see the Kherias living in the neighbourhood of the Lodhas claiming similar descent. As a matter of fact, for practical purposes it is of no importance at all whether the Lodha was originally a Savara or not, whether originally he dwelt in Orissa or not. All that matters is his existing habit at and his material culture which must necessarily be influenced by the former.

#### IV

It was more useful for him to discover that while the Lodhas were a forest tribe, with the gradual (and sometimes not so gradual) deforestation, they had been socially and economically 'displaced', the displacement being more or less in direct proportion with the extent of deforestation. With unsurprising automaticity the Lodha who had been displaced long ago had been trying with varying degrees of success to settle down in the agricultural economy of the non-forest communities. But the Lodhas who were 'displaced' recently, the disappearance of forest having been a recent event, were not yet able to evolve their new social and economic life.<sup>5</sup> And hence they became predatory as a group. For there is no Lombroso who will say that a group of people are

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<sup>4</sup>The Lodhas of Midnapur are generally however anti-Brahmanical and find justification in a tradition of their ancestors having been deceived by a Brahman of Orissa.

<sup>5</sup>The varying degree of deforestation in Midnapur and its varying consequences on the Lodhas as a group renders the study of the tribe easy. One finds the tribe projecting, as it were, over time and space and present can be related both to past and future. Simplifying, one might say that the Jhargram Lodhas are what those in Kukai were and the Kukai Lodhas are what the Jhargram Lodhas will be.

born criminals, but for their group criminality reasons must be sought in other circumstances. Anti-social predatoriness of a group of people is due more often than not to their being deprived of their normal means of livelihood which may vary according to the material culture of the people concerned from food gathering in the forest to dividend gathering in the city. While the capacity to adjust to the changed circumstances explains the Homo-sapiens' survival to this day, sudden change in material circumstances and consequent displacement may not be followed by immediate adjustment, and history has recorded extinction of groups under similar circumstances. Failure to adjust not only causes weakening of group forms but also clash with the economy and material culture of other groups in the neighbourhood, resulting finally in anti-social activities and predatory conduct. The Lodhas of Jhargram sub-division in Midnapore appeared to be just in this stage of transition and hence their criminality as a group was very pronounced. Following the same line of thinking, it was found that the Lodhas of Keshiari and Narayangarh were in different stages of transition.

They were 'displaced' long ago, deforestation in that part of the district having occurred much earlier. Wherever they existed as a group, they were but another though depressed part of the village community, strongly influenced by the material culture of the more powerful castes in the neighbourhood. The agrarian economy of the non-tribal community was accepted and consequent social forms were developed. Their crime, if any, was not the crime of an economically 'displaced' tribe but that of economically and socially depressed people and indistinguishable from that of similar classes among non-tribal people. In short, in such places the Lodhas had ceased to exist as a tribal group but had merged in the neighbouring society based on caste organization.

## V

Such being the diagnosis, the cure was simple. The Lodhas had to be helped to 'find their feet', phase over to agrarian economy and evolve new social forms. It was true in

the process the tribal forms would have been lost, but that could not be helped and the hand of the clock could not be put back. It was necessary to 'phase' the transition, for any rapid change might be unacceptable to the Lodhas and therefore fruitless. And the initial phase should have as much of the methods and traditions of the tribe as the surrounding material circumstances and the necessity of change permitted. Thus a switch over to agrarian economy all at once might be unrealistic. Rather, the Lodhas might be encouraged to live by

- (1) Gathering medicinal herbs from the forest—  
an existing vocation.
- (2) Keeping bees and gathering honey—a not unfamiliar  
vocation.
- (3) Growing wild silk cocoons in the jungle—an existing  
vocation.
- (4) Live-stock rearing—a vocation in process of gradual  
acceptance, and then on to agri-  
culture.

While tribal forms were ultimately doomed, the initial phase should mark no violent break, the tribal cultural festivities were to be encouraged until under pressure from circumstances they underwent a change. Further, the tribe was not to be isolated from their neighbours, the influences from the stronger neighbour were to operate on the group which had, under such conditions of normalcy, to shape its transition. Likewise in Keshiari and Narayangarh where, as mentioned above, the Lodhas were in different stages of transition, a different method of 'rehabilitation' was to operate. They were already a part of the agrarian community—so ordinary principles of community development were applied. In Jhargram, a Gandhian worker was available to work amongst the Lodhas under the general superintendence of the Harijan Sevak Sangha with funds from the Government. In Keshiari, where the Lodha village of Kukai was selected, there already was a school teacher working with single-minded devotion for the uplift of the Lodhas among whom he lived. With his humble means and begging bowl, he already made a start—painfully

inadequate, but a start, and it was decided to place at his disposal more funds and more know-how for community development.

The work started with great enthusiasm amongst the Jhargram Lodhas. Land was purchased in a village called Aulgeria not far from Jhargram and twentysix representative Lodha families were selected for rehabilitation. Cultivation was started, live-stock collected and steps were taken to organize the community into a co-operative society. Houses were built, roads constructed and wells dug and the writer, during a visit early in 1954, recorded cautiously, 'Psychologically some progress is visible.....the writer was greatly impressed by the enthusiasm and the confidence of the Lodhas at work.....the project has already had an effect. The Lodhas at Aulgeria have not overnight changed mentally. But taken up with the work in hand they have had little time to plan mischief and living like others in a community, not much opportunity. There are in the area a number of Lodhas who have still to be dealt with by the Police through measures of the Criminal Law. But the Lodhas of Aulgeria are a representative lot of notoriety and it is certainly true that they are not committing crime. Among them, Budha is a representative specimen. A thirty years old veteran, he has come out of jail very recently and is now engaged in building himself and his wife a permanent home in the colony.....the net effect on the crime situation according to the Jhargram Police Station in terms of statistics is interesting.

	Dacoity	Robbery	Burglary	Theft
1953 up to 31-5-'53	2	6	45	55
1954 up to 31-5-'54	1	2	10	26

In Kukai, the effect was not so dramatic but the slow process of uplift over the years received further impetus, and great enthusiasm amongst the Lodhas was noticed.'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ripples spread to other areas and when the writer left the district in 1955 there was amongst caste Hindu neighbours in other Lodha villages also a marked tendency to help them to rehabilitate themselves. Schools and other projects were started, some of which, alas, have ceased to function. But the general attitude toward the Lodhas has certainly undergone a change.

## VI

The writer left the district in 1955 on transfer with both these projects progressing satisfactorily. Later, less cheerful news started trickling in about the Lodhas in Aulgeria. Late in 1958, there was an opportunity of paying a visit to the district again and a sentimental journey was made to Aulgeria and Kukai.

The work of Aulgeria cannot, one is sorry to record, be said to have succeeded. Some houses have fallen into decay. Not only have six families disappeared but three of the Lodhas have gone to jail (one amongst them sadly enough was Budha, constantly held forth in previous years as the shining reformed character). The crime figures given below also will show that the impact of the work seen in 1954 has worn off and the main purpose of the project is still far from fulfilment.

Period	Dacoity	Robbery (not known but more than ten)	Burglary	Theft
1953	6	more than ten)	127	111
1954	3	6	51	83
1955	2	8	47	123
1956	2	4	42	169
1957	1	5	46	99

The figures show that the incidence of theft, essentially a Lodha form of crime,<sup>7</sup> has gone up. It is true that the more energetic among the colonists have looked after their huts and have tilled the soil well. But the live-stock have disappeared and the poultry they started in 1954 have either been sold or eaten up. The 'co-operative' society has in consequence been compelled to centralize these activities, but that surely was not the object the work started with. The failure must be attributed not merely to the general inadequacy of supervision but the following specific mistakes.

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<sup>7</sup>The causes of Lodha criminality also explain why they are different in modus operandi from the well-planned and organized crime of their neighbours.

(1) The persons in charge failed to appreciate the need of rehabilitating the Lodhas in occupations comparable to what they used to have in the forest. As forest tribes, they used to live by picking edible roots, by hunting and by selling natural forest produce to the organized agrarian communities. To ask such a people to take to paddy cultivation in a settled community overnight is not realistic.

But in Aulgeria that is exactly what was done. The Lodha has been asked to stay put in a fine cottage, grow around it a nice vegetable patch and cultivate his allotted land, but to him such existence is like imprisonment with hard labour. The original proposals to provide livelihood through collection of medicinal herbs, rearing wild silk worms and bee-keeping were completely overlooked.

