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MAN IN INDIA

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RELIGION AND SOCIETY

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Abstract : The author defines religion in a particular manner, and tries to show how faith of some kind or another forms the core of all cultures, whether 'primitive' or 'advanced'. He then compares several cultures and tries to show how the present conflict of civilizations in India can be viewed as a conflict between 'faiths'.

Introduction

MUCH depends upon the way in which the term r e l i g i o n is defined. We shall try to define it in a particular manner ; but that should not imply that the definition is superior to others which might be suggested. It is presented here in order to help the reader to appreciate the sense in which it is being used in the present paper.

As an anthropologist dealing with various kinds of cultures, we realize that *what men live by* is often a particular view which they hold about the meaning and purpose of the Universe. This view is not always very clearly defined ; but sometimes it may. It is also observed that a strong emotional overtone attaches to the world-view, while a feeling of certainty is, at the same time, carried in regard to its authenticity.

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It is this world-view, derived partly from sense-experiences and inferences based upon them, *plus* views that are obtained through imagination or intuition which forms the intellectual core of religion. But there is more to it. The world-view, as we have said, is clothed with feelings and emotions of various kinds. It also helps in the conscious regulation of the behaviour of persons who live under a particular set of beliefs. Pragmatically, it also helps the individual to identify himself with a larger social group, and thus emancipates him from the narrow bonds of involvement in selfish or immediate small interests.

We would prefer to denote this complex by the name of Religion ; and also suggest that no man, either individually or collectively, can live without one kind of religion or another.

It may be useful at this stage to note that the world-view with its emotional or pragmatic concomitants is not equally shared by all those who are ruled by that world-view. Religious experience may be directly available to a small fraction of the total population, while the balance often share in it in a vicarious fashion. The direct experience of religion is substituted in the case of the latter by a kind of pale, second-hand acquiescence, which often degenerates into a kind of ritualistic observance, both in the field of belief as well as of action. The latter, i.e. the more populous fraction, hold on to the belief in a dogmatic manner ; while, among the former, who have direct access to religious experience, beliefs are flexible, subject to questioning and revision, and with a consequent potentiality of expansion.

We shall thus begin with the conviction that every civilization is built round a particular religious faith which helps the individual to transcend the narrow bonds of his personal involvement. This is as much true of an aboriginal culture as it is of the highly sophisticated culture of the scientific man of to-day. In order to illustrate this, examples will be drawn from two fields, namely, from among the semi-nomadic Birhor, and from the culture of India which has been passing through a crisis, and in which both the proponents of Westernism and Indianism are deeply involved.

The Nomadic Birhor

The Birhor are a small tribe living in parts of southern Bihar and northern Orissa. They make their living by hunting, collecting and the processing of jungle produce which is exchanged for paddy or for cash with their settled agricultural neighbours. They live in small, shifting settlements of their own ; each settlement being formed by a group of men and women bearing consanguineal or affinal relationship with one another.

The Birhor of Hazaribagh District are divided into the Raonsa and Magahia divisions. The former are hinduized in some of their rituals, while the latter are less so, thus being closer to the 'animists' of early Census authorities. The Raonsa division perform a religious festival called the Karma in autumn, an excellent account of which has been provided by Jyoti Sen of the Anthropological Survey of India. *Karam* is the name of a tree (*Adenia cordifolia*) which is worshipped during the festival by the Birhor, as well as by other tribes and castes who inhabit this part of the country.

The Karma festival is observed once in two or three years, for money has to be stored for meeting its expenses. Two performances were observed by Jyoti Sen in 1964 in a particular Birhor settlement, in which close kins clubbed together in order to hold their own ceremony. A very brief description will be now given of some of the principal features of the ceremony.

The festival begins with an offering to the ancestral spirits. Vermilion, collyrium, turmeric, mustard oil, a few twigs used as toothbrush, are offered by each woman on five leaves of the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*) laid on the ground in a river bank. These leaves are supposed to represent the seats(?) of ancestral spirits. Those who make these offerings go through a mock performance of anointing the ancestors with oil, bathing them, and so on. When it ends, some earth (or sand) is ceremonially brought in a bamboo platter to the place fixed for worship of the *karam* tree.

Then, on a cleaned and sanctified spot in front of one of the residential leaf-huts, the earth is mixed with several kinds of seeds like paddy, millet, pulses, maize, etc. and set upon a makeshift tripod stand. This is watered every day until, in about a week's time, seedlings begin to appear; these being necessary in the Karma festival itself.

On the day appointed for the festival, after some preliminary celebrations, two young men among the participants, suddenly began to show signs of an impending trance. They shrieked, quaked, and then fell upon the ground where they began to roll about for a few minutes. The men were whipped by means of a doubled piece of rope in order to make sure that the trance was no fake. It is believed that if the fit is genuine, then no marks would be left on the skin, and it would also not hurt. The men did not however seem to be sensitive at all to the beating.

In this state, both of them suddenly got up and started running towards the near-by forest. After having gone about quarter of a mile, they reached a *karam* tree, when one climbed it, while the other clasped its trunk. Offerings were made to the tree by other boys and girls who had run after the two young men. Two branches were cut, and then ceremonially carried in procession to the appointed place of worship. The branches were planted in the ground, and grass bangles, garlands of flowers or leaves, small cut pieces of cucumber, gram and coarse sugar were tied in small packets to some of their leaves.

The two young men were even then in a somewhat abnormal condition. In the meanwhile, women sang songs, and with offerings circumambulated the newly planted branches. Suddenly, one of the men relapsed into a trance, and began to shout repeatedly, 'Why have you cut my branches? I will not allow it. Why have you brought me here?' The participants were firmly of the belief that the young man had been possessed by the spirit of the tree, when promises of further offerings were made to the tree-spirit.

There were several other rituals in which chicken were sacrificed and prayers offered for better hunt and collection of a richer harvest of *chop* fibres (*Bauhinia vahlii*) for making ropes

next year. The whole night was spent in music and dances. Those who now participated were not only kin but also friends and neighbours belonging to other castes or sects with whom this particular group of Birhor had dealings of one kind or another. The offerings were distributed among kin as well as among friends.

The significant aspects of the above ceremony may now be listed as follows :

(a) Through a festival of the above kind, the small group of Birhor try to re-affirm their solidarity with the kin as well as with some of their friends and neighbours.
(b) To start with, the ancestors are also appeased.
(c) Living in the midst of trees and forests, the Birhor also wish to establish friendly relations with the spirits of the former. The Karma festival is indeed an excellent means of expressing gratitude and veneration for the spirits who allow them to reside in peace in the jungle.

The Birhor seem to reach out of their immediate ranges of perception by trying to create a world-view in which they and their ancestors live in the company of unseen spirits with whom they endeavour to establish relations of friendship. In doing so they also reach out of the immediate bonds of their personal involvement. This is done by sacrifices of time and labour, and also by means of expenses in which they have to strain themselves considerably. All this gives them a kind of assurance in living, and a fortitude to keep their heads up even in the midst of their daily deprivations and sorrows. In this manner, religion performs a perfectly useful and moral function even when the Birhor continues his traditional way of life, and looks upon it as the very best under the circumstances.

Spiritual crisis in India

As the author is more familiar with the specific case of Bengal, the present section will be introduced with a brief

statement about what is happening in this particular part of India.

Bengal is engulfed to-day in a kind of spiritual crisis. Calcutta is both the economic as well as cultural centre of West Bengal; and what is happening here is fairly representative of the changes to which the whole of the State is subject. Economically, the Bengali seems to occupy a rather low or second-grade position in the city. Its population contains 50.7% Bengali speakers; but the percentage of males who are unemployed shows that Bengalis constitute 71.3% of the total number.[1] There is a growing complaint that in both bureaucratic and commercial services, the Bengali finds it harder to get a job than formerly. The proportion of industry and agriculture in the State is lop-sided; and to this has been added the strain of accommodating several hundred thousand refugees who fled East Bengal. To this mounting array of problems, one must add the growing feeling that the interests of the State are not looked after with sufficient care and attention by the Union Government.

There is consequently a widespread feeling of frustration and discontent. In previous decades, when Bengal seethed with political activity, nationalism itself provided a large part of Bengal's religious faith. Literature and drama were deeply inspired by it, and it also provided the basis of social activities of many kinds. Voluntary service associations, educational institutions, and even clubs for physical culture were established in large numbers all over East and West Bengal in order to promote the spirit of nationalism.

But after India attained independence, the voluntary, small-sized associations of the past suddenly seem to have lost much of their attraction. The size of the world's economic problems has undoubtedly grown large. The State now allocates to itself powers and responsibilities which are difficult to manage efficiently under the present bureaucratic control. The average citizen therefore feels too small and insignificant to cope with the large-sized problems by means of his small combinations. And when he contemplates over the responsibility of rendering the governmental machinery

more effective, he feels pretty nearly helpless, and thus lands himself into a kind of spiritual vacuum. And yet man must live ; and this can be done only by dependence upon faith of one kind or another.

There are several kinds of world-views based upon faith which seem to be popular in Bengal to-day. Of course, we shall leave out of consideration a certain fraction who feel that nothing can be done about it ; so why not wait until something better turns up of its own accord, or someone else creates the revolution which will transform the conditions of life. These are virtually faith-less in a spiritual sense, although the number of those who thus refuse to accept their social responsibility and take refuge in private worlds of their own making is not inconsiderable in number. Their presence gives rise to a widespread feeling that people to-day are more self-centred, and even more 'selfish' than ever before. For our present purpose, we shall leave this fraction out of consideration, except by drawing attention to the fact that it is this section which lends a left-handed support to totalitarian dictatorship by means of their passivity and negativism.

We shall proceed to examine the cases of two other sections who have been able to keep alive their faith, and who also live in the hope of better days to come. What then are these faiths ?

Throughout the nineteenth century, Bengal became the battleground of those who advocated westernism and those who tried to maintain their moorings in Indian culture, and yet incorporate as much of the West as suited their prevailing temper and needs.[2] After the progressive growth of nationalism in all parts of India, and particularly since India became independent, Bengal finds herself to-day in company with those who were less prone to advocate the westernization of Indian culture. The demands of nationalism all over India are now more insurgent than in the past.

Yet, there is a fairly strong group of intellectuals in Bengal who feel that nationalism is no longer an answer to the problems of the contemporary world. They believe that perhaps socialism is ; but they seem to be divided in their

mind about what form that socialism is going to take. In spite of disunity on this score, a significant fraction of Bengal's intellectuals is apparently united in the belief that the ground must be prepared for radical social change, when the chains which bind us to the past have to be rent asunder. Nationalism, in their opinion, is a retrogressive step, and one must be emancipated from it in order to contribute adequately to 'progress'. And with this end in view, they try to recover their faith by intellectually holding on to modernism, secularism or Marxism. Such an intellectual does not act with sufficient energy and determination in order to bring about the revolution swiftly. But if others act, he is with them. If there are signs that India's attachment to the past, is crumbling down, he rejoices in his hope. In other words, such a man of faith, for whom modernism has taken the place of religion, contributes to a certain extent to the making of the spiritual climate of Bengal to-day.

But there is another section which lives not by this but by another faith. The complaint of the latter about the former runs along two lines. Firstly, the world-view of the modernists is said to be largely a pale, intellectual substitute which has hardly been nurtured by direct participation and experience, except in the case of a negligible fraction. Secondly, and perhaps as a result of the lack of immediacy of experience, the former are pathologically or romantically enamoured of the Gospel of Destruction[8] : they hardly know anything about the faith of India which they tend to scorn, and which they are out to destroy. The third complaint is that the Destroyers *live* one kind of life and *wish* for another. They live in their private westernized worlds, away from contact with the actual faith and potentialities of the people whom they pretend to represent and lead.

We are however not interested in the mutual mud-flinging between the two camps. But what is the faith by means of which the second camp lives ?

During the nineteenth century, several movements of reform took place in Hindu society. Some of these were inspired by a spirit of rationalism and humanism, as it had

come to India from the West. Others were more frankly politically oriented. Many of them, however, tried to build up a new church of reformed Indianism, which accepted, whether consciously or unconsciouly, the prevailing values of the West.

Perhaps it was the Ramakrishna movement which laid an emphasis upon fundamental Indian values without trying to dress them up in European garb.[4] Moreover, Ramakrishna's faith was built upon direct experience in contrast to much that had been hitherto in occupation of the field. Ramakrishna stood for the essentially Indian view that truth appears to men in fragments only; and one has to live in humility produced by the knowledge that others have the same right to their fragmentary views of truth as he has in regard to his own. Only, he should never tarry on his way, but proceed on his pilgrim's journey until he reaches Truth without boundaries.

It was on the basis of this relativistic view of Truth that Ramakrishna's successor, Vivekanada, built up a new spirit by means of which intellectuals in India began to feel that they could now destroy all the accretions which had gathered in Hindu civilization without destroying its core. They could also absorb from the West the best that it had to contribute without losing in self-esteem. Idolatry of the past was as much a bondage as an idolatry of the future; even if the latter could be supported by the successes scored by Europe in recent times.

Gandhi represented in a more active and extensive form the spririt for which Vivekananda had become the symbol. He planted his roots deep in Indian culture with which he maintained contact through his unbroken daily service of the 'masses'. He also read the scriptures and illumined them by the light of his continuous experience and contemplation. While depending upon the spiritual strength thus gathered directly from Indian roots, Gandhi tried, at the same time, to fashion instruments of action which would be capable of dealing with the magnitude of present-day problems.[5] Even if, at moments, he was overwhelmed by the enormity of

India's social or political problems, and when those who worked with him in democratic institutions refused to subscribe to his fundamental ideas, Gandhi was capable of re-conquering his own faith, and carrying the common people of India with him. They readily sensed in him one of their own kind. They also felt instinctively that here was a man who spoke from directness of experience, and for whom reliance upon faith was not a matter of intellectual profession alone.

Let us now revert to our original question as to what is happening in India to-day. One can reasonably say that we are still in the midst of an unresolved conflict in which two world-views are, in the main, struggling for supremacy over one another.

On the one hand, there are those who seem to live by faith in secularism and modernism, and for whom the immediate task lies in clearing the ground for a more wholesale acceptance of western modes of economic and social organization, so that the poverty and inequality which corrupt our life may be quickly brought to an end. If, in the process, some of the superior values of human existence like freedom or liberty are to be suspended, they feel that these can be looked after when the immediate problem has been solved. Their faith is partly derived from the history of countries from which they gather, in a very selective manner, 'facts' which support their faith. As in the case of much religion in which experiences are not direct, such a group tends to be dogmatic and impatient with those who raise questions about the selective nature of their data, or even in regard to the premises lying behind their intellectual professions. And yet, it is this faith in a completely secular world-view, in which things of the human spirit are given second-rate value and left to take care of themselves when times are more propitious, which keeps them alive amidst the present conflict of faiths.

On the other hand, there is the other group who claim to live closer to the soil, and who believe in the possibility of India's acceptance of all that is worthy in the world of to-day without losing her specific identity. The world,

according to them, is broad enough to accommodate various fragmentary world-views side by side, provided none of them is debased into dogma. Some in this group depend on directly realized experience which has led them to value human freedom even above the immediate needs of economic and political solutions. They feel that there is no necessary conflict between the two. Methods can be devised of solving the latter even without the temporary sacrifice of freedom, which is held to be inevitable by the opposite camp. Along with them, there is a larger band whose faith is however based upon second-hand experience, as in the case of the former. This majority tends to be more dogmatic, more narrowly nationalistic. But there is no reason why the presence of the latter should be a bar to an appreciation of the point of view of those who speak from direct experience. The latter, like Gandhi, never hesitated to re-examine their own premises if doubts were cast upon them.

Conclusion

We are thus living in an age of spiritual conflict, a conflict of faiths in which there is a shift of forces from one side to the other. Such shifts are occasionally the result of crises in the history of a nation brought about by events over which it may have no control. Probably men belonging to each faith live in the hope of moulding leadership in their own direction in the midst of a crisis. It is faith in their mission, and the patience to wait for a historical moment of destiny when they will put forth all their best *and conquer*, which tends to make them dogmatic and unresponsive to the quantum of truth which may also lie on the other side.

To this has to be added the more numerous following formed by less energetic, less active people who allow others to think for them and provide leadership in 'holy wars'. It is thus that the balance in the present world is tipped in favour of dogmatism and blind faith, in spite of the more vital core which exists on both sides, and which is not afraid of examining and re-examining the elements of its own faith.

Perhaps, it is all for the best that both the faiths described above happen to co-exist in Indian society. There is, of course, no particular merit in their blind co-existence. But if each view is held as an active, living force, then perhaps they may help to keep one another in their true mettle.

There was a time in India when the caste system was built up along with the federation of communal faiths known as Hinduism. Economic and social life were organized by strictly discouraging the element of competition. Castes and the daily life of men were under totalitarian control, subject to the needs of society, as interpreted by a contemplative class of thinkers, who were supposed to be bound by the vow of poverty. Even then, totalitarian control may have hurt. And a remarkably original way of assuring individual freedom was devised through the institution of *Sannyāsa*. Sannyasins were not subject to social control ; they were either subject to the control of their particular Orders, or to complete self-regulation or *Swārājya*.[6]

A combination of wholesale control for fostering social welfare and assuring individual freedom through the safety valve of *Sannyāsa* was thus built up over centuries in India.

But the system of production associated with caste was found inadequate to cope with large numbers of men or a growing standard of life. When originally designed, it incorporated certain weaknesses due to conquest and subordination of primitive communities ; and these weaknesses became more manifest as time went on.[7]

Not only so, even the federation of faiths in Hinduism, with its law of respect for faiths other than one's own, became a routine affair, devoid of intellectual and moral alertness.

A civilization can thus become fossilized even if built with great wisdom. And when we realize this tragic potentiality in human history, it appears to us that it has been all for the best that, in India to-day, we are passing through a conflict of opposing forces. If each hurts the other, not in blind fury, but with their minds and hearts alive, and if each feels that all truth may not lie only in its own possession, then this historical situation of conflict may itself become an instrument

of promoting the progress of Indian civilization. It is not a question of 'either this faith or that', but a question of each fertilizing the other—even though tastes may be bitter—which will help Indian society or civilization to reach up to greater heights and a degree of integration never reached by it in the past.

The reader will thus notice at the end that we have chosen to look upon the whole conflict in contemporary India as essentially a conflict of world-views with their concomitant quanta of feelings and of rules of action. And from this point of view, the problem of society in India resolves itself into a problem of religious ideals and of the complementary roles which they can play in regard to one another ; of course, the term r e l i g i o n being used here in the sense in which we have chosen to define it in the beginning.

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THE BAIDS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

P. MEERA KHAN

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Abstract : The Baids are an interesting community belonging to Andhra Pradesh. They are Muslim by religion and live by the practice of indigenous medicine. The authors have tried to present an ethnographic account of this group, which is endogamous by custom.

THE Baids of Andhra Pradesh are a sub-division of the Muslim community. They are thus *a priori* different from the Hindu Vaidyas of Bengal. Their Telugu neighbours refer to them as Panni-katla Sayibulu, meaning, the *panni*- or comb-making Muslims. The other Urdu-speaking Muslims call them Panni-bandh which means the *panni*-making men. The comb referred to here is an essential part of a hand-loom and *panni* and *ancha* are synonyms for it in Telugu.

They call themselves Baids when talking among themselves. Whenever asked about his community by a non-Baid, a Baid always says that he is a Muslim. He seldom reveals himself as a Panni-bandh or a Baid. Therefore, their identity as a separate community is hidden.

Originally, the authors thought that this community was restricted to only four districts, namely, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur in Andhra Pradesh. But, during the present investigation, it was found that their distribution is much wider, spreading not only into other districts of Andhra Pradesh but also into the States of Orissa, Madras, and Maharashtra. In every district there are about ten to fifteen villages, each having a few families of Baids residing in it. It

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is interesting that for centuries the Baids of East Godavari District have been ignorant of the existence of the Baids in an adjacent district, namely, Visakhapatnam. As neither administrative nor anthropological records contain any reference to the Baids, and also because of their migratory habits, it is not yet possible to describe their complete distribution in Andhra Pradesh or elsewhere. The Panni-making Baids have so far been found in areas where weavers are numerous. The present investigation is confined to the Baids of the four districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur.

In physical features, the Baids are indistinguishable from the surrounding Hindus. There is a wide range of skin colours, and the hair form varies from straight to wavy. Hair colour is usually black, with occasional examples of reddish hue. Future anthropometric and genetical studies may throw some light upon their racial affiliations.

Language

Most of them speak Telugu with the same accent and fluency as the other Andhras in their neighbourhood. They converse in Urdu with Urdu-speaking Muslims. Muslims excepting the Doodekulas (Pinjaris) speak Urdu only in their homes in Andhra Pradesh. In addition to Telugu and Urdu, the Baids have their own language which has no script. The Baid language appears to be a curious mixture of several Indian languages as illustrated in the following table. A complete linguistic analysis is necessary to find out the actual affiliations of the Baid dialect.

Baid word	The probable original word	The probable language from which it was borrowed	Meaning	Remarks
Baid (बैद)	Vaidya	Bengali	Medicine man	The Vaidya (Medicine man) caste of Bengal might be the source.
Peela (पीला)	Pilladu	Telugu	Boy	Telugu *pilla* might have altered through Hindustani influence; thus the masculine is *peela* and the feminine is *peeli*.
Peeli (पीली)	Pilla	Telugu	Girl	
Kakkā (कक्का)	Kakkā	Oriya	Father's younger brother	It is the same in several North Indian languages.
Attā (अत्ता)	Attā	Oriya or Telugu	Father's sister	It can be also from Tamil (*attai*) Kannada (*atte*) or Marathi (*atya*) with slight modification.
Kunibi (कुनिबि)	Kunbi	Marathi	Farmer caste	
Khattu (खट्टु)	Khatto	Oriya	Cot	
Kukkuḍā (कुक्कुडा)	Kukkuṛa (Fowl)	Oriya	Cock	*Kukkuṛa* in Oriya under the influence of Hindustani may lead to the masculine form *kukkuḍa* and the feminine *kukkiḍi*.
Kukkidi (कुक्किडी)			Hen	
Gallu (गल्लु)	Gallu	Punjabi	Word, News	
Gallu karna (गल्लु करना)	,,	,,	To speak	

Baid word	The probable original word	The probable language from which it was borrowed	Meaning	Remarks
Nakku (नक्कु)	Nāk	Hindi	Nose	
Kannu (कन्नु)	Kān	,,	Ear	
Anku (अंकु)	Ānkh	,,	Eye	
Attu (अत्तु)	Hāth	,,	Hand	
Binjal (बिंजाल)	Brinjaul	Persian	Brinjal (Egg plant)	
Likku (लिक्कू)	Liquor	English	Liquor	

Panni making and the practice of indigenous medicine including crude surgery are the two hereditary professions of this community. Their private language helps them in preserving their professional secrets. It is interesting to note that there is a desire to learn Sanskrit, especially among young men from the families engaged in this medical practice. The obvious reason is that the knowledge of Sanskrit helps them in studying Ayurveda, the main source of their medicine.

Story of their origin

According to S.V.Q. of Chanubanda, a Muslim named Naura was the originator of this community. Naura was a Punjabi who stayed for a long time in Gujarat and then travelled all over India learning languages. He acquired a knowledge of certain important medical techniques which he wanted to share only with a selected few. As he did not wish to reveal the secrets of his profession to other than his own followers, he gave them a private language which was constructed by borrowing words from several Indian languages. Sometimes he used the words as they were previously used, but sometimes he deliberately distorted their structure before incorporating them into his synthetic language. According to our informant, this is the traditional story current in his family.

If this story is true, Naura must have selected his followers from a caste which was intelligent enough to understand and adopt his profession and willing to embrace his faith. The *panni*-making caste was probably suitable for Naura and was also ready to accept his offer, because the rewards for preparing the *panni* were too small and they were in search of a better means of livelihood and social status. If this is correct, Naura gave them a religion, a language, a code of conduct, a profession and a name, viz. Baid, the Sanskrit for which is *Vaidya*, i.e. those who practice medicine. In course of time the medical profession became their main source of income while *panni* making was relegated to a secondary position.