(2) Secondly, the cultural aspect of Lodha life was ignored in Aulgeria. The Lodha has his yearly round of festivals and p u j a s.<sup>8</sup> In course of these the community culture finds expression. In Aulgeria the economic effort was made on a co-operative basis but the song and dance side of life, which to a tribal is of much greater significance than to a sophisticated caste Hindu, was left to individuals and therefore neglected. Much that the Lodhas do in the way of entertaining themselves may appear ridiculous to the caste Hindu social workers (for instance, in their Bandana festival a cow is infuriated by beating of drums or by waving a buffalo hide in front of her and much delight is derived from being chased around by her), but for the maintenance of group integrity such cultural efforts are essential, lack of them conversely is detrimental to such integrity.

(3) Thirdly, not only no community life was allowed to develop in the colony, but the Lodhas were also kept aloof from the organized communities around them. It is true that such communities (like Mahatos and caste Hindus) have never regarded the Lodhas with much cordiality. But to keep the Lodhas away from them cannot help.

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<sup>8</sup>Mr. Bhowmick wrote in detail about them in Vol. 37 No. 3, of this journal.

It is of the greatest psychological importance for either side to look at each other from new angles, for the Mahatos to appreciate the fact that the Lodhas can turn a page and cease to be a criminal, and the Lodhas to realize that the Mahato does not necessarily mean a prospective victim for a criminal outrage. Or else, however well the Lodha might develop in his secluded community, the wall of prejudice of the communities around would retard his progress and might conceivably drive him back to his unhappy past. The American-Indian type of reservation is the last thing to help in work of this nature, and a 'National Park' for the Lodhas is an expensive experiment doomed to failure.

In Kukai, on the other hand, the problem was simpler and the effect of rehabilitation has been most encouraging. The new agrarian community of the Lodhas had already under the compulsion of circumstances taken shape; all that it required was a 'shot in the arm' and the injection preferably of gold. This was done and fortunately for all concerned the worker at Kukai was a selfless man completely devoted to his task and eager to accept advice from those who knew better. The success of the work is apparent to the visitor as soon as he enters the village. There are tanks stocked with fish, fields heavy with crop all around and clean homesteads with cheerful people in them. Cultural life has not been ignored. The Lodhas of this area are culturally more advanced than those of Jhargram or the trans-Subarnarekha (a river which passes through the southern part of the district) area. Vaishnava composers have influenced the people of Kukai and at the slightest provocation the men will fall in line, take their large tambourine-like drums called *changa* and with delicate 'samba'-like footwork sing *Baromashi* and *Dashmashi* songs.<sup>9</sup> The Lodhas here are not isolated from the rest of the neighbourhood. In the village, there is a separate hut for the weary traveller who wants food and shelter.

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<sup>9</sup>A collection of such songs was published in *Man in India*, Vol. 37, 1; and *Indian Folk*—Vol. II, 1.

In fact, Kukai is an example of how rehabilitation work should be done amongst such peoples, while Aulgeria is an instance of how it should not. Failure in Aulgeria will mean human suffering and it is not a pleasant thing for any one to use such evidence to prove or disprove theory. Nevertheless happenings in Aulgeria only support the views propounded before the work there started. Such failures constitute the experience which is essential for future efforts.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>More efforts on these lines are being made in the area, in which both the State and the Union Government co-operate. At Dholkat, a Lodha centre, a religious body has been entrusted with the work and the prospects there are to be viewed with caution. There are other projects in view.

## PEASANT INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN YUGOSLAVIA

by CVETKO KOSTIC'\*

*(Received on 10 May 1959)*

**F**ROM day to day the process of industrialization embraces more and more our planet. Industry changes condition of men both as producers and as consumers. In addition to other results, a very complex sociological process—the process of introducing huge peasant masses into industrial work is developing today, under its influence, particularly in 'economically undeveloped countries'. Peasants desert their fields and meadows where they work in the sun and fresh air, forsake their agriculture, exchanging all this for work in industrial enterprises, within a closed room, where a minute division of labour has been carried out and a strong discipline dominates. Such a peasant changes his manner of life, costume and customs, his mentality and behaviour patterns and is obliged to adapt himself to a new atmosphere which was completely unknown to his ancestors. It is, indeed, very difficult to imagine more radical changes in the life of individuals than these.

It is one of the most exciting and most difficult problems that economically undeveloped countries with an accelerated rhythm of industrialization have to face. Such is the case with Yugoslavia too. The transition of peasant economy to industry is very rapid; only in the course of a few years that followed the second world war, over a million of its peasants, of the most active age, left the village and took various employments in factories, mines and other urban enterprises. This, however, was conditioned by the social evolution of the country.

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Dr. Cvetko Kostic' belongs to the Ethnographical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, Belgrade. The situation in Yugoslavia is somewhat similar to that in parts of India, and therefore the article is likely to be of interest to Indian readers too.

Before the second world war the chief occupation of Yugoslavia's inhabitants was agriculture. Industry was very little developed and industrial tradition was not equally old in all parts of the country. In fact, it was constituted by small enterprises which produced goods for mass consumption, while the manufacture of means of production was very meagre. In an industry like this, foreign capital played a very important part. This industry was unable to absorb the excess of labour from villages, so that in many parts of the country there was an overpopulation of agricultural areas which was followed by an accelerated parcelling out of rural property, running away of peasants from the country, clearing of village forests and pastures, etc. These circumstances were, in every respect, aggravated in the course of the war. It is estimated that the industry of Yugoslavia was destroyed during the war period, from 1941 to 1955, by 35 p. c. of its pre-war value and the number of railway carriages and wagons reduced to 16.6 p. c. and that of locomotive engines to 24.4 p. c. of their pre-war amount.

Immediately after the end of hostilities in Yugoslavia, the task of restoration of the devastated country and of bringing about radical social changes in towns and villages was undertaken. The basis of these changes was the nationalization of industry, mines, communications, transport, trade and the banking system. A thorough agrarian reformation was also effected and the maximum of landed property established, i.e. a prescription stating that each farmer can possess 10 hectares of cultivable land at most,<sup>1</sup> and in towns all buildings consisting of more than two small flats became social property. About three quarters of arable land are, however, still private property and only a quarter belongs to co-operatives and the social sector.

The accelerated rhythm of industrialization exerts a very strong influence upon such a structure of the village and this influence manifested itself in various forms. One of them is also the increased influx of peasants to industrial enterprises.

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<sup>1</sup>Cvetko Kestic' : *Changement de structure du village en Yugoslavie. Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, Vol. XXIII, Paris, 1957, p. 142.

But the influence exerted by industry upon different groups of peasants is very varied. Some peasants are exclusively attracted by factories and mines; they leave their abodes in the country and settle permanently in neighbouring towns, gradually ceasing to be peasants. The rural community considers them no more as its members, nor do they care very much for it. The process of transformation of peasants into industrial workers ends here rapidly, almost at once. Such a peasant grieves for some time over his country home, meets with some difficulty in establishing connections in the new surroundings, but having achieved it, he gradually identifies himself with urban workers. All this is quite clear and gives rarely occasion for controversies. But in addition to this group of peasants, there is still another one, very numerous, which is also in its own way connected with industrial work. Such peasants work in industrial enterprises, but do not break bonds which attach them to their country home, unlike those who definitively move to town. Economical reality and development of conditions in the country draw them more and more towards the town and industries, but the social relations, tradition or some particular interest of theirs attaches them still to the country. They usually solve the problem of existence by taking up a job in industrial enterprises and continuing, at the same time, to till their parcel in the village. They are not yet real industrial workers, but they are not, either, real peasants any more, in fact; they are both—*peasant industrial workers*.

Their number in Yugoslavia is very considerable. According to the available data, they represent almost half of the labour employed in factories and mines.<sup>2</sup> They are particularly numerous in food, timber and textile industries, as well as in mines and building works, whereas they are considerably less employed in chemical and metal industries.

In the present article we are going to analyse these aspects of this important phenomenon: *disposition* of village labour round industrial centres, *varieties* of peasant industrial workers and *changes* in their economy and behaviour patterns.

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<sup>2</sup>Cvetko Kostic' : *Peasant industrial workers*, Belgrade, 1955.

In industrial enterprises, there are usually employed the village paupers, those whose houses are not very distant from it and whom modern systems of transport allow to take up work outside their residence. In this way, round the enterprise is created a space in which it exerts a rather strong influence upon the attraction of labour and which is frequently called the 'industrial zone' of that enterprise. The disposition of labour within the industrial zone itself in particular villages depends upon the quality of land, agrarian population, industrial tradition and other specific factors, and its volume chiefly upon the conformation of the terrain and transport system, i.e. upon the fact whether the peasants come to their working places on foot, by bicycle, bus or by train.

In the adjacent villages of the industrial zone, in which the influence of the industry is irresistible, changes in every direction manifest themselves rapidly. New houses are usually built and they are most frequently closely packed together as in towns. It is partly due to the fact that they are sometimes inhabited by workers coming from other localities, and if they cannot accommodate themselves in some other way, the enterprise constructs huts for them, which makes such villages appear like workers' colonies. But, such villages change fast in other directions too; they change, moreover, also physically. Rivers and brooks on which the industrial enterprises are built are usually polluted by various chemicals and waste products and it occurs frequently that fish perish in them, their water being, besides, quite unsuitable for watering the fields. If it is a mine, it absorbs very often the surface water so that all sources, wells and brooks run dry. Cases are not rare, either, in which industrial gases destroy vegetation in the neighbourhood or inhibit the growth of plants.

Peasant industrial workers do not represent an undifferentiated mass. On the contrary, there are several varieties to be observed among them, which differ from one another to a considerable degree. These varieties have not an identical attitude towards industrial work: some of them work in factories permanently or almost permanently, whereas those

belonging to another variety, only periodically. They are not, either, equally represented as to their number in industrial enterprises, nor is their importance in these enterprises identical. There are, among these varieties also some other qualitative differences which influence very strongly their attitude and the forms of their behaviour both in their working places and in their homes in the country. In a slightly different way presents itself, in this complex, the problem of the peasant women industrial workers, whose number is also constantly increasing.

It is rather difficult to clearly distinguish all these varieties. A complete differentiation between the terms 'peasant' and 'industrial workers' presents also some difficulty. Statisticians, for instance, do not throw full light upon this problem. They make efforts, in truth, to designate this labour group in a particular way; but in doing so, they make frequent mistakes, for they endeavour to solve this question somehow without remainder. In fact, they wish to represent the peasant industrial workers either as 'workers' or as 'peasants'. As a standard is usually taken the economic point: the persons whose family budget chiefly consists of income from work in the factory are considered as 'workers' and those who earn the greater part of their income by cultivating the soil are classed as 'peasants'. Sometimes they resort to some other characteristics for the same purpose. For instance, according to a labour census taken in factories and mines, all peasants working in them for more than five years, regardless of their domicile, are considered 'workers'; consequently, a peasant industrial worker who has worked for less than five years, according to this census, is a 'peasant', although he might be a 'shock-worker' in the factory or perform a highly skilled work, whereas the other who has not acquired any qualifications at all, is classed among 'workers' only because he has worked for five years in the enterprise. Such criteria are today given up, and as the decisive factor for establishing this distinction is taken the *time* necessary for performing the work in the field or in the factory. On this principle is also based the statistical rule that the profession of such persons is

to be determined 'according to the kind of work on which they spend the greatest part of their time.'<sup>8</sup>

The specific character of the work performed by these peasants and the complexity of circumstances in which they live are the reasons why no mathematical delimitation can give a completely satisfactory result. Moreover, this problem cannot be completely solved even if they are asked whether they consider themselves to be workers or peasants: the same person would often answer at first that he is a peasant and immediately after that change his opinion and declare himself to be a worker, according as to whether he thinks that the first or the second answer 'pays' better. Consequently, more reliable results can be obtained only by studying this phenomenon on the spot itself, in typical industrial centres. Unquestionable characteristics of these varieties can be observed only by following their life in the village and in industry by inquiring into the concrete history of the initiation of particular villages and individuals into industry, by studying the evidences of change which took place among them: in their language, points of view, economy, relation towards their immediate environment and other social groups, forms of behaviour, etc.

Through such investigation carried out in the field and by comparing the materials thus collected, one comes to the conclusion that within the large mass of peasant industrial workers there can be distinguished the following varieties: (1) *hybrids*, (2) *hereditary* workers residing in villages, (3) workers who return from the town to their villages on Sundays 'to change clothes', (4) *seasonal* workers and (5) *periodical* workers.

The denomination 'hybrid' is often to be heard in the villages of the 'industrial zone' and it comprises those workers from the country who possess a small piece of land and for whom a favourable transport system makes it possible to take up a permanent job in some enterprise. This is a

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<sup>8</sup>Federal Institute of Statistics and Evidence, *Directions for District, Urban and Community Census Committees as well as for the Instructors of the Census of March 31st, 1953*, Belgrade, 1953,

very numerous and important group of peasant industrial workers in all regions of the country. What their relation towards the factory or the mine is going to be like, depends in the first place upon the quality and the size of their country property. Consequently, they can be distinguished into two fundamental groups. To the first group belong those 'hybrids' who have no land at all or very little. They cannot live by agriculture, but are obliged to employ themselves in industry; only in this way they earn their livelihood and only thus they manage to balance their family budget. Some others again possess in the village only 'a house and a garden', drawing all other incomes from their work in industry. But among them there are some who have neither house nor home but rent a house in the same way as they would have to if they had dwelt in the town. The second group of 'hybrids' consists of those peasants who have a somewhat larger parcel, about *half a hectare* per member of the family. They are not obliged, like those belonging to the first category, to work in the factory at any price, for they could afford to live somehow by agriculture in their village. Therefore, the relation of the former to industry is more solid. As they have no land or possess but very little of it, their only hope is the industrial enterprise, and they make more efforts to master the techniques and the style of factory work and to acquire some qualifications, whereas the others who possess a little property in the village, the hope resides in land and not in the factory or mine. Owing to that, the latter mostly pay no heed to becoming qualified workers but are satisfied to perform for many years only rough work.

There are also some characteristic traits which enable us to distinguish among the peasant industrial workers the two following categories, 'hereditary workers' and those who leave the town from time to time and pay a visit to their homes in the village in order to 'change clothes'.

Some branches of industry have a long tradition and therefore there are around old factories and mines some peasant families in which industrial work is transmitted from generation to generation. In some cases, the father

brings his own son to work in the same working place where he himself had been working for several decades. Such workers are most frequently to be met with around some mines and glass factories and are called in their environment 'hereditary workers'. They usually master the style and technique of work very quickly, for the older ones transmit to the younger the experience they have gathered in the course of many years, a valuable routine that cannot be easily replaced by any other quality. As these workers are usually highly skilled, their income from work is considerably high and exceeds by far the income from the culture of land. Like the 'hybrids' who possess no land or very little, their only 'hope' is the enterprise, and in speaking about it they always say 'our enterprise' and they think its reputation to be of great account.

The workers who return periodically from the enterprise to the village in order 'to change clothes', originate, for the most part, from villages which are rather distant from the industrial zone. As these villages are usually connected with other localities by roads which are in bad repair, the transport system does not allow them to return regularly to their homes. Consequently, they are obliged to take up lodgings in the vicinity of the enterprise. They travel home, every Saturday afternoon, 'to change clothes' and return to work on Monday morning. But 'changing of clothes' is not the only reason of their going home ; they help other members of their family in tilling the soil or supervision, if it is the father, of the work of their children. In addition to this, they usually take with them some 'dry food' in order to improve their weekly sustenance and to make some economies with the food. All of them are most frequently, half-skilled workers, who possess some piece of land of proper quality in the village, so that its cultivation does not afford sufficient livelihood.

In addition to peasants who have a *permanent* working contract with the enterprise, there are still many of them who work only provisionally, only a few weeks or a month or two in the course of a year. Consequently, they are called 'seasonal'

or 'periodical' workers from the country. The former usually work in some branches of industry which are themselves of seasonal character: sugar refineries, tobacco factories, breweries, etc. These peasants come to the factories during the 'campaign', i.e. the season of full work in the course of a few weeks or months. 'Periodical' workers from the country are again something quite different. They do not work in such branches of industry which have a seasonal character, but in those enterprises which work throughout the year; they do not come to work at any determined time, during the 'campaign', but only when they are driven by some necessity; when the year is bad or when they are badly in need of money, etc. As the standard of living of these peasants is generally rather low, they earn quickly money enough to secure their own subsistence and to take home some savings. When this moment arrives, they break off their contract with the enterprise, sometimes without notifying to anyone their intention to quit their post. It is a numerous floating mass of labour which causes serious worries to industrial enterprises and which develops a certain mentality, rather strange to a real industrial worker.

We should not omit considering here another group of the peasant labour—*peasant women industrial workers*. They are particularly very numerous in the textile industry. But there are, in some regions of Yugsolavia, many obstacles, and rather considerable ones, in the way of their work in factories. Moreover, the opinions of the peasants themselves are not very favourable to it. There are some villages whose inhabitants consider women's work in factories to be a genuine misfortune; girls who work there are almost lost for their village. The peasants slander them, impute loss of 'chastity' to them, and sneer at them. Even their fellow-workers from the same village, who work with them in the same enterprise, do not think any better about them than the rest of peasants. Thus, for instance, they usually say that they would rather marry a 'snake' than such a girl. There are some other traits characteristic of this labour group. They usually do not work very long in the factory; at any rate, much shorter than

their male colleagues. It is chiefly due to their weakness, for they cannot stand the strain of a long and continuous walking. When she marries in the village, she usually keeps her job until she bears a child. When the child is born, she usually quits work and lives only in the village.