Communities trying to upgrade themselves in this way are well known in India. When a caste is downtrodden, it often embraces another faith such as Islam or Christianity.

Occupation and means of livelihood

The present means of livelihood of the Baids are (1) medical practice, (2) *panni* making, (3) agriculture, (4) agricultural labour, (5) business, (6) tailoring and (7) government employment. Among these, their main sources of income are still the community professions, medical practice and *panni* making. Some practise medicine only, while others make *pannis*, but there is no taboo on a medical practitioner from *panni* making, and *vice versa*. In Bandaru Lanka in the East Godavari District we found several individuals simultaneously practising both. Sometimes, all the members of a family may collectively practise medicine, *panni* making and agriculture together. The younger maternal uncle (*Ninna Mamu*) of one of the authors (P.M.K.) changed his profession several times. First he learnt *panni* making until his sixteenth year. In his 16th year he was apprenticed for some time to a Baid medical pratitioner, and practised medicine until his 35th year. During this period he earned sufficient money to start business. Later he started banking and agriculture in addition to his medical practice and business. He does not usually employ paid labourers, all the members of his family being usually engaged in the activities of his varied professions. His is one of the two rich families among the five Baid families of Ambajipeta. The other rich family in Ambajipeta owns one of the largest rice mills in East Godavari District. Their property may be worth 5 to 6 lacs of rupees.

In contrast to this family of Ambajipeta, the family of Ghalib of Veleru in Krishna District makes its living by agricultural labour. Ghalib lives in a small rectangular single-roomed thatched hut with his wife and one of his sons who is employed as an agricultural labourer by a Hindu cultivator of the village.

The head of the only other Baid family in Veleru is a successful medical practitioner and owns some land. He stated that he earns Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 a month by medical practice and possesses about 15 acres of land. He is also the

vice-president of the village panchayat. Ghalib's thatched hut is just by the side of this man's tiled house.

Only one Baid family lives in Eluru, the headquarters of West Godavari District. It is a joint family of a father and son, living in a tiled house of their own. The head of the family is about 65 years old. His wife, son and daughter-in-law and their children help him in the various processes of *panni* making which is their sole occupation. It takes two or three days to complete a *panni* and they earn about Rs. 2 to 3 per day, which is barely sufficient for maintaining the family. They stated that they draw customers from Peddapuram in East Godavari District to Vijayawada in Krishna District, i.e. from a radius varying from 60 to 100 kilometres. From the gathering of the raw stems of *jawar*-millet from the fields, to the finished *panni*, all the stages of construction are performed by the members of the family without the help of any outsider. This family is a typical example of Baids whose sole occupation is *panni*-making.

We found two types of Baid medical practitioners. There are, firstly, permanently settled medical practitioners, of whom S.V.Q. of Chanubanda is an example. He settled in Chanubanda 15 years ago and has constructed a big thatched house from his earnings. He supports a large family. His eldest son, also trained as a medical practitioner, is 22 years old, married, and the father of a 2-year old girl. This eldest son treats patients in the surrounding villages under his ailing father's guidance. In spite of his long-standing practice, S.V.Q. does not seem to be flourishing. His income is just sufficient to maintain the ten members of his family.

The second type of medical practitioners are quacks and consequently itinerant, not staying in one place for more than a year or two. They travel from village to village, claiming to be experts in the treatment of chronic diseases. These do not usually succeed in curing and hence after extracting some money from their patients they move on to a distant village leaving behind a trail of ill feeling. S. M., elder brother of S. V. Q.,

belongs to this category. We were told by S.V.Q. that S.M. became a yogi (an ascetic) and retired to Bhadrachalam in Khammam District, a Hindu pilgrimage, and established an *ashrama* called *Deshaguru Ashrama,* which we were unable to locate, although we visited Bhadrachalam for this express purpose. The local people had not heard of its existence in the past, but told us that S. M. of the same description had lived there for one to one and a half years, boasting of curing piles and cataracts permanently, and challenging qualified medical practitioners to do so. Finding it too difficult to earn his livelihood in Bhadrachalam, he moved on to Cherla, an interior forest village, 30 miles away. At Cherla, we were told that he had practised medicine for six months and after one or two unsuccessful surgical operations on piles faced considerable bitterness and left for even more interior villages in the Bhadrachalam Agency. Thus, some of the Baids who are incompetent in their profession of medicine lead the life of vagabonds.

Such Baids as are known to be sincere practitioners and have earned a reputation for their efficiency are almost always stationary. For example, the late P. B. of Ambajipeta was a famous physician and surgeon of his time and was well known around his native village.

Only two graduates who are also in Government service are known to the authors. One is an M. Sc., B. Ed. employed as a senior science assistant in a higher secondary school, and the other (P.M K. of this article) is an M.B.B.S. Very few others have had college education. Previously there was a taboo on Government service and even on travelling overseas. Those who dared to cross the sea were excommunicated. But the Baids of the present generation are more inclined to educate their sons and let them be employed by the Government.

With an increase in the number of practitioners qualified in allopathic medicine, the Baid medical practitioners are withdrawing to places where there are no such doctors. Also,

a number of Baids, previously practising medicine and *panni* making are taking to agriculture, business and other means of livelihood, provided there are opportunities of doing so.

Dress and decoration

Their dress and decoration are similar to those of the surrounding Telugu people. The men wear shirts and *dhotis* in the Andhra fashion. Men of the older generation, especially medical practitioners, wear a turban, and allow the hair on the head to reach down to the shoulders. The younger generation do not wear turbans and the hair styles are similar to those of the Hindus. A few of the old men grow beards with upper lips and head clean shaven, just as among orthodox Muslims. We have not so far seen any Baid wearing a pyjama and *sherwāni*.

Women wear *sāris* and blouses Unlike Hindu women they do not decorate their foreheads with *kum kum* (vermilion), but they plait their hair and decorate it with flowers in the fashion of the surrounding Hindu women. Their ornaments are also similar to those of Hindu women. Round about the 10th year some girls' ears are pierced along the rims of the pinnae so that a number of golden rings can hang from them. Widows wear white *sāries* with light-coloured borders. Like Hindu widows, they make themselves unattractive both in dress and decoration. Purdah is also observed only in certain villages.

Food habits

Rice is the staple food of the Baids as of other people in Andhra. They also eat mutton, chicken and fish. They do not eat Islamic tabooed foods like pork or the meat of sharks. As they also do not eat beef, their food habits are similar to those of the surrounding Sudra castes.

In Cuttack (Orissa) there are two Baids, M. A. B. and S. M. The former was excommunicated because he married a non-Baid Muslim woman S. M. is an orthodox Baid. When S.M. was asked whether he would take

food in M.A.B.'s house, he replied that he would not eat in the house of that outcaste who had joined the beef-eating community. This sort of aversion to beef-eating is one of the reasons for their assertion that they are superior to the non-Baid Muslims.

Family

The number of Baid families in a village varies from time to time because of the nature of their profession. Generally, all the Baid families in a village live together. Their relations with the surrounding Hindu castes resemble those between various castes of Hindus. They live in harmony with other families of the village.

The father is the head of the family. It is his responsibility to protect and provide for his wife, children and other dependants. After marriage a son does not generally establish a separate household. In Chanubanda and Eluru we found only extended joint families where sons reside with their fathers even though they themselves had several children. In Ambajipeta all the five families were joint families. The richest family was a joint family for thirty years. This family is composed of parents, five married sons and their offsprings. Recently the five sons have divided their property and established separate households of their own. The parents are living with their eldest son who himself has a married son residing in the same household with his wife. We thus find a vertically extended family of three generations living together.

Sometimes, because of professional considerations, a son leaves his parents and establishes his own household in some other village, e.g. the elder son of Ghalib of Veleru has established himself near Chintalapuri because he practises medicine there.

The Baids are patrilineal and patrilocal. Inheritance of property is from father to son. Daughters are not given any share in the paternal property. This is contrary to the Muslim law of inheritance, according to which daughters are also eligible for a share in the paternal property. After marriage,

the daughters live with their husband's relatives. But whenever there is any ceremony in the house or festival celebration in the village, the daughters and their husbands are invited. It is significant that they invite daughters and sons-in-law during Hindu festivals also, and present them with clothes and other valuables as the neighbouring Hindus do.

Marriage

Polyandry and polygyny are strictly prohibited. Only monogamy is practised. They are highly endogamous but with four exogamous subdivisions each having a separate 'surname'. These 'surnames' are those of the four endogamous groups of more typical Muslims, namely, Saiyad, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan. Anybody who marries outside the Baid community is excommunicated. The preferred alliances are between cross cousins of both types and between maternal uncle and niece. The marriages are predominantly consanguineous, resulting in a complex network of overlapping kinship relationships. There is a Baid proverb, '*Baide nay bara nathe*', i.e. 'twelve different kinship relationships can be traced between any two Baids'.

Unlike other Muslims, marriage between parallel cousins is taboo among Baids. The only permitted method of acquiring a mate is by negotiation. Marriage by elopement is unknown. As among Hindus, widow remarriage is prohibited, and even if the bridegroom dies after betrothal and before marriage, the bride is considered to be a widow. A widower can remarry any number of times. Previously there was neither dowry nor bride-price. But nowadays the dowry system has crept into the Baid community also.

Negotiations for a marriage alliance are initiated by the bridegroom's parents only. It is below dignity for the bride's party to approach the bridegroom requesting him to marry their daughter. The bride's parents hold in theory that as long as their family has got a good record and their daughter's conduct and character are commendable, bridegrooms must come in search for her. So, under any circumstance, the bride's party would not initiate the marriage proposal.

Previously girls were married before puberty. Nowadays more and more marriages are taking place after puberty. Boys are married after the performance of the *khathnay*, an initiation ceremony which generally takes place between the 12th and 14th years.

A marriage ceremony to-day lasts either one or two days, depending upon the economic position of the parties concerned. During the last two decades, the duration of the marriage has been gradually reduced from seven to five, five to three, three to two and two to one day only. This is in tune with a comparable reduction in the Hindu marriage ceremony, especially among Brahmins from five days to one day during very recent times. The duration of the orthodox Muslim marriage in Andhra is one day only.

The marriage ceremony is performed according to a procedure which differs in some respects from that of other Muslim marriages. Only on the last day of the ceremony, at the time of *nikah*, is the Maulvi Sahib invited to officiate.

Bani and Nyae bandhna

Bani is a meeting of the community council or panchayat for settling major issues which are likely to affect the existing code of conduct and create precedents. During a *bani*, the Baid elders of various villages gather at a centrally situated place. Thus, for the Baids living in the districts of East Godavari, West Godavari and Krishna the *bani* will always be held in Seethampeta near Eluru in the West Godavari District, even though no Baid lives at Seethampeta.

Whenever an issue involving the whole community arises in a particular village, the elders of the village send two messengers to all the villages in the neighbourhood to inform the Baids about the dispute, agenda and time of commencement of the *bani*, inviting the elders to participate in the discussion. These representatives constitute the council of the Baid community, competent to discuss the immediate problem in question. The eldest man among the Saiyads presides over this conference. This is because the Saiyads are considered to be supeior in

social status to the other three, Shaikhs, Mughals and Pathans, in their descending order of superiority. This hierarchy is maintained in council discussions also. A Syed's opinion is given more weight than that of a Shaikh, and Shaikh's than that of a Mughal, and Mughal's than that of a Pathan. The deliberations may continue for several days or weeks till a unanimous decision is arrived at. This decision is announced by the presiding Baid and is strictly enforced by the elders in their respective villages.

A *bani* is held very rarely, usually less than once in five years. We heard that after many years, a *bani* was held recently in Seethampeta for deciding whether to allow a widower to marry a widow in view of changing social customs in modern times. This case was from a village near Vijayawada where a Baid widower had eloped with a Baid widow, returned home after a few months and applied for the permission of the community to allow marriage between them. So a *bani* was held in Seethampeta for three days. Finally, it was decided to leave the matter to the free will of the parties concerned. That implies that in future the community will not come in the way of such marriages with the threat of excommunication as was the practice previously ; but no encouragement was also given to the above conduct. That such a *bani* was necessary (considering that the Prophet Muhammad married a widow) again underlines how far this community is away from orthodox Islam.

While *bani* is for considering the question of radical changes which involve the conduct of the whole community, *nyae bandhna* is for the settlement of individual disputes according to existing customs. *Nyae bandhna* is usually held during ceremonial occasions when a number of elders of the community gather together at one place.

During these ceremonies, a particular time is allotted for the hearing of disputes. Again, it is the eldest Saiyad who presides over such hearings. If a Saiyad is not available, a Shaikh takes his place and so on down the hierarchy.

Usually, cases involving personal prestige are heard during these proceedings. Both complainant and defendant are heard, and the case decided immediately after hearing their respective statements. During such meetings, a large quantity of liquor is consumed at the expense of the party or parties involved. The liquor has earned the title of '*Baid pane kā yād*', which means 'remembrance of being a Baid' and without which the meeting cannot be conducted.

These disputes are decided not according to the injunctions of the Holy Koran but according to their own traditional customs which are distinct from Islamic law and are not recorded.

All other civil and criminal disputes can be taken to the courts of law just as in the case of other Hindus and Muslims. Though the Baids respect the rules and regulations of the Government, the age-old code of conduct forms the code of their political organization and it is rarely that they go to a modern court of law in order to settle disputes.

Religion

They observe all ceremonies and festivals like Ramzan, Muharram and Id according to Muslim practice. They also celebrate Hindu festivals like *Sankrānti*. They do not regularly go to a mosque. A few join the *namāz* and that too on special festive occasions. A Baid in a mosque imitates the actions of other Muslims during *namāz*, as few of them know how to perform it.

During our field-study we saw pictures of Hindu gods hanging on the walls of their houses. They burn incense before them on festival days. Many of them read the Hindu epics *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and also the *Bhagavadgita*. During our conversations with them, most of the older generation of Baids frequently quoted the *Ramayana* the *Mahabharata*, especially the *Bhagavadgita*, in support of their arguments.

Like the neighbouring Hindus, they believe in the existence of spirits and spirit possession. They make offerings and

sacrifices to Hindu village deities whenever faced by a crisis. Whenever anybody is suspected of being possessed by malignant spirits, they use either *tayettu* or *raksha reku* (talisman), *vibhuti* (sacred ashes of cow-dung cake) and vermilion, etc. to drive away the spirit and ward off future possession.

They perform an initiation ceremony called *khathnay* which is peculiar to the Baids. The *khathnay* ceremony is different from *khatna* (circumcision) ceremony, which is also performed by Baids in common with other Muslims. *Khathnay* is not performed by other Muslims. *Khathnay* is performed between the 12th and 18th years, whereas *khatna* is performed in childhood. *Khathnay* is a male initiation ceremony only. Until the performance of *khathnay* a boy is not considered to be a *bona fide* member of the community who can exercise his opinion in case of community disputes. So also until he becomes a real member of the community he is not considered to have attained the status for acquiring a wife. During the performance of *khathnay*, the boy is ceremonially introduced to the community drinking of liquor. Dr. Helen Spurway Haldane tells us that 'the Jews have such an adolescent ceremony, not only the Hindus'.

Unlike other Muslims they observe birth and death pollution. The Maulvi Sahib of the village mosque is the officiating priest during death ceremonies. During all religious and social ceremonies of the community, the Baids indulge in ceremonial drinking of liquor. This practice is in violation of the Muslim code of conduct and injunctions of the Koran.

A Baid is prohibited from travelling abroad. Thus, two families of brothers of Kothuru of Amalapuram Taluk in the East Godavari District who had gone to Rangoon before the second world war were excommunicated, and consequently they secured wives from other Muslims and socially mixed with them. This similarly affects the people going on the Haj pilgrimage.

Thus both the secular and the religious life of Baids is a mixture of Hindu and Muslim practices with a strain of primitiveness.

Modern movements

With the rapid increase in the number of power-looms and the advent of modern medicine, their principal sources of income—*panni* making and medical practice—have become un-remunerative. So, many Baid families are finding it difficult to earn their livelihood. Moreover, their age-old customs have become too stringent and also repugnant to a section of the younger generation, as these cannot be reconciled with the teachings of their explicit faith, namely, Islam.

These two factors have resulted in a desire for reform among certain sections of the Baids. This has brought into being two distinct movements. Firstly, there is a movement among Baids of certain regions for a complete merger with other Muslims, both in faith and in practice. They have completely eschewed their community customs by marrying women from other Muslims and following Islam more faithfully. S.P.A. of Veleru informed us that the Baids of Akiveedu of West Godavari District have given up Baid customs and have become strict adherents of Islam. We were told that in Bhattiprolu they have made it compulsory to perform *namāz* five times a day, to study Urdu and Arabic and to recite the Koran regularly. We were also told that nowadays most of the Baids of these places have become rich and educated after having given up their old traditions.

Secondly, there is another movement among Baids, which has been very recently started and whose aim is to work for economic uplift through governmental help. This may be regarded as consisting of the conservative core of the Baids as it refuses to reform their customs. Recently, this movement has established the 'Andhra Pradesh Momin Sangh' with P. D. S. of Ambajipeta as its president, M. M. of Jagannadhapuram as chief secretary and M. N. of Ramachandrapuram as convener. They held their first meeting on 22nd November, 1963, in Ramachandrapuram in the East Godavari District and designated it as the 'Andhra Pradesh Panni-katla (Momin) Caste's First Congress'. During this meeting they reviewed the difficulties of the Panni-making Baids. They also

decided to establish district-wise working committees of Baids to strengthen their organization. The most important aim of this *sangh* is to impress upon the Government the backwardness of their community and to press for their community being included in the list of Other Backward Classes in order to derive the benefit of governmental help in education and employment of their children.

It is significant that they have styled themselves as Momins, a weaver 'caste' of Bengali or Bihari Muslims. This is the first time that we have ever heard a Baid calling himself a Momin. The Baids do not weave, and only a fraction of them make the *panni* which is a part of the hand-loom of the Hindu weaver castes. But in Andhra, weaver-castes like Saale and Devanga have been included in the list of Backward Castes and these Baids, in their eagerness to get themselves recognized as a backward caste, have adopted the name of the Muslim weaver 'caste' of another State. This contemporary adoption of a new name is thus comparable to the adoption of the name Baid which they believe took place centuries ago, and which we have argued was also for economic and social reasons.

We have yet to investigate whether there are any similarities between the Baids of Andhra Pradesh and the Momins of Bengal or Bihar, apart from their common religious faith, and also whether there are any features common to the Baids of Andhra Pradesh and the Hindu Vaidyas of Bengal, except their common traditional occupation.

We called the members of this organization as conservative, because they are not interested in social reform which may help them come nearer to the main body of the Muslim community. They are not simply disinterested, but they are actually averse to any reform. This has been amply demonstrated during their second meeting in Tadepalligudem in West Godavari District. In this meeting, we were told that S. P. A. of Veleru pleaded for the removal of the taboo on widow remarriage. He referred to the plight of the poor young widows and cited examples in support of his

plea. But none agreed with his views, and from then on they have stopped inviting him to their meetings.

This is because most of the Baids, probably for complex social and psychological reasons, are arguing that they are superior in social status to other Muslims. They seem to treasure their Hindu-like customs such as monogamy, prohibition of widow remarriage, taboo on beef-eating and foreign travel, etc. as the unique features of their community.

Conclusion and summary

The social customs and religious practices of these people are a mixture of Hindu and Muslim customs. Their rules of endogamy, monogamy, prohibition of widow remarriage, and the threat of *Kante kadna* (excommunication) of those who have violated their customs reduce their chances of merger with other Muslims. Since by explicit faith they are Muslims, it is impossible for them to come into the fold of Hindu society. So they continue to maintain themselves as a separate group.

Little is known to anthropologists and census authorities about the existence of Baids as a separate section of the Muslims, let alone their history of origin. Only recently, after realizing their backwardness, they are making attempts to rise in social status either by complete merger with other Muslims, or through governmental help while avoiding any drastic social change and maintaining their distinctness as a separate Muslim community.

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THE BRAHMANS OF INDIA: AN ANTHROPOMETRIC STUDY

HIRENDRA K. RAKSHIT

Abstract. The author has pooled together the available data on the stature, cephalic and nasal indexes of the Brahmans of India. On the basis of this study, he has tried to formulate some broad generalizations on their spatial distribution.

THE Brahmans of India are possibly the people least affected by the social mobility movements of recent times. In the case of the Brahmans, the caste and the *varna* are synonymous. They are distributed throughout India and occupy the uppermost position in the caste hierarchy. Like all other peoples of India, the Brahmans conform to the rule of the region (*desachar*), which might have brought various customs and traditions into the body of this culturally dominant group. Let us hear what Risley (1915 : 125) says about the Brahmans ; his observation being based on the 1901 Census so far as population figures are concerned : '...the Brahmans... number nearly fifteen millions, and represent a proportion of the total population ranging from ten per cent. in the United Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana to three per cent. in Madras, the Central Provinces and Bengal, and two per cent. in Assam and Chutia Nagpur. The distribution accords fairly well with the history and traditions of the caste. They are strongest in their original centre, numbering nearly five millions in the United Provinces, and weakest in the outlying tracts, peopled mainly by non-Aryan races, which their influence has even now only imperfectly reached. There can, however, be little doubt that many of the Brahmans of the more remote tracts have been manufactured on the spot by

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the simple process of conferring the title of Brahman on the tribal priests of the local deities...

For reasons not clearly known to the present writer, the Rig Vedic people, who at a later period outlined the main facets of Brahmanical culture in India in association with peoples other than the Rig Vedic, are commonly believed to be of Nordic origin. That they are often referred to as Aryans is intelligible since their language, no doubt, belongs to the Aryan family of languages. But, unfortunately, linguistic terms like Aryan, Dravidian etc. have also been used by ethnologists and anthropologists in the racial (taxonomic) sense. However, it is the opinion of scholars that the Rig Vedic Aryans were possibly responsible for demolishing the Indus Valley civilization. (Wheeler 1947, 1961 ; Piggott 1950. For a discussion opposed to the theory of Aryan destruction of the Indus civilization see Raikes 1964 : 285.) They are supposed to have invaded India in several successive waves and subsequently drifted and diffused in the existing Indian populations (Hoernle and Stark 1906 ; Chanda 1916 ; Chattopadhyay 1935, 1953). These migrations were possibly manned by peoples of various racial composition, though all of them might have belonged to one or other branch of the Caucasic stock. It is also held that these heterogeneous peoples, again, infused in them various racial elements at a differential rate in different parts of the country. Be that as it may, the purpose of this paper is to throw some light on the above questions, based on an analysis of available anthropometric data.

II

In the present study, the stature, cephalic index and nasal index of Brahmans of different regions of the Indian subcontinent will be considered, the data being taken from Risley (1915), Thurston (1909), Raychoudhuri (1933, 1952), Chatterjee (1934), Guha (1935), Chakladar (1936), Chatterji (1948), Mahalanobis, Majumdar and Rao (1949), Majumdar (1950), Karve and Dandekar (1951), Karve (1954) and Majumdar and Rao (1958).

In respect of stature, cephalic index and nasal index, data

are available for 74, 76 and 68 samples respectively ; in each case the samples being from various regions of India. The best represented areas are Maharashtra and Bengal, while poorly represented areas are Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. There is no sample, however, from Assam, the Punjab and Rajasthan. The detailed distribution pattern of the samples is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Brahman samples by State

State	Number of samples		
	Stature	C. I.	N. I.
Bengal*	16	16	10
Bihar	4	4	4
Orissa	6	6	6
Uttar Pradesh	4	4	4
Madhya Pradesh	1	1	1
Gujarat	5	5	5
Maharashtra	22	22	22
Andhra Pradesh	1	1	1
Mysore	11	12	11
Madras	3	4	3
Kerala	1	1	1
Total	74	76	68

III

Altogether 74 sample means of stature spread over 11 States and with a total coverage of 8074 individual measurements have been utilized for analysis. Sample mean values of the entire material are shown in Appendix Table A. Weighted mean values of stature for each State separately are shown in Table 2.