Peasant industrial workers distinguish themselves both from ordinary peasants and from industrial workers not only with regard to their *incomes* but also their needs. Of course, the environment and the industrial tradition play here an important role. For instance, in some regions the expenses on cultural needs and spirituous drinks represent a regular and considerable portion of the family budget, whereas in some others the expenses on cultural needs are rather small and the use of liquors is prohibited by the religious prescription of Islam. The essential thing in all that is the fact that their needs grow everywhere along with the possibility of satisfying them. This is reflected in various forms of their economy: their houses, clothes, food and other needs acquire in the long run particular characteristics. But this does not refer to all varieties of peasant industrial workers. It concerns chiefly those who have a permanent job in industry, i.e. the 'hybrids', 'hereditary workers' and the workers who go on Sundays to their village 'to change clothes', whereas the 'seasonal' and 'periodical' workers change little in their way of life and in their economy, although they work throughout a part of the year in industry. The peasants do not consider them as a particular category, and they do not wish, either, for the most part, to distinguish themselves from common peasants.

Villages in which there are many peasant industrial workers with a permanent relation to industry are easily recognizable at the first glance. Such localities differ both in form and disposition of houses from other villages. Sometimes these differences are in degrees and are hardly to be observed, but the tendency towards a differentiation is everywhere obvious and it is not difficult to observe it. Thus, for instance, their houses are mostly built of better materials and are located at the end of the village nearest to the enterprise. In their courtyards, there are less annexes than with other

peasants, for their house, like the house of the worker in town, consists only of a room and a kitchen. Beside the house is a pig-sty and a shed for the goat. In fact, they hardly need any other apartments.

With these peasants, the diet and the costume undergo considerable change. They give up the popular garb, for it is very expensive and its cut is not suitable for work at machines. They abandon first those garments which cause the townspeople to sneer at them. Their landed property in the village undergoes also some change. It is not tilled well and in time and, as a rule, cannot be so, for the 'hybrid' has no time, on account of his work in the factory, to cultivate it. On their lands, one meets chiefly with such cultures which do not require any particular work. Vineyards, for instance, are very rare in their possession, for the vine requires great care which they are unable to bestow. But round their houses there are always many fruit trees which do not require special attention and bear abundant fruit, such as plums, cherries, sour cherries, walnuts and apricots. They raise also less vegetables than the rest of peasants. Horses and oxen are very seldom to be met with in their villages, bees are almost non-existent, but there are many cows in them.

The 'hybrids' move in two very different mediums—the first of them is the *enterprise* and the second one the *village*: in the first they work at machines and in the second one they till the land and dwell. Either medium considers them usually as something particular. For a genuine industrial worker they are uneducated, backward, and for the common peasant they are simply 'lost', for they gradually abandon rural traditions, costumes and opinions and in many instances they do not want to behave like peasants. The 'hybrids', again, do not care very much for either opinion; they also have, very frequently, their particular attitude not only towards the genuine workers in the factory or the mine, but also towards the common peasants in the village. A characteristic feature of theirs is that in enterprises they behave more like 'peasants' and in villages more like 'workers'.

In factories and mines people particularly complain of two points with reference to them : *fluctuation* of their labour and some forms of their *behaviour*.

Speaking of the fluctuation of labour in particular enterprises, they are usually accused of the greatest guilt : they are less disciplined than town workers, they often stay away from work causing thereby the failure of planned production in the enterprise. In those departments where peasant labour prevails, production does not develop equally throughout the year ; in spring and summer, during the season of work in the field, it generally decreases. Their principal excuse for staying away from work is that the 'factory does not yield bread, but the field does...' They think that the omission to perform work in the field is irreparable, whereas absence from work in the factory is easily repaired. Therefore, when the season of work in the field comes, they abandon their post in the factory in order to be able to till their land in the country. They absent themselves frequently from work on account of various personal and village festivities, weddings, etc.

The attitude of the 'hybrids' in the village differs completely from what they display in industry. They are easily distinguished from others by their behaviour, costume ; they are different as neighbours and take a different attitude at village gatherings from common peasants. In addition to other characteristic traits, they pay less heed to the Church and rural tradition than the rest of peasants and do not observe very strictly religious holidays. Their hygienic knowledge is greater than among common peasants ; they have also more underwear and preserve it better ; but they need it more, for the work they perform soils it.

All this indicates that the introduction of Yugoslav peasants into industrial work is an extremely important social phenomenon and that it represents a manifold *antinomy*.

Subjectively, peasant industrial workers are people who are simultaneously 'workers' and 'peasants' and consequently have two souls—'peasant's' and 'worker's', and the first one impedes often the second to manifest itself, with many indivi-

duals. Objectively, their work in various enterprises is a useful and necessary phenomenon, for in this way, peasant masses are being introduced into the most organized kind of production, masses which otherwise would have nothing to do in the village or would work but very little.

A logical inference for solving these antinomies would be the interest of the society to deprive peasant industrial workers of their 'property' in the village, for it would mean the disappearance of the principal hindrance which prevents them from becoming genuine and exclusive industrial workers. But there are many obstacles to such a radical solution, which, for the present, make impossible its practical application. One of them is of psychological character, for a considerable part of this labour is not yet prepared to abandon completely their villages and change their accustomed way of life. There is a whole series of other reasons which advise great caution in approaching this delicate question.

In solving this problem one ought to be aware of the fact that the interest of a country with agrarian overpopulation requires that as many of its peasants as possible find their place in industry. On this account the question arises, which section of the huge mass of peasant industrial workers should go to industry and which stay at home. The answer to this question must not be given in a routine way, nor beforehand, but has to be the result of concrete investigation and knowledge of local conditions. However, it can be said that some of their varieties are standing nearer the industry while some others are nearer the village.

'Seasonal' and 'periodical' workers from villages are a numerous and floating labour mass which undoubtedly causes great worries. They are usually peasants from mountainous regions whose principal occupation was stock-breeding, and it is a known fact that a cattle-breeder meets with greater difficulty in trying to accustom himself to industrial work than the farmer. In addition to this, with both these groups of workers in the long run develops a certain *mentality* which is rather strange both to industry and to genuine industrial work. At any rate, it would be most useful if both these

groups could be tranquilized and permanently attached either to the village or to industrial enterprises. The first could be achieved by creating a considerable domestic industry and smaller factories in the villages. In some regions, this practice has already produced favourable results. A similar problem arises with regard to those workers who leave the town on Sundays in order 'to change clothes' in their distant villages. They have no prospect of becoming solid industrial labour under the circumstances of their existence.

With 'hybrids' things look a little different. They say for themselves that their feet are not rooted in the same place—one foot is on their property in the village and the other in the industrial enterprise. It is not a comfortable position at all and many of them change it with time by themselves by bringing both feet nearer each other, i.e. either they settle permanently in some workers' colony and become only industrial workers or withdraw completely to the village and remain what they had previously been—only peasants. In this case, the process of development puts many things in their proper place. But, among them, there are many who do not even intend to solve this problem in either way, but completely get accustomed to that way of life wishing to remain 'hybrids' for the rest of their lives or at least until they are unable to work any more.

# THE KADAR OF KERALA

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THE position of the Kadar of Kerala in Indian ethnology has been a subject of controversy for a long time. The occurrence of frizzly hair alone in a few individuals was put forward as an evidence for the presence of a Negrito racial strain in India. No systematic analysis of the physical characters has so far been made. During the period December 1957 to January 1958, a physical survey of the Kadar was carried out by a party from the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta. A monograph based upon the above investigations regarding the racial affinities of the Kadar will be published in the near future. A preliminary note regarding the work has already been published (Sarkar *et al*, 1958).

The above survey was carried out among the Kadar of four settlements situated within the reserved forests in the valley of the Chalakudi river. The total population of these four settlements, namely, Parambikolam, Kuriarkutti, Orukumbankutti and Ittianai, is about 278 consisting of 66 adult males, 69 adult females, 79 male children and 64 female children. 80 adult individuals (43 males, 37 females) were subjected to anthropometric studies. Of the 140 hair samples studied, only two hair samples could be called frizzly in the strict sense of the term. Another hair sample, however, showed frizzly hair in the frontal region of the head while the rest of the hair which could be tied in a knot on the back was narrow wavy in form. These

three individuals are related as grandmother, mother and son. No other individuals, adult or sub-adult, showed this type of frizzly hair in the four settlements visited by us. These three individuals thus stand conspicuous from the rest of the population by their hair form. According to the serial number of our measurement-forms, the number of the grandmother is 29 and that of the mother is 28. Two other male individuals (Nos. 25 and 30) appear to be conspicuous from the rest of the population by their stature, body build and form, shape and size of their lips. They are related as brothers, while Nos. 25 and 28 are related as husband and wife and the child mentioned above is their son. The two brothers show thick paddy and everted lips, specially the upper ones, developed frontal bosses, broad noses. The child also shows the characteristic lips of the father along with frizzly hair like that of his mother (No. 28).