* In this table and elsewhere the samples for West Bengal and East Pakistan are combined and put under Bengal.

TABLE 2

Brahman : Stature, Weighted Mean by State

Serial No.	State	No. of samples (n_s)	No. of individuals (N)	Weighted mean* (m_w)
1	Bengal	16	4055	1667.4
2	Uttar Pradesh	4	327	1652.4
3	Bihar	4	470	1651.4
4	Andhra Pradesh	1	50	1645.9
5	Orissa	6	353	1644.0
6	Gujarat	5	502	1644.0
7	Madhya Pradesh	1	50	1644.0
8	Maharashtra	22	1614	1636.8
9	Madras	3	115	1635.7
10	Kerala	1	55	1635.6
11	Mysore	11	483	1634.6

From Table 2 four distinct clusters are evident, which are as follows :

1. Bengal Delta including West Bengal and East Pakistan.
2. Upper Gangetic Plains comprising Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.
3. Middle Belt including such States as Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, and
4. Peninsula including Maharashtra, Mysore, Madras and Kerala.

The distribution of 74 samples by major class and zone are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Brahman : Stature, Distribution of Means by Class and Zone
74 samples

Class	Range in mm.	Bengal	U. P.-Bihar	Gujarat-M. P.-Orissa-Andhra	Maharashtra-Mysore-Madras-Kerala	Total
Below Medium	1600 – 1639	1	1	3	26	31
Medium	1640 – 1669	10	7	9	12	38
Above Medium	1670 – 1699	5	0	0	0	5
Total		16	8	12	38	74

* In all cases with $n_s = 1$, the values are those of true means. All means are in mm.

Weighted mean and range of sample means of stature for each of the stature zones are shown in Table 4 (for graph see Fig. 1).

The position of the Brahmans of the Punjab and Rajasthan is not known due to absence of data. There is, however, every reason to expect the Punjab to be included in the Upper Gangetic Plains, while Rajasthan is likely to add to the area of the Middle Belt. Andhra Pradesh, though geographically a part of the Peninsula, in stature it has been grouped with the States of the Middle Belt. But the decision is based on a single sample. Further data are, therefore, needed to ascertain the exact position of the Brahmans of Andhra Pradesh and it will not be a surprise if the State has to be grouped with the other States of the Peninsula.

TABLE 4

Brahman : Stature, Weighted Mean & Range by Zone

Zone	n_s	N	m_w	Range			
				min.	min.+1	max.−1	max.
Bengal Delta	16	4055	1667.4	1638.6	1646.0	1680.0	1680.3
Upper Gangetic Plain	8	797	1651.8	1634.0	1645.1	1659.0	1661.0
Middle Belt	13	955	1644.1	1635.0	1635.3	1648.6	1663.0
Peninsula	37	2267	1636.2	1617.0	1618.7	1655.0	1657.0

Generally speaking, stature decreases as we travel from the east to the west and from the north to the south. But the data from Bengal Delta show within-region variability. The Brahmans of East Bengal show considerably lower weighted mean stature compared with that of the Brahmans of West Bengal. Weighted means for the above two areas are shown in Table 5. It is very likely that the Brahmans of Assam, for whom no data are available, are nearer to the Brahmans of East Bengal and possibly the former might be slightly shorter than the latter group. This expectation is based upon the hypothesis of west-east gradient of decreasing stature with a focus in West Bengal.

TABLE 5

Brahman : Within-Bengal Variation in Stature

Group	n_s	N	m_w
East Bengal	4	476	1656.0
West Bengal	12	3175	1670.5

In the case of Maharashtra, out of the 22 samples of different sub-groups and of different areas, as many as 9 samples are of Madhyandin Brahmans comprising measurements on 622 individuals. Within Maharashtra, the Saraswat, Chitpavan and Karada Brahmans appear to be slightly taller than the Desasth Brahmans, who in turn are taller than the Madhyandin Brahmans. The following table shows the weighted means of several sections of the Brahmans of Maharashtra.

TABLE 6

Brahman : Within-Maharashtra Variation in Stature

Group	n_s	N	m_w
Karada	2	87	1645.9
Chitpavan	3	307	1645.0
Saraswat	3	187	1643.1
Desasth	4	385	1638.0
Madhyandin	9	622	1629.1

There are 5 samples from Gujarat, 3 for Nagar Brahmans and 2 for Audich Brahmans. The two groups, as shown by their weighted means, do not seem to be very different from each other.

TABLE 7

Brahman : Within-Gujarat Variation in Stature

Group	n_s	N	m_w
Audich	2	195	1645.4
Nagar	3	307	1643.0

The means of the twelve samples from the Middle Belt varies between 1635.0 to 1648.6 mm. with a mode around 1641 mm. The 13th sample, which is from Orissa, shows an unusually higher mean of 1663.0 mm. Karve (1954 : 47), however says that the Samavedi Brahmans of Cuttack and Puri, as tradition has it, hail from Bengal. This suggestion incident-

ally fits in well so far as the mean values of the Bengal samples are concerned.

IV

Altogether 76 sample means of cephalic index spread over 11 States with a total coverage of 8125 individual indices have been utilized for analysis. Sample mean values of the entire material are shown in Appendix Table A. Weighted mean values of cephalic index for each State separately are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Brahman : Cephalic Index, Weighted Mean by State

State	No. of samples (n_s)	No. of individuals (N)	Weighted mean* (m_w)
Bengal	16	4055	80.3
Orissa	6	353	77.4
Bihar	4	470	76.1
Gujarat	5	502	79.5
Maharashtra	22	1614	77.8
Mysore	12	513	78.9
Uttar Pradesh	4	328	72 9
Madhya Pradesh	1	50	74.3
Andhra Pradesh	1	50	74.4
Madras	4	135	76.1
Kerala	1	55	72 5

Broadly speaking, the distribution of C. I. divides India vertically in contrast to stature-distribution, which divides India horizontally. In the case of C. I. the western and the eastern regions are dominated by brachy-mesocephalic peoples, while the northern region, dominated by dolichocephalic peoples, protrudes below first towards the south-eastern coast and then still further south ending in Kerala in the west coast.

Clustering of States on the basis of C. I. are as follows :

1. Eastern Zone comprising Bengal (including East Pakistan), Orissa and Bihar.

* In all cases with $n_s = 1$, the values are those of true means.

2. Western Zone with southern orientation and comprising the States of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore, and
3. Intermediate Zone having north-south orientation and comprising such States as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Kerala.

The distribution of 76 samples by major class and zone are shown in Table 9, while weighted mean and range of sample means of C. I. for each of the above three zones are shown in Table 10 (for graph see Fig. 2). It will be observed from Tables 9 and 10 that brachycephaly or the tendency towards it is more conspicuous in the Eastern Zone than in the Western Zone and the higher weighted mean of the former is mostly due to the samples from Bengal.

TABLE 9

Brahman : Cephalic Index, Distribution of Means by Major Class and Zone
76 samples

Class	Range	Bengal-Bihar-Orissa	Gujrat-Maharashtra-Mysore	U.P.-M.P.-Andhra-Madras-Kerala	Total
Dolichocephalic	72.0 – 73.9	0	0	5	5
,,	74.0 – 75.9	2	0	4	6
Mesocephalic	76.0 – 75.9	8	19	2	29
,,	78.0 – 80.9	13	18	0	31
Brachycephalic	81.0 – 82 9	3	2	0	5
Total		26	39	11	76

TABLE 10

Brahman : Cephalic Index, Weighted Mean & Range by Zone

Zone	n_s	N	m_w	Range min.	min. + 1	max. – 1	max.
Eastern	26	4878	79.7	74.9	75 9	81 3	82.3
Western	39	2629	78.3	76.4	76 5	81.4	81.6
Intermediate (north-south oriented)	11	618	73 8	72 48	72 51	76.5	77.4

The distribution of C. I. may be seen in yet another way. The western brachycephalic zone has a focus in Gujarat with a southern dispersal in Maharashtra and Mysore. The position of Madras in this respect is intermediate : of the four samples

from that State two means are dolichocephalic while the other two are mesocephalic. So, the Tamil-speaking area might be an extension of the brachycephalic zone of the west coast with considerable influence of the intermediate zone, which perhaps has lowered the index in that region. The intermediate zone shows a north-south gradient of increase in the index. In this zone, U. P. is decidedly dolichocephalic followed by M. P. and Andhra. And by the time we reach the Tamilnad area, the index is dolicho-mesocephalic. But M. P. and Andhra are represented by only one sample each with a sample size of 50 in each case. Further data are thus urgently needed from that area. Kerala, which is also represented by a single sample of size 55 only, shows predominance of dolichocephalic heads with a mean value comparable to that of Uttar Pradesh. An earlier sample from Kerala is due to Fawcett (Thurston 1909 : 1, xlii) ; but we do not know the sample size, the mean being mesocephalic. Thus, Madras and Kerala might, in the light of further study, prove to be an area having affinities with both the western brachy-mesocephalic zone as well as the north-south oriented intermediate zone.

The brachy-mesocephalic eastern zone has its focus in Bengal, which spreads over to predominantly mesocephalic Orissa in the south-west and to dolicho-mesocephalic Bihar in the west. Bihar, again, like Madras and Kerala, shows two-way affinities, namely, with brachy-mesocephalic Bengal on the one hand and dolichocephalic Uttar Pradesh on the other. Of the four samples from Bihar, two samples give dolichocephalic means while the other two mesocephalic.

Thus, unlike stature-distribution, the distribution of C. I. is apparently characterized by waxing and waning of the C I. values from three distinct focal points, namely, brachy-mesocephalic Bengal and Gujarat and dolichocephalic Uttar Pradesh, the the distributions being oriented north-south in the latter two cases.

There does not seem to be any conspicuous spatial difference in cephalic index in the Bengali-speaking area. The weighted mean for West Bengal, however, is slightly higher than that of East Bengal (see Table 11), and from the sample

means there appears to be a slight preponderance of broader heads in West Bengal than in East Bengal. For instance, out of the sixteen samples from Bengal, three samples which are apparently from West Bengal and representing almost half (46.4%) of the total number of persons measured, show brachycephalic mean.

TABLE 11

Brahman : Within-Bengal Variation in Cephalic Index

Group	n_s	N	m_w
East Bengal	4	876	79.26
West Bengal	12	3175	80.58

In mean values the samples from Orissa, six in all, are very uniform. All the six means are around 77.0—a typical mesocephalic index. There are five samples from Gujarat, of which three are of Nagar Brahmans and two of Audich Brahmans. The former group appears to be slightly higher in C. I. value than the latter.

TABLE 12

Brahman : Within-Gujarat Variation in Cephalic Index

Group	n_s	N	m_w
Audich	2	195	78.35
Nagar	3	307	80.24

Maharashtra, though represented by as many as twenty-two samples, does not appear to show any appreciable difference in C. I. value either spatially (intra-State) or by sub-groups of the caste. All the means are mesocephalic with a mode around 77.5. Of the twelve samples from Mysore, all the means are mesocephalic except one which is brachycephalic. Mysore as a region shows more broad-heads than Maharashtra and the former is thus nearer to Gujarat in this respect.

V

Altogether 68 sample means of nasal index spread over 11 States and with a total coverage of 5048 individual indices have been utilized for analysis. Sample mean values of the entire material are shown in Appendix Table A. Weighted mean values of nasal index for each State separately are shown in Table 13

TABLE 13

Brahman : Nasal Index, Weighted Mean by State

State	No. of samples (n_s)	No. of individuals (N)	Weighted mean* (m_w)
Bengal	10	1030	67.01
Bihar	4	470	68.81
Gujarat	5	502	71.02
Uttar Pradesh	4	326	72.40
Madhya Pradesh	1	50	72.92
Mysore	11	483	73.26
Andhra	1	50	73.70
Madras	3	115	74.58
Kerala	1	55	72.28
Maharashtra	22	1614	75.78
Orissa	6	353	74.66

From Table 13 four zones are discernible as noted below :

1. Eastern Zone comprising Bengal and Bihar. This is the only zone which gives leptorrhine mean index (weighted mean for State) for both the States. In the case of Bengal, out of ten samples as many as seven samples show leptorrhine mean while three samples give mesorrhine mean bordering on leptorrhine. Three of the four samples of Bihar give leptorrhine mean while the fourth one is mesorrhine.
2. Northern Zone comprising Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat : so far as weighted means are concerned, N. I. is between 71 and 73. Out of the five samples from Gujarat, two give leptorrhine mean aud three mesorrhine. Three of the four samples from U. P. are mesorrhine by mean while only one is leptorrhine. M. P., represented by a single sample, gives a mesorrhine mean of 72.9.
3. Middle Zone includes two States, namely, Maharashtra and Orissa, and shows considerably higher nasal index compared particularly with the Eastern Zone ; the weighted mean for Maharashtra being 75.8, the highest weighted mean ever recorded for any State in this study, followed by Orissa with a weighted mean of 74.7.

* In all cases with $n_s = 1$, the values are those of true means.

4. Southern Zone shows lower value of the index compared with the preceding zone. By State weighted mean this zone stands between the Northern and the Middle Zone. The States included in this zone are the Dravidian-speaking States, namely, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Kerala. However, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala are represented by only one sample in each case. The samples from Madras and Mysore, in all fourteen, give mesorrhine mean varying between 72.0 and 76.7. Weighted mean for the States are 74.6, 73.7, 73.3 and 72.3 for Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala respectively. The sample mean from Kerala, however, compares well with the means of the samples from the Northern Zone. Further data are, therefore, needed to find out whether the Kerala Brahmans have narrower nose, as shown by its single sample, than their counterparts in other States of the Southern Zone.

The distribution of 68 samples by major class and zone are shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Brahman : Nasal Index, Distribution of Means by Major Class & Zone : 68 samples

Class	Range	Bengal-Bihar	Gujarat-U.P.-M.P.	Andhra-Mysore-Madras-Kerala	Maharashtra-Orissa	Total
Leptorrhine	64.0–66.9	5	0	0	0	5
,,	67.0–69.9	5	3	0	0	8
Mesorrhine	70.0–72.9	3	5	6	5	19
,,	73.0–75.9	1	2	7	8	18
,,	76.0–78.9	0	0	3	12	15
,,	79.0–81.9	0	0	0	3	3
Total		14	10	16	28	68

Weighted mean and range of sample means of nasal index by zone for each of the zones are shown in Table 15 (for graph see Fig. 3).

TABLE 15

Brahman : Nasal Index, Weighted Mean & Range by Zone

Zone	n_s	N	m_w	Range min.	min.+1	max.−1	max.
Eastern	14	1500	67.57	64.1	64.3	71.9	73.2
Northern	10	878	71.64	69.1	69.6	73.1	74.6
Southern	16	703	73.43	71.2	71.5	76.5	76.7
Middle	28	1967	75.57	70.5	71.2	79.3	79.7

In the case of N.I., again, the distribution patterns as reflected by the zones are nearer to that of stature and very much unlike that of C. I. Nasal index divides India horizontally into three east-west oriented regions, namely, the North, Middle and South, the former being demarcated by a vertical line, giving rise to the Eastern (Bengal and Bihar) and the Northern (Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) zones. Thus the zones based on nasal index are essentially similar to those of stature, though the nasal index zones are oriented horizontally while the stature zones are slightly inclined except the Peninsular Zone which is oriented vertically.

VI

The Brahmans of India are traditionally divided into two broad divisions, namely, the Panch Gaur (Northern) and the Panch Dravira (Southern). Each division, again, includes five group. The Panch Gaur division includes the Sarswata, Kanya Kubja, Gaudra, Utkala and Maithila Brahmans, their traditional homes being in Bengal, Mithila (Tirhoot), South Behar, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Kurukshetra, Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, Rajputana, Central India, Assam, and Orissa. The Panch Dravira division is comprised of Maharashtra, Andra, Dravira, Carnata and Guzrat Brahmans, their traditional homes being in Maharashtra, Telingana, Central Provinces (Gondwana), Guzrat, Carnata, Tulava, South Kanara and Coorg, Dravida, Kerala, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.* From the point of view of language, all the present-day Aryan-speaking Brahmans (i.e., Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Hindi with all its variants, Punjabi, Kashmiri

* Spellings have been retained as in Bhattacharya, op. cit.

and Sindhi speaking) of the sub-continent except the Guzrati and Marathi-speaking Brahmans may be considered as within the folds of the Panch Gaur group. On the other hand, all the Dravidian-speaking Brahmans (i. e. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Tulu and Malayalam-speaking) and also the Guzrati and Marathi-speaking Brahmans may be in general considered to have originally been derived from one or the other of the Panch Dravira groups (Bhattacharya 1896).

This traditional two-fold division of the Brahmans appears to have some correspondence with the distribution pattern of stature and nasal index but not with the cephalic index. The Brahmans of the Gangetic plains, i. e. of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal collectively show higher stature than the Brahmans of Middle India comprising Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh ; while the Brahmans of the Deccan comprising such States as Maharashtra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala show decidedly shorter stature compared with the former two zones. In respect of nasal index also the Brahmans are differentiated horizontally, though the distribution pattern is slightly different in this case, the essential similarity between the stature and nasal index configurations can hardly be missed. In nasal index, the Brahmans of the northern part of India, which includes Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, show narrower nose compared with the Brahmans of the southern part comprising all the Dravidian-speaking States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and Kerala. But broadest noses are found in the Middle Indian region among the Brahmans of Maharashtra and Orissa.

Cephalic index, on the other hand, divides the Brahmans vertically rather than horizontally. From the distribution pattern we observe predominance of brachy-mesocephaly on the two flanks : (i) the Eastern, comprising Bengal, Orissa and Bihar and (ii) the Western, comprising Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore and between these two flanks is the twisted middle portion with prodominance of dolichocephals in the north and dolicho-mesocephals in the south. The Inner and Outer Aryan theory as proposed by Hoernle and Stark

(1906) and supported on linguistic ground by Grierson (1920) and corroborated on ethno-anthropological ground by Chanda (1916) appears to be vindicated so far as the distribution pattern of cephalic index of the northern part of India is concerned.

However, the idea of the traditional division of the Brahmans and the general concordance of distribution of anthropometric characters should not be stretched too far. For instance, the majority of the Brahmans of Bengal, i. e. the Radhi and the Varendra and particularly the former are supposed to have been derived from the Kanaujia Brahmans of the Upper Gangetic plains. As tradition has it, at least the Radhi Brahmans of Bengal are the direct descendants of the migrants of the Kanaujia section who came to Bengal around the eleventh century. But by stature and cephalic index the Brahmans of Bengal in general, including Radhi Brahmans, are very much different, being taller in stature and broader in head shape from the Brahmans of Uttar Pradesh, including the Kanaujia Brahmans.

Be that as it may, anthropologists with courage and imagination might attack the problem to explain the situation in several ways : (i) environment and food habits might have increased the stature of the Bengali-speaking Brahmans, making them taller than their counterparts in the Upper Gangetic plains during the period of several hundred years. But in this explanation, the difference in cephalic index remains unexplained. (ii) The other explanation might lie in the possibility of slightly differential physical features (taller stature, broader head and narrower nose) of the few migrants and which in turn due to genetic drift may have caused taller stature, broader head and narrower nose of the present day Bengali-speaking Brahmans in general and the Radhi and the Varendra Brahmans in particular. (iii) But the most plausible explanation seems is to suggest different migrations.

VII

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, it appears

that the Brahmans of India, though by and large disseminators of a single Sanskritic tradition, are physically heterogeneous and from the point of view of variation in stature, cephalic index and nasal index are amenable to five major geographical divisions, with some overlappings in certain areas.

Area D_1 : Early dolichocephals with occasional sprinkling of mesocephals with mesorrhine nose and with stature more often below medium : represented by the Dravidian-speaking Brahmans of the South—Kerala, Madras and Andhra Pradesh but not Mysore.

Area D_2 : Later dolichocephals : stature more often medium but occasionally above medium, nose leptorrhine : the Brahmans of Uttar Pradesh and possibly of the Punjab with dispersal in Madhya Pradesh and to a limited extent in Bihar ; they are the 'Inner Aryans'.

Area B_1 : Mesocephalic or brachycephalic with usually medium stature and mesorrhine nose : the Brahmans of Gujarat with considerable infiltration in Maharashtra and Mysore ; they are the 'Outer Aryans' of Western India.

Area B_2 : Mesocephalic or brachycephalic with above medium stature and leptorrhine nose : a tall brachycephalic leptorrhine element is discernible : the Brahmans of Bengal with dispersion and residuals mainly in Bihar and partly in Orissa ; they are the 'Outer Aryans' of Eastern India.

Area T : The Brahmans of Maharashtra and Orissa, in general, are below medium in stature, mesocephalic in head shape and mesorrhine in nose form. This is also the area of the Middle Indian tribal belt, extending in the north to South Bihar, South M. P. and South Rajasthan and comprising three most important families of tribes, namely, the Bhils, the Gonds and the