Thus on the basis of the above characteristics, as well as the general constitution of the two brothers, the presence of a Negro admixture in the population of Parambikolam can be surmised. It will be clear from the accompanying table that, in stature and almost in all characters, the two brothers show higher values than the respective average of the total Kadar males. The two women show Negroid characteristics in their hair, and the lips of No. 28 are much in contrast to that of her mother.

It is well known that Negro slaves were imported into this country from the 14th century onwards by either Muslim rulers the Portugese. Habibullah (1948) estimates the total population of Negro slaves in Bengal to be about 8000 during the 15th century. Sorley (1935) has described the Sidhis of North Kanara as possessing Negroid physical features and their total number has been given as 2244. It is also known from ancient Indian history that there was trade in various parts of the west coast of India, from Saurashtra up to Kerala, in which Arab traders used to participate before they were ousted by the Portugese. It is not unlikely that a certain amount of Negro infiltration might have occurred in the coastal districts of the Deccan Peninsula.

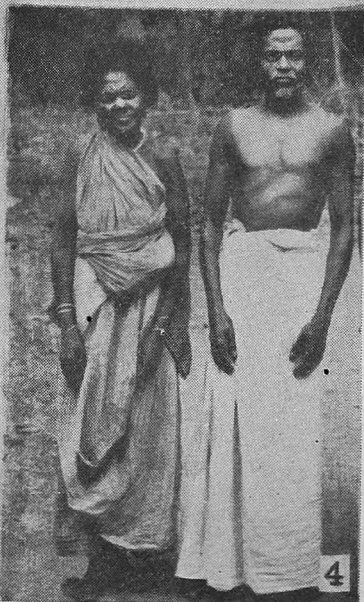
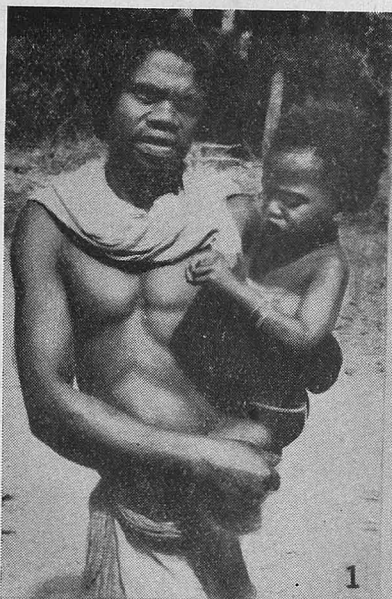


Fig. 1. RAMANKUTTI & his son, Parambikolum ( Serial No. 25 )

Fig. 2. KARAMBI ( wife of 1 ) & her son ( Serial No. 28 )

Fig. 3. KUCHURAMAN, brother of Ramankutti ( Serial No. 30 )

Fig. 4. KARAMBI'S mother and Karambi's step-father ( Serial No. 29 )

TABLE I

	Male Serial No. 25 Fig. 1	Male Serial No. 30 Fig. 3	Total male mean	Female Serial No. 29 Fig. 4	Female Serial No. 28 Fig. 2	Total female mean
1. Weight (lbs.)	116	112	97.30	83	89	81.68
2. Stature (mm.)	1579	1585	1557.50	1408	1439	1435.10
3. Head length (mm.)	195	183	178.90	179	179	179.0
4. Head breadth (mm.)	136	130	132.70	128	126	127.0
5. Head height (mm.)	122	114	114.0	106	118	107.7
6. Horiz. Circum. of head (mm.)	550	517	519.0	—	—	—
7. Min. frontal diameter (mm.)	107	102	97.86	95	93	94.50
8. Bizygomatic breadth (mm.)	139	128	124.93	119	119	118.1
9. Bigonial breadth (mm.)	92	98	96.18	88	83	87.0
10. Total facial height (mm.)	111	104	110.10	111	103	102.30
11. Upper facial height (mm.)	65	59	63.10	66	58	60.1
12. Nasal height (mm.)	46	47	48.0	47	44	44.0
13. Nasal breadth (mm.)	45	40	39.80	37	37	37.10
14. Nasal depth (mm.)	19	16	18.10	17	16	18.80
1. Length-breadth index	69.74	71.04	74.23	71.59	70.39	73.26
2. Length-height index	62.56	62.30	64.89	59.22	65.92	62.39
3. Breadth-height index	89.71	87.71	87.71	82.81	93.65	84.71
4. Total facial index	84.73	84.55	87.71	98.28	86.55	86.45
5. Upper facial index	49.62	46.09	50.14	55.46	48.74	51.40
6. Jugofrontal index	81.68	79.69	78.02	79.83	78.15	79.91
7. Nasal index	97.83	85.11	83.19	78.12	84.09	84.85
8. Nasal elevation index	42.22	40.00	45.33	45.95	43.24	37.33

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Cave of Rouffignac.** *By Louis-Rene Nougier and Rosnain Robert. Translated from the French by David Scott. Pp. 230. George Newney Ltd., London, W. C. 2. 1958. 36s net.*

The book is an interesting narrative of the newly discovered painted cave of Rouffignac in Dordogne in France. Though it does not claim to be a scientific work, it has albeit recorded a rich crop of the new data and prospects concerning early man in West Europe.

The Rouffignac cave is massive and reveals a rich gallery of palaeolithic paintings of the mammoth, rhinoceros, bison, ibex, horse, etc., a total of about 128 mammals, of which the mammoth accounts for the largest number. The animal data are interesting. The reindeer and stag, elsewhere dominant, are here conspicuously absent. Bison and horses are few. There are some anthropomorphic figures, finger tracings, scrolls and spirals. All the paintings and drawings are said to be of the same date. Prof. Abbe Breuil, who has examined the caves, remarks that the paintings suggest a group of interests belonging to the same school. Another interesting feature is the very limited choice of animals for portrayal, perhaps due to selective considerations of tribal, sociological or totemic origins.

The paintings are all in black and are lightly shaded. The figures are carefully executed and are anatomically correct. There is no doubt about the authenticity and antiquity of the figures, although some doubts have been cast upon their authenticity. According to Breuil, the age of the Rouffignac paintings and drawings is at the beginning of the second cycle in the Quarternary art (pre-Magdalenian phase) in Europe.

The book is written in a popular narrative style which captures the imagination of the reader. Students of prehistory will find the book valuable for its wealth of new data concerning the magical art and habits of early man. Articles by Prof. Breuil and others printed in the appendix have added greatly to its value.

D. Sen

**The Prehistory of Africa.** By H. Alimon. Translated by A. H. Broadrick. *Hutchinson Scientific & Technical Series, London, 1957.* 63s net.

Prehistoric research has been very active in the African continent for the last two decades or more and several important works have already been published. It is mainly from Africa, a continent immensely rich in prehistoric relics, that much new light has been thrown on the problems of human origin and cultural antiquity. It was in this continent that the most ancient proofs of man's existence have been found.

The book under review, a verbatim translation of the original French, is an important synthesis of researches done in the various regions of Africa and as such is of invaluable help to students of prehistory. Instead of a chronological order, a regional arrangement has been adopted, as the different regions of Africa are not equally known. For example, the great desert areas and equatorial forests are still *terra incognita*. The author has, however, rightly emphasized the problems of chronology which are different from those of Europe. The characteristic common denominator however appears to be the pluvial cycle, viz. alternate wet and dry phases as established in East Africa — though correlation between the climatic curves in the various African regions still remains largely tentative. Exploration and prospectation of fluvial terraces have provided useful data for the dating of prehistoric sequences of particular regions.

Of the eleven chapters into which the book is divided, nine are devoted to the prehistory of different African regions with special reference to their chronology and typology. An up-to-date bibliography has been added to each chapter. The Maghreb (north Africa, west of Egypt) is more related to Europe than the rest of the continent, and its quarternary chronology is correlatable with that of Europe through the Mediterranean zone. Yet the prehistory of Maghreb presents many features which are characteristically African. The Maghreb beaches contain a wealth of pleistocene fossils and artefacts and thus it is a region of great interest. The Egyptian corridor reveals its own peculiarities from the Egyptian Levalloisean to a microlithic industry. The Egyptian neolithic however is marked by foreign elements. East Africa reveals a

continuity and climatic data unknown farther north in the continent. Here has been observed a gradual evolution of the handaxe from the Oldowan pebble culture. South Africa also reveals a great development of the handaxe and a close association of flake and biface techniques.