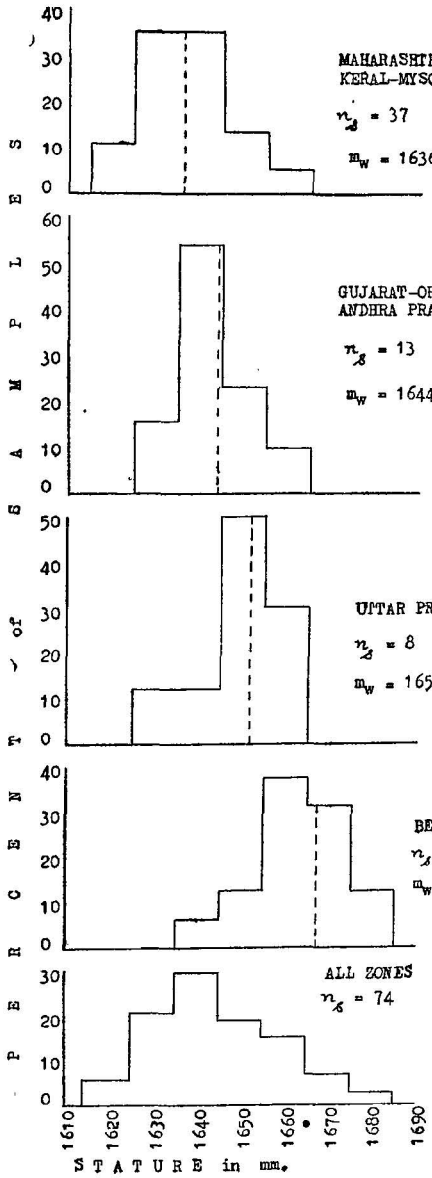

FIG.1
BRAHMANS in INDIA
STATURE
Percent Histogram
of Samples by ZONE

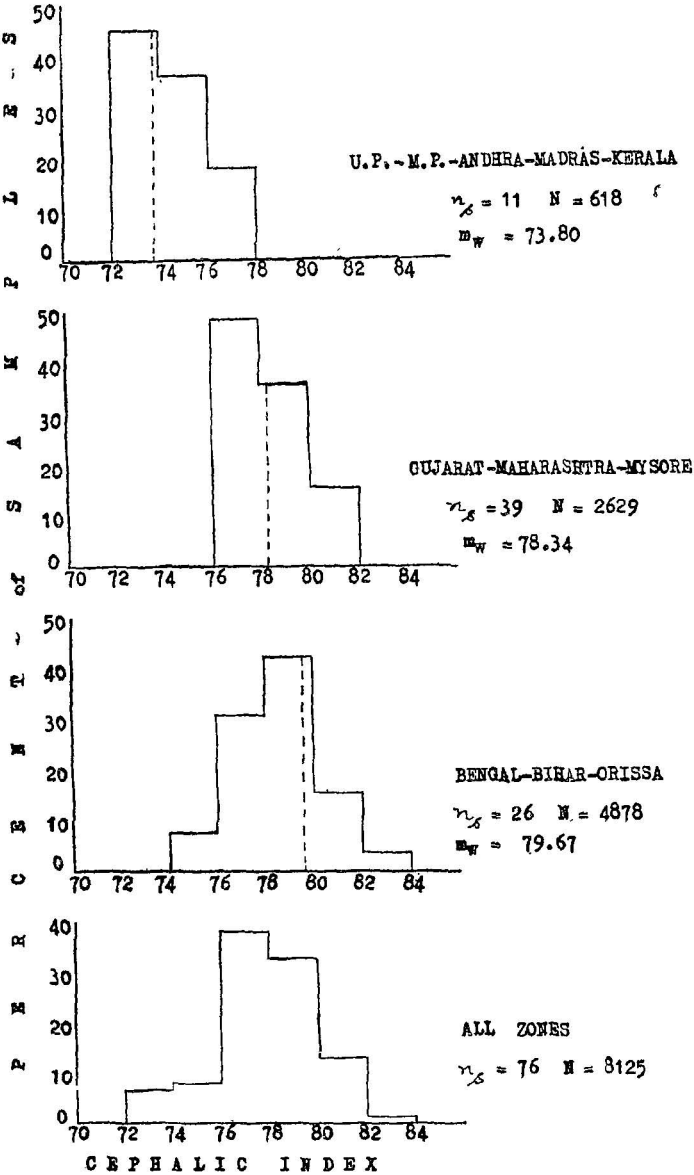

FIG 2. BRAHMANS in INDIA CEPHALIC INDEX
Percent Histogram of Samples by ZONE

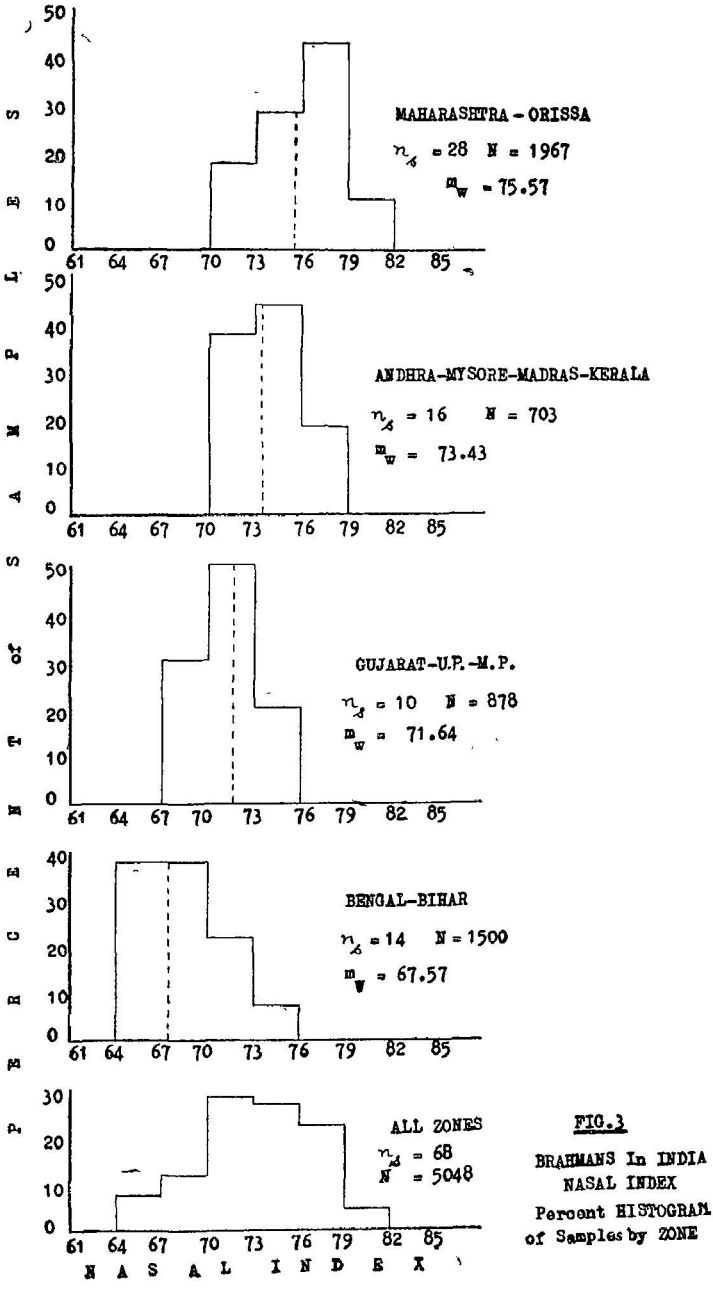

FIG. 3

BRAHMANS In INDIA
NASAL INDEX
Percent HISTOGRAM
of Samples by ZONE

Munda group of tribes. Presence of them in millions in this area may apparently explain the shorter stature and particularly broader nose of some of the Brahmans of this region.

Variations in the physical features of the Brahmans thus suggest incorporation of more than one physical type involving more than one migration of peoples in the building up of the Brahmanical Sanskritic tradition.

APPENDIX TABLE A

Brahman : Stature, C. I. & N. I. Mean values by sample : 76 samples

Serial No.	Group	n.	Area	Stature	C.I.	N.I.	Author
1	East Bengal	68	Bengal	1653	79.0	70.3	Risley 1915
2	West Bengal	32	,,	1970	78.2	71.3	,,
3	Brahman	50	,,	1680.3	78.93	67.71	Guha 1935
4	Radhi	100	,,	1658.97	82.25	64.28	Chakladar 1936
5	Chattala	37	,,	1646	77.7	—	Chatterji 1948
6	Vanga	650	,,	1659	79.5	—	,,
7	Varendra	178	,,	1664	80.1	—	,,
8	Radha	379	,,	1667	79.7	—	,,
9	Samatata	1515	,,	1674	81.3	—	,,
10	Calcutta	266	,,	1680	81.0	—	,,
11	Varendra	179	,,	1658.8	80.11	65.28	Raychaudhuri 1952
12	Radhi	167	,,	1661.4	79.45	65.75	,,
13	Pascatya Vaidika	114	,,	1658.2	78.9	64.1	,,
14	Dakshinatya Vaidika	100	,,	1675.1	79.9	67.5	,,
15	Dacca	97	,,	1638.56	78.41	69.67	Majumdar & Rao 1958
16	Others	123	,,	1669.84	78.02	70.32	,,
17	Brahman	67	Bihar	1661	74.9	73.2	Risley 1915
18	Maithil	190	,,	1653.52	75.90	68.94	Chatterjee 1944
19	Kanaujia	160	,,	1650.61	76.10	67.56	,,
20	Maithil	53	,,	1634	78.20	66.6	Chakladar 1936
21	Shashan	52	Orissa	1635	77.1	76.8	Risley 1915
22	Mastan	40	,,	1642	77.6	79.3	,,
23	Panda	41	,,	1642	77.8	77.4	,,
24	Brahman	143	,,	1642.92	77 31	70.46	Guha 1935
25	Aranyak	24	,,	1635.29	76.96	76.72	Karve 1954
26	Samavedi	53	,,	1663.02	77.59	77.32	,,
27	Brahman, Eastern Hindi	100	Uttar Pradesh	1659	73.1	74.6	Risley 1915

28	Brahman	50	,,	1654.78	72.48	69.56	Guha 1935
29	Basti Brahman	85	,,	1645.1	72.92	71.74	Mahalanobis et al 1949
30	Other Brahmans	92	,,	1650.7	72.89	72.16	,,
31	Malve	50	Madhya Pradesh	1643.56	74.30	72.92	Guha 1935
32	Nagar	100	Gujarat	1643	79.7	73.1	Risley 1915
33	Audich	93	,,	1647.82	78.77	69.70	Guha 1935
34	Nagar	105	,,	1648.60	81.38	69.05	,,
35	Audich	102	,,	1643.4	77.97	77.44	Majumdar 1950
36	Nagar	102	,,	1637.3	79.59	71.78	,,

Serial No.	Group	n.	Area	Stature	C.I.	N.I.	Author
37	Desasth	24	Maha-rashtra	1634	77.0	75.8	Thurstou 1909
38	Desasth	100	,,	1642	76.9	79.3	Risley 1915
39	Saraswat (Shinvi)	100	,,	1648	79.0	74.7	,,
40	Chitpavan	100	,,	1655	77.3	76.6	,,
41	Desasth	107	,,	1636.94	78.36	73.41	Guha 1935
42	Saraswat Gaur	50	,,	1629.76	77.42	71.18	,,
43	Chitpavan	103	,,	1646.61	77.49	73.27	,,
44	Karada	48	,,	1639.31	76.38	72.27	,,
45	Desasth	154	,,	1636.13	77.93	78.05	Karve & Dandekar 1951
46	Saraswat	37	,,	1647.83	79.08	72.36	,,
47	Chitpavan	104	,,	1633.71	77.74	76.88	,,
48	Karhada	39	,,	1654.07	76.94	75.62	,,
49	Charak	26	,,	1632.73	79.16	77.77	,,
50	Madhyandina : Amraoti	72	,,	1633.30	76 48	79.70	,,
51	,, : Nagpur	57	,,	1636.90	77.15	78.54	,,
52	,, : Jalgaon	75	,,	1635.70	77.20	76.36	,,
53	,, : Barsi	62	,,	1631.10	79.69	76.48	,,
54	,, : Aurangabad	73	,,	1628.80	79.25	73.23	,,
55	,, : Jalna	29	,,	1649.80	80.19	71.80	,,
56	,, : Parbhani	74	,,	1622.00	77.47	75.17	,,
57	,, : Nasik	123	,,	1617.00	77.61	76.30	,,
58	,, : Poona	57	,,	1630.80	77.23	75.03	,,
59	Telugu Brahman	50	Andhra Pradesh	1645.90	74.39	73.70	Guha 1935
60	Madhava	60	Mysore	1633	78.0	72.0	Thurston 1909
61	Karnataka Smarta	60	,,	1642	78.4	71.5	,,
62	Hebbar	50	,,	1632	80.1	71.2	,,
63	Mandya	50	,,	1657	80.2	73.0	,,
64	Shivalli (Tulu)	30	,,	—	80.4	—	,,

65	Desasth (Canarese)	25	,,	1634	70.0	75.8	Risley 1915
66	Kanarese	50	,,	1618.70	79.34	71.20	Guha 1935
67	Babbur Kamme	25	,,	1642.4	79.11	73.95	Karve 1954
68	Rigvedi	60	,,	1619.57	77.2	75.98	,,
69	Hoysal Karnatak	28	,,	1636.18	78.52	76.11	,,
70	Havig	41	,,	1637.61	81.56	74.02	,,
71	Others	34	,,	1634.74	77.34	74.62	,,
72	Tamil Brahman	40	Madras	1625	76.5	76.7	Thurston 1909
73	Smarta	20	,,	—	74.2	—	,,
74	Pattar (Tamil) Malabar	25	,,	1643	74.5	76.5	,,
75	Tamil Brahman	50	,,	1640.68	77.36	71.92	Guha 1935
76	Nambudiri	55	Kerala	1635.55	72.51	72.28	,,

NOTES

On computation : Since Σx was not available for most of the samples, for the sake of uniformity weighted means were calculated in all cases by the following formula :

$$m_w = \frac{\Sigma(\bar{x} \times n)}{N}$$

where $\bar{x}$ is the mean of a sample,
n the corresponding sample size
and $N = \Sigma n$.

In Tables 5 and 11 weighted means were calculated for East Bengal and West Bengal separately. Separation of samples for these two areas was not an easy task. While the Brahmans against the row East Bengal (former Dacca and Chittagong Divisions) in the tables concerned are certainly of East Bengal origin, the Brahmans against West Bengal (former Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions) are likely to have included some from East Bengal. But there is, however, no way of ascertaining it as the authors did not always furnish the particulars required for the purpose. Two Brahman samples from Bengal are due to Majumdar and Rao (1958) : Dacca Brahmans and Other Brahmans. From the primary data it was observed that 23 of the Other Brahmans belong to East Bengal and 95 to West Bengal. Therefore, Dacca Brahmans and 23 Other Brahmans were pooled for a sample size of 121, while the data for 95 Other Brahmans were utilized as a sample

from West Bengal. Out of sixteen samples from Bengal, the following four samples were pooled for weighted mean of East Bengal :

1. Risley's sample of 68 individuals,
2. Chatterji's Chattala sample of 37 individuals,
3. Chatterji's Vanga sample of 650 individuals, and
4. Majumdar and Rao's Dacca sample of 97 Brahmans and 24 Other Brahmans hailing from other districts of East Bengal pooled for a sample size of 121 individuals.