The author has suggested a tentative correlation between different regions of Africa on the basis of the pluvial cycle established in East Africa and supplemented by palaeontological evidence. The author however is conscious of its limitations and has pointed out the need of first establishing correlations between contiguous regions and then of fitting them into a general scheme for the whole continent. The same may be said with regard to India where regional climatic peculiarities must be first taken into account before an all-India correlation is attempted. In palaeolithic prehistory, Peninsular India and tropical Africa have many features in common, especially in their typology and climate. As in Africa, we have here also a rich pebble culture followed by the handaxe. The biface technique was gradually replaced by Levallois-Mousterian techniques, which in their turn were generally replaced by blade and microlithic industries.

The author has emphasized the essential continuity of African prehistory from the pebble culture on to microlithic and mesolithic facies. The reviewer however cannot agree with the author's contention that this long lithic cultural evolution was independent of foreign influences. The human fossil record is still scanty and similar tool-techniques such as those connected with the biface, the Levallois-Mousterian, microliths etc. are observed elsewhere (as in Asia), outside the continent of Africa. We are yet uncertain whether certain tool-techniques (remarkably similar in widely separate regions) followed a parallel and independent course of evolution or not. No doubt, special geographical conditions in Africa might have influenced the development of human genius ; but how is one to account for the similar tool-techniques coming from countries far from Africa ?

The book is amply illustrated and documented and each chapter has a useful summary and bibliography at the end. The reviewer congratulates the author for publishing an interesting synthesis of African prehistory and recommends the book to serious students.

D. Sen

**The Western Apache Clan System : its origins and development.** By Charles R. Kant. Pp. 99, with charts and diagrams. 1957. University of Mexico Publication in Anthropology, Number Nine. Albuquerque. \$ 2.00

The author has made a comparative study of the seven Southern Athapaskan-speaking tribes with the object of showing how certain types of economic adjustment are related to certain specific kinship patterns. It is shown that the adoption of agriculture by tribes formerly subsisting on hunting and gathering leads to the formation of unilineal descent groups, a thesis earlier propounded by Fortes, Darryl Forde, Lowie and others.

The Western Apache form one of seven closely related tribes living formerly in the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico. These seven tribes, inspite of their close linguistic and historical relationship, show certain conspicuous differences in economic and social organization. They range from the food-gathering Chiricahua and Mescalero to the clearly agricultural Navaho and Western Apache. Corresponding to this, there is a range in kinship systems 'from thorough-going bilateralism to definite lineal structure' (pp. 1-2).

A preliminary examination leads the author to conclude that the seven tribes evolved from a common 'proto-Apache' base through a historical process which has left the Chiricahua and Mescalero closest to this base and has brought the Navaho and Western Apache farthest away from it. The Western Apache, for the most part, abandoned hunting and gathering, took up agriculture; and a system of matrilineal clans developed among them 'from the identification of matrilocal groups with particular farming sites' (p. 81). With the development of matrilineal clans there took place certain changes in their system of kinship terminology, the most notable among which was the overriding of generations in certain cases for terms applied to members of the same clan.

The main body of the work is divided into three sections. In the first section the author makes a comparison of Southern Athapaskan kinship patterns on the basis of the existing literature on the subject. In the second section he gives us a study of the Western Apache, showing the development of a lineal structure among them. For this purpose he utilizes historical records covering the last hundred years, and the genealogies collected by

Grenville Goodwin and himself. Finally, in the third section, he gives us from his own field-work material a more detailed study of a particular Western Apache community, the Cibcuc.

The study brings up once again the old problem as to how far, in the study of kinship, patterns of behaviour may be deduced from patterns of terminology. The study of kinship terminology no longer occupies the central position in anthropological theory as it did for the generation of Rivers and his immediate successors. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The relationship between terminology and behaviour rests on such complex factors that alternative explanations may easily be offered for the same set of phenomena. Such a case of ambiguity is very well brought forward in this particular piece of work. In an important passage, the author says, 'The question remains to be answered whether or not merging of terms implies a greater or less intense relationship between a group of relatives and an individual' (p. 23). This is precisely the point. In this case the author assumes that merging of terms does imply a more intense relationship, and draws his conclusions accordingly. Now, if he made the opposite assumption—and he shows us no good reason why this should not have been done—his conclusions, naturally, might have been entirely different.

The author apparently takes as his theoretical model the studies of kinship terminology worked out by Radcliffe-Brown and his American followers, notably Fred Eggan and Sol Tax. It may not be out of place here to point out what appears to be a fundamental anomaly in the works of the authors cited above. They would give us an explanation of kinship in purely 'structural' terms, where questions of psychology are stated to be irrelevant. It is curious, nevertheless, that these 'structural' explanations contain at bottom assumptions, like the 'equivalence of siblings', the 'principle of alternate generation', which are purely psychological in nature. Since psychological assumptions are being made in any case, it would seem natural to expect a somewhat more careful examination of the validity of these assumptions. It may, for instance, be settled once and for all whether, with respect to behaviour, the merging of terms does in fact imply a more intense relationship before conclusions of the nature made above can be satisfactorily worked out.

Andre Beteille

**Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship.** By *Louis Dumont*. Pp. 45, with charts, diagrams and genealogies. *Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 12. 1957.

The author set himself the objective of showing how, inspite of wide differences in content, the organization of groups may have the same basic forms. Kinship is his theme, and the groups he studies are some of the subcastes of the Tamil-speaking districts of Madura, Tinnevely and Ramnad. They include three of the Kallar subcastes, the Kondaiyain Kottai Maravar, and the Nangudi Vellalar. Some of them are patrilineal, some are matrilineal.

The author first considers the gradation of status *within* some of the groups, and concludes that, although apparently of a different nature, this gradation is in each case based on the same set of factors, namely, on certain features of kinship organization. The endogamous groups form subdivisions within them which themselves tend to become endogamous, and hierarchically arranged. The highest subdivisions are the results of close intermarriage between chiefly lines, and the lowest draw their recruits from the offsprings of unorthodox unions. The author does not go into the question of specifying at which point the 'subdivisions within the endogamous group' attain the status of subcastes, although he does not hesitate to show his impatience over the general looseness in the use of the terms caste and subcaste.

The facts noted above are related to the formulations of Manu regarding the status of the offsprings of mixed unions. The author seems a little too eager to press the claims of his own findings in respect of kinship in explaining the principle of caste hierarchy. Evidently, this hierarchy has other dimensions, some of which may be equally, if not more important.

In analysing the main kinship features of the different groups, the author attempts to show again that a sameness of form underlies a diversity of content. There are the Pramalai Kallar who are patrilineal and patrilocal, and practise preferential marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Then, there are the Nangudi Vellalar who are matrilineal and matrilocal, and marry the father's sister's daughter. In between we have such groups as the Kallar

of Paganeri who are matrilineal and patrilocal. The features found to be in common are (i) the presence of (single) unilineal descent groups, and (ii) the condemnation of double cross-cousin marriage. The relations between these features are thus described by the author, 'On the whole, the general interrelation as found here can be expressed in a more particular form. Against a background comprising paternal features, marriage would be correlated with descent: partilineal descent would go with matrilineal marriage and vice versa' (p. 21). The actual interrelation of features is, for all that, not very successfully demonstrated. The presentation is, in fact, marred by too much enthusiasm on the author's part to fit the data into the theoretical schemes of Levi-Strauss.

In the last, and theoretically the most important section of the work, the author makes an analysis of what he describes as marriage alliance. He argues convincingly that in a society where 'kin-marriage' is the rule, the bonds of affinity have to be seen as something just as fundamental as the bonds of kinship, and not ancillary to them. Further, such regulation of marriage causes it 'to be transmitted much as membership in the descent group is transmitted. With it, marriage acquires a diachronic dimension, it becomes an institution enduring from generation to generation, which I therefore call "marriage alliance" or simply "alliance"' (p. 24). The dichotomy in terminology and function between kin and affines is explained. It is shown finally that, alongside with descent, there is another, and complementary category, that of 'alliance' which is seen to underlie and give shape to a common South Indian kinship pattern.

This little booklet contains interesting information, and some of it is of genuine theoretical value. It is, however, somewhat vitiated by a tendency on the author's part to indulge in polemics when he might have more profitably, and with greater clarity, presented his material straightaway. He seems constantly to give new, and ostensibly more precise definitions to older concepts, and this occasionally leads him into unnecessary verbal tangles, as in this, .....the unit of exogamy may be much larger than the exogamous unit.....' (p. 4).

**Changing Society In India and Pakistan : A Study in Social Change and Social Stratification.** By A. K. Nazmul Karim. Pp. 160. Oxford University Press, Dacca, East Pakistan. 1956.

A careful reading of the book shows that the author is not very clear about the objectives of his study. Social stratification and social structure have been used without much discrimination in the statement of objective. Despite the different statements about the objective of the book and satisfying arguments for writing it, the actual achievement is a historical study of the patterns of social stratification among Hindus and Muslims from early times to the post-partition period. The results of the impact of British rule are presented not as a direction of departure but as a mere stage in the history of changing social stratification in India. A description of the systems of social stratification among Hindus and Muslims before the British came occupies the bulk of the book and therefore it becomes difficult for the author, within the short compass of the rest of the book, to present and analyse the relevant data regarding the British period and after. The author has given priority to economic factors as motivators of change in the system of social stratification. The importance of the economic factor should have come, if at all, as an end result of the analysis rather than as a thing taken for granted. It seems that the author is very much impressed by the 'hydraulic' theory of Max Weber and therefore he shows that the stability of Indian society, higher status of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas (legislative and executive branch respectively of the system of water control and public works) and subordinate position of the Indian bourgeoisie were some of the important consequences of 'water' control. The reviewer feels that a theory like the present one should be applied with great caution, in view of the size of the country and its many diversities.

The author's analysis of Muslim social classes in India, specially in East Pakistan and the account of a village in East Pakistan are very satisfactory, otherwise the facts contained in the book are already well known to an average student of Indian history. From the standpoint of analysis the book is full of sweeping generalizations, irrelevant data and hypotheses which fail to develop on the basis of the given facts.

Promode Kumar Misra

**Village And Plantation Life in North-Eastern Brazil.** By Harry William Hutchinson, 1957. Pp. 192.

This study is an analytical description of a community in a sugar-producing region in north-eastern Brazil carried out as part of the Columbia University Community Study Project from July 1950 to June 1951. Later on, the author visited Vila Reconavo, a town in north-east Brazil in 1955 and 1956 for further work. In the last chapter a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956 has been added.

The book on the whole is a fairly well-documented ethnographic account of a community which started its flourishing career as a sugar-producing centre, bringing enormous wealth to aristocratic families. The author has analysed different aspects and situations presented by the sugar-cane industry. Rural Vila Reconavo is marked by the plantation of sugar-cane, where at present two systems, namely, *engenho* (the family-owned and directed plantation and sugar mill combination) and recently introduced *usina* (sugar factory-control by the factory of the entire process) are functioning. The two systems have different hierarchy of personnel which has been quite elaborately dealt with and illustrated. The relation between workers (now wage labourers but formerly they were slaves) and the owners is still paternalistic in the *engenho* system while in *usina* it is formal and highly impersonal. The author has been fortunate in having gained access to various historical records including a private diary. His historical account of the plantation industry therefore is valuable, but one gets the impression that the historical account occupies quite a space in a small book of 192 pages. The best part of the book covers an able analysis of the social structure of the plantation community. It is really interesting to note that everybody in the community is conscious of the question of race which determined, in day to day life, the status and roles of individuals on the basis of physical features which have a wide range from Negro—Red Indian to White. Physical groups with various combinations of features (white and black features, are prolific in Vila Reconavo due to the century-old sexual relations among the White, the imported Negroes and to a lesser extent the local Indians. The author's analysis of the changing patterns of religious customs and practices, indicated by the

falling popularity of the costly African cult and rising interest in the cheaper Indian cults interestingly show the dominant role played by economic factors in the life of the community in determining even religious activities. Promode Kumar Misra

**Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa, South of Sahara.** *Prepared under the auspices of the U. N. E. S. C. O. by the International African Institute.*

The need for systematic study of social conditions and trends among urbanized and industrialized African populations has increased since the publication of Orde Browne's *The African Labourer* (1933) and the pioneer enquiry on the *Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt* (1933) sponsored by the International Missionary Council. A tremendous change has since taken place in various spheres of African economy, commerce and industry, and in its labour force. Consequently a number of social institutes, Government sponsored as well as private, have worked on various projects in order to study social and cultural changes among Africans. In the transition period of any society, social engineers have a great part to play in studying the various implications of the social, cultural, religious and legal aspects of life.

The book under review is a faithful collection of various field reports from eminent workers belonging to different disciplines. Most important among them are the papers read in the conference held at Abidjan under the auspices of the U. N. E. S. C. O.

J. V. Francis

**Prehistory : Proceedings of the Third Pan-African Congress, Livingstone 1955.** *Edited by J. D. Clark. Pp. xxxvii-440, coloured plates, vii, with numerous plates and illustrations. Chatto and Windus, London. 1957. 75 sh.*

The present book is a record of the proceedings of the Third Pan-African Congress on prehistory held at Livingstone, North Rhodesia, from July 22 to 28, 1955. This Congress which meets approximately every four years, enables workers in the fields of prehistory, Quarternary geology and palaeontology to meet and discuss mutual problems and obtain up-to-date information on research projects that are being carried out in various parts of the African continent.

The book is divided into three major sections besides containing some informative details about the Conference and a few public and popular lectures delivered on the occasion.

The first section on Quarternary geology, general palaeontology and climatology includes 22 papers, half of which are devoted to the symposia on Kalahari sands and the Australopithecinae. The Kalahari sands are undoubtedly of much importance in determining the Pleistocene and Palaeolithic chronology of South Africa, and Wayland rightly considers it as 'the desert sand that was blown over much of Southern Africa approximately during the post-Acheulian pre-Levalloisian times' (p. 106). The papers by Arie Poldervaart, J. A. Malbutt and others dispel many a doubt and go a long way in settling the chronological position of the Kalahari sands and in throwing further light on its importance in relationship to man (p. 157).

During recent decades investigation on Pleistocene and Holocene geology in different parts of the world have shown regional differences. In Section I, the papers by H. Korn and Davies illustrate such differences in South-West Africa and the Gold Coast. The paper on climatic and cultural sequence in the Late Pleistocene of the Gold Coast by Davies throws fresh light on these questions.

Section II on human palaeontology has some interesting papers. The symposium on Australopithecinae has brought together materials from different fields and many perspectives. They go to substantiate Oakley's view that they 'range in time from second half of the early pleistocene to the beginning of the middle, and that they overlap, in time the earliest pebble tool culture of South Africa' (p. 157). Koenigswald's distinction between *Meganthropus* and *Australopithecinae* is thought provoking.

Section III on prehistoric archaeology has a number of papers ranging from Kafuan culture to Early Iron Age sites; and they attest what Movius wrote in *Anthropology Today* that 'Africa constitutes one of the few places in the old world where there exists a direct link between archaeology and ethnology' (p. 171).

To students of African prehistory the book will serve as an encyclopaedic inventory and will remain a landmark for some time to come.

D. P. Sinha

**Handsome Beggars : the Story of the Ceylon Rodiya.** By M. D. Raghavan. Pp. 156 including bibliography and index. Plates 9. Colombo Book Centre, Ceylon.

The present work is an illustrated account of the Rodyias of Ceylon with a population of over three thousand.

At the outset the author presents the fascinating legends of the Rodiya about the genesis of the community. Then he probes into the structure and pattern of Rodiya society. A notable point is the heterogeneous development of Rodiya culture in two separate areas, one in the Kandyan cultural area and the other in Vanni. A significant point is the variation in the basic physical features of the tribe due to miscegenation with extraneous elements since feudal days and this has accelerated social change. There is also much useful material on the basic problems of Rodiya life, art, dance, and religion as well as social change. Towards the end of the volume, a chapter has been contributed by C. M. Austin de Silva on the vanishing Rodiya dialect.

Santi Bhusan Nandi

**Gaya Old Records.** By P. C. Roy Choudhury. Pp 323. Printed by the Superintendent, Secretariat Press Bihar, Patna. 1958. Price Rs. 3.

The book consists of eleven chapters dealing with records concerning various administrative matters connected with economic and social life, public health, jail, communication and the movements of 1857-58. The period covered is from 1832 to 1872. While some of the important letters concerning policy matters of English officers have been published in their original form, a summary of the other letters have also been included.

The records are invaluable for those interested in the socio-political history of Bihar. If such records of all districts are published, it will be of great help to historians interested in writing the social history of India during British rule.

A. B. Saran

**Man the Peculiar Animal.** By R. J. Harrison. *Pelican Medical Series, A 412, 1958.*

Professor Harrison has discussed within the compass of this short book all the peculiar aspects of man. Beginning with a

historical account of the development of anatomy, the author discusses man's zoological relationships, his pre- and post-natal life and the other anatomical characters by which man is specifically distinguished. In the chapter on reproductive pattern both pessimistic and optimistic views on the future of the world population have been taken into account, and the author has done well by drawing attention to Professor Goodhart's recent work on the influence of natural selection on human fertility.

S. S. Sarkar

**Primitive Religion :** *By Paul Radin. Pp. x+322 including Notes and Index. Dover Publication Inc., New York. 1957. \$ 1.85.*

The present volume is a new and cheap edition of Paul Radin's book first published in 1931. The text has not been altered except for a minor correction and on the whole, as the author says, the 'presentation of the religious beliefs and experiences of primitive people has stood the test of time amazingly well'.

The Dover Publication has done a good job in making available the present cheap edition and it deserves our congratulations.

K. N Sahay

**Religious Behaviour.** *By Michael Argyle. Pp. xii+196 including references and index. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. 1958. 25s. nett.*

The author who is Lecturer in Social Psychology at the Oxford University makes an attempt to study the social psychology of religion in Britain and America since 1900. He analyses a great deal of empirical material drawn from various statistical sources such as church records, social surveys and psychometric studies, and shows how psychological, sociological and physiological factors go to determine the religious behaviour and beliefs of people.

The book opens with a brief discussion on psychology and religion and the author says that a psychologist is concerned only with the causes or empirical conditions of religious phenomena, and whether these beliefs or rituals are useful, are problems for a theologian.

Mr. Argyle proposes the use of some indices, viz. church membership, frequency of church attendance, saying of private prayers, attitudes towards religion, etc. with the help of which he tries to classify various kinds of religious people. He further discusses the statistical approach to the study of religious behaviour and examines the behaviour pattern of various people.

In chapter four, the religious activities of Great Britain and the U. S. A. from 1900 to 1957 have been presented, supplemented with various statistical figures. It also gives us a comparative account of the two.

In chapters five to eight, the author shows how environment, age, sex and personality difference go to influence the religious behaviour of people. The most interesting fact which comes out is the impact of stress on religious behaviour. Prayer was found useful in battlefield by many soldiers. Women are usually more religious than men, particularly in private prayers, and this may also vary from one denomination to another.

In chapter nine, the author poses an important question whether religious people tend to be more or less mentally disordered on an average than non-religious people. He examines it in the light of theories and findings advanced by a number of psychologists and comes to the conclusion that there is little evidence that religion ever *causes* mental disorders—apart from the states temporarily induced in hysterics by revivals—or that religion *prevents* disorders. Although young religious people have an above-average tendency to be neurotic, and psychotic patients often have religious ideas, these religious symptoms may be projections of deeper conflicts. General causal theories in this area exaggerate the extent of the relationship between religion and mental disorder (p. 119).

Talking about sexual and marital life of religious people, which is based on the surveys made by Kinsey and Chesser, the author shows that they have a lower total level of sexual activity. Widowed people have the highest level of religious activity and single people are slightly more religious in comparison with the married.

In the concluding chapter, various theories in the study of religious behaviour, viz. the theory that religion is a response to

frustration, the theory that God is a projection of the father-figure, obsessional neurosis theory, cognitive need theory and physiological theories have been examined. Mr. Argyle points out that although various theories have been put forth, almost no attempt has been made to verify them against empirical data ; and to fill up the lacunae, he himself tests the theories against the copious materials collected in the book.

K. N. Sahay

**The Darwin Reader.** Edited by Marston Bates and Philip S. Humphrey. Pp. 481. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1957. 30 shillings.

The editors have presented important extracts from Darwin's writings, They have excluded passages which are not of much interest or importance for the general reader. The success of the book lies in that it does not appear as a piece of patch-work but as an organic whole.

But the book does not give us all aspects of Darwin's thought. The editors have excluded Darwin's most voluminous work. *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*. Something from that book could perhaps have been profitably incorporated in the the present 'Reader'.

The addition of a short autobiography by Darwin adds to value.

A. B. Saran

**The Social Organisation of the Lowiili.** By J. R. Goody, M. A., B. Litt., Ph. D. Pp. 119. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. London, 1956. Fifteen shillings.

In this ethnographical study of the Lowiili, a tribe living in the centre of the Sudanese zone, the author focusses attention on their economic relations, kinship, descent group, territorial and social systems. He dwells at some length on the problems of tribal grouping and endeavours to remove the confusion of nomenclature of this tribe which exists in the ethnographical literature of that area. Changes taking place among the Lowiili and also among the surrounding people have been studied.

Devendra Bhagat

**Land of the Tollund Man : The Prehistory and Archaeology of Denmark.** By *Palle Lauring* (Translated into English by *Reginald Spink*). Pp. 160 with 4 line drawings and 77 photographs. Lutterworth Press, London. 1957.

It is a popular book on the prehistory and archaeology of Denmark. Its name has been derived from the Tollund bog from which a preserved human body, a sacrificial victim of the Iron Age, has been unearthed.

The book begins with the culture of the first settlers passing through the Stone Age and Metal Age cultures and ends at the beginning of the Viking Age. The geological background, as well as many other problems of prehistoric Denmark, have been dealt in a very lucid manner without sacrificing their scientific value. As such it can well be read by students seeking information on the prehistoric archaeology of northern Europe. The manner and vividness of the descriptions, added with beautiful photographs, having almost a three-dimensional effect, are two outstanding qualities of the book.

G. RAY

**Buried Treasure :** By *Paul Johnston*. Pp. 111 with 67 photographs. Phoenix House Ltd., London. 1957.

The story behind a successful series of B. B. C. television programmes dealing with varied archaeological subjects is the main theme of this book. The twelve chapters are based upon twelve programmes of which two are on Piltdown Man. The other ten are on The Cave Art of France, The Remains of Jericho, the Maltese Megaliths, Stone Age House-building, the West Kennet Long Barrow, Stonehenge, the Etruscans, the Chariot burial of Vix, Maiden Castle and the Tollund Man. It is interesting to know how some of the odds of bringing prehistoric past on television screen was overcome. Some more facts of archaeology added to them could have fulfilled the need of general readers, interested in archaeology. This has to a certain extent been met by the addition of a bibliography. The book is well illustrated by photographs.

G. RAY

**The Science of Culture : A study of man and civilization :** *By Leslie A. White. Pp. xx + 444. Grove Press Inc. New York, 1949. 1.95 dollars.*

Many of Professor Leslie A. White's well-known articles on Culture have been collected in this book. Professor White has been a most ardent advocate of the establishment of the science of Culturology. The term was apparently coined by the chemist, Wilhelm Ostwald, and White considers that it is time to rescue the study of Culture from the shadow of a lingering anthropocentrism and raise it to the level of an objective science.

White's argument is that, just as linguistics or the history of architecture can be studied scientifically without reference to the psychology of the individuals who use language or make architecture, so Culture can also be studied without reference to the individuals or groups whose lives are undoubtedly involved in culture processes ; Culture can be studied in terms of its own laws. Any final reduction of culture processes in terms of psychology is not only irrelevant but misleading ; and they spring eventually from a lingering belief that man is, after all, the centre of the cultural universe.

White uses strong words in his advocacy of the present view, and is impatient with any anthropologist who, according to him, shows signs of anthropocentrism. Even those who looked upon culture as being governed mainly by its own laws, like Kroeber or Lowie, have not escaped his sharp criticism when the latter tried to delve deeper, in their own opinion, and sought for 'psychological' or 'biological' processes underlying manifestations of culture.

Unfortunately, the reviewer also belongs to the school which believes that, although culture can, by and large, be understood in terms of itself, these processes themselves throw a new light upon man's nature or behaviour which is perhaps not available from other sources. Yet, one must admit with White that culture should be analysed, 'as if' (to quote an expression of White himself) the individual were irrelevant to culture processes. The only point held by the reviewer, in modification, is that our study should not end at that point.

The present tendency in anthropology to reduce everything quickly to psychological terms has obviously led us into barren

paths. An emphasis in the other direction, like the one advocated by White, is therefore desirable, even if its leanings are violently in the opposite direction. One has however to remember that White's view does explain generalities, and in the study of particulars, one can hardly afford to ride rough-shod over preferences shown by groups for a particular kind of selectiveness, which is a frequent phenomenon in situations of contact.

White's defence that the observed selectiveness is itself the *result* of cultural influence, begs the question. The range of variation in end-products of cultural conflict is so wide that preferences and their origin have to be accounted for with sufficient care. It would not be fair to *start* with the view that the particularities of such selectiveness *are* determined culturally. Who knows? Perhaps a more intimate analysis may reveal processes in operation in which culture was apparently guided by its own laws, and also the partially independent life-experienness of groups played a not insignificant part in shaping cultural processes. And the origin of the latter may not have been in every case due to predictable cultural force, but due to situations which cannot be summarily observed and neatly labelled as collective or group-phenomena.

A more open mind, and the humility that there is much more to learn from the study of particulars, is perhaps called for when there is danger that a well-rounded view, sufficient in the case of generalities, may lead us into the temptation of disregarding the unexpected in course of our study of particulars.

N. K. Bose