Weighted mean of West Bengal includes all other eleven samples and part of Majumdar and Rao's sample of Other Brahmans comprising only 95 Brahmans hailing from West Bengal.

On Kashmir Brahmans : Statistical constants of two samples for Kashmir Brahmans, measured by H. C. Chakladar, are due to Raychoudhuri (1961). Mean values of stature, cephalic index and nasal index are shown below :

Group	N	Stature	C.I.	N.I.
Pandits of Srinagar	120	1646.75	74.86	62.11
Pandits of Martand	16	1632.39	74.61	62.79

It will be observed that the Kashmir Brahmans are shorter in stature compared with the Brahmans of Upper India. It appears further that taking West Bengal as a focal point there is one east-west and the other west-east gradient of decreasing stature :

West Bengal

Bihar E. Bengal

Uttar Pradesh Assam

Punjab

Kashmir

In C.I. value, the Kashmir Brahmans are nearer to the U. P. Brahmans. Thus the dolichocephalic northern zone extends farther north to include Kashmir. In N.I. the Kashmir Pandits show narrowest nose ever recorded for any of the States of India.

On the 'Inner and Outer Aryan' theory : The advent of the Aryans in India in two major migrations was stressed by Hoernle and Stark (1906). But still earlier, Hoernle (1880) detected differences in the Apabhramsas Sauraseni and Apabhramsas Magadhi languages which broadly coincide with the languages of the Inner and Outer

Aryans respectively. Grierson (1918) corroborated the above in general terms but made distinction between the Middle, Intermediate and Outer languages, the former two together being inclusive of the Sauraseni languages of Hoernle. Chatterji (1926), who gave a lucid summary of the Inner and Outer Aryan theory, is however opposed to the same on linguistic grounds.

In any case, it has to be mentioned that so far as Brahmans are concerned the modern speakers of Magadhi (Hoernle) or Outer (Grierson) languages generally show broader heads more frequently than the speakers of Sauraseni or Middle and Intermediate languages. But there is one exception. Gujarati-speaking Brahmans, though included in the Sauraseni group (or Intermediate), contrary to expectation, show brachycephaly in large numbers. This may be a pointer for enquiring into the origin and affinity of the Brahmans of Gujarat.

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THE DEFINITION OF AN INDIAN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

MEERA GUHA

Abstract : A survey of land-use patterns and social institutions of Calcutta was undertaken in 1962-63 in which the author shared as honorary supervisor. It shows how Calcutta is divided, not only geographically but also socially, into distinct occupational areas and communities. The urbanization of this two-century old city seems to have been imperfect.

A social survey of the city of Calcutta was conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India in the year 1962-63. The data has brought to light several features in the socio-economic pattern of the city.

Land-use

The land-use data for the years 1911 and 1961 has shown that the main growth of the city has been contributed by an intensification of residential functions and its subsequent spread. Two main concentrations of residential functions are found, one in the northern wards and the other along the Adiganga river in Bhowanipur. Both are old sections and are historically significant as old village sites which became compact nuclei of residence at a time of slow transport. The centrifugal movement of residential functions took place from these in the last 30-40 years when increased mobility was made possible by swifter and improved means of urban transport. The main shift has been southwards to the high levee areas along the Adiganga river.

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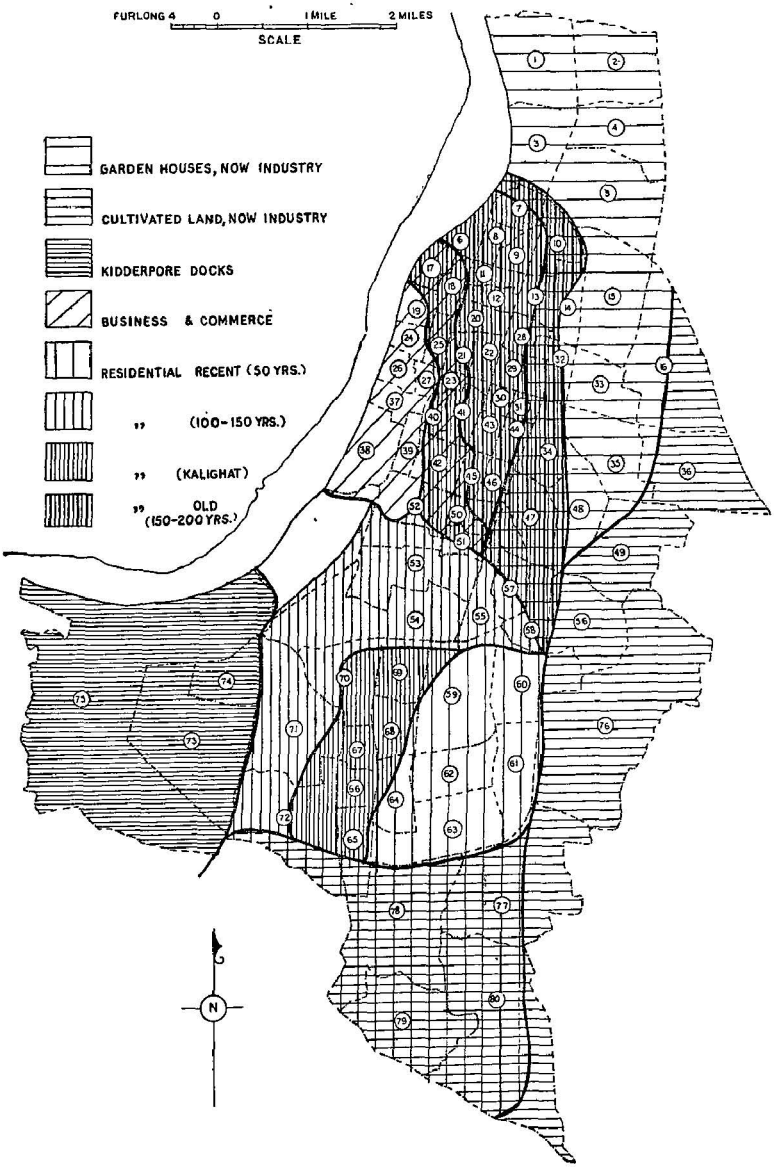
Commercial functions have become predominant in one area of the city, and the central business district has grown up along the Hooghly bank in the northern section. Here increased concentration has resulted in an expansion of the built-up area along the vertical plane, and now that congestion has become extreme, these central business functions are moving outwards into the residential sections in the east, but mainly towards the south. Industry is located along the fringes to the north, east and south and is gradually replacing residential areas on the inner western edges of the northern sector.

There has been a sequence of functional occupation in these fringe areas. The fringes bordering the north were formerly occupied by garden houses belonging to the old and rich families who lived in the adjacent areas to the west. These garden houses have become the sites of industrial establishments which take advantage of transport facilities by road. The low-lying eastern fringes which were given to market gardens and fish farming are now occupied by industrial establishments which give rise to waste products of a noxious character. These take advantage of the canals which flow through the area. The southern fringe has become the focus of housing estates and residental function. Previously this land was devoted to cultivation.

It is thus possible to define a zonal arrangement of functional development lying in parallel strips along the river and away from it. In the north, this is in a commercial focus along the river merging eastwards into a zone of transition of advancing commerce and retreating residence. This is succeeded by a zone of old residences roughly 150-200 years old, which is bordered on the east first by a transitional belt of retreating residences and advancing industry, and finally by the eastern fringe of industrial concentration.

In the south, a similar arrangement can be defined in three main functions lying in successive zones away from the river ; the dock area in the west along the Hooghly river ; the relatively old residential core along the Adiganga river in Bhowanipur and Kalighat spreading east and south into newer

DEVELOPMENT AREAS IN CALCUTTA



extensions of residence ; and finally, the fringe to the east which is now used for industry instead of agriculture.

Population

Definite territorial locations are marked out among the various communities resident in Calcutta. Generally speaking the Bengalis are found everywhere in the city, but it is upon this base that the other ethnic groups superpose their identities. Thus the areas of Muslim concentration are found as follows. The upper class Muslim trader resides in the central business district, while labourers, artisans and craftsmen who are migrants from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, reside in the fringe wards in *bustees*. Among the Hindi-speaking groups are labourers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and trading communities from Rajasthan. The former occupy the broad industrial belt of Calcutta and are employed as porters and labourers. The Rajasthani traders are concentrated mainly in the commercial wards in the northern sector of the city ; although recently they have been moving away into more fashionable residential districts in the south. There are thus areas of Muslim concentration ; areas of non-Bengali groups of Rajasthanis, Biharis, Oriyas, Gujaratis, South Indians ; Eurasians and Europeans ; areas of Bengali groups of commercial and artisan castes (Subarnabanik, Gandhabanik, Sankhabanik, Tantubanik), Scheduled Castes, Brahmans and Kayasthas and refugees and so on. Occupations among these different communities are also distinct from group to group. As for example, Bengali Brahmans and Kayasthas are found largely in the services and professions ; the artisan and commercial castes are engaged in small trades and businesses, a few being in service ; the refugees are mainly employed in the professions or as skilled labourers in industry, while a few are small tradesmen. Non-Bengali groups make their living as follows : big business is in the hands of the Rajasthanis and Gujaratis, the smaller commercial concerns are in the hands of the Sindhis and small traders from Uttar Pradesh ; Punjabis are mainly in the transport industry or ancillary trades like motor car repairing and so on.

DISTRIBUTION
OF
BENGALI POPULATION
SCALE
COMMERCIAL & ARTISAN
REFUGEE
REFUGEE REPLACING MUSLIM
AGRICULTURAL & WITHDRAWN CASTES

ETHNIC CONCENTRATION IN CALCUTTA
SCALE
HINDI-SPEAKING (RAJASTHAN)
" (RAJASTHAN, GUJARAT & SIND)
GUJARATI & PUNJABI
SOUTH INDIAN
LABOUR (ORIYA & BIHARI)
REFUGEE
EURASIAN
EUROPEAN
MUSLIM

Institutions

There is a profusion of institutions, voluntary or otherwise, distributed throughout Calcutta. There are sports and athletic clubs, recreation clubs, libraries, social welfare institutions, schools and so on. The same characteristic distinctnesses noted in the various community concentrations are also found among their social institutions. For example, social service functions are incorporated into the recreational functions of the local clubs among institutions run by Bengalis. The usual activity is running a free night school or distributing free milk powder. The charitable dispensaries and hospitals and *dharamsalas* which are the forms of social service institutions among the Rajasthanis are established by business magnates and organized through Trusts. The Eurasian communities receive social welfare services in monetary aid, free education and so on from their various parish or denominational churches. A Bengali residential area inhabited by Brahmans and Kayasthas has many high schools, while areas occupied by the Gandhabanik, Subarnabanik or Kansabanik castes have a much smaller number of such institutions when compared to the former.

When all these facts are taken together, we can define certain 'natural areas' within the confines of Calcutta. Such ecologically distinct neighbourhoods are formed by the segregation of similar kinds of land-use and distinctive communities with their own occupations and social habits (Guha : 1964). Furthermore, if we review the history of the development of Calcutta we find that several of these old communities can be traced to old village groups of predominant caste concentrations (Roy Choudhury : 1964). Thus we may define Potopara in Kalighat, where several of these families whose traditional occupation is painting religious pictures, who have lived in the pilgrim centre around the Kalighat temple; or the concentration of Brahman family priests (Haldars) in the neighbourhood of the same temple; or the commercial Subarnabanik and Gandhabanik groups of Sobhabazar and Ahiritola which was the location of the old trading village of Sutanuti.

Later immigrants who brought their own social and cultural traditions simply continued their set pattern and remained discrete. Hence we may say that the distinction is apparently a carry-over from the traditional village wards inhabited predominantly by different castes. We may also add that urbanization in Calcutta is still rural-based in character, and has yet to achieve the social forms of an industralized economy. For, in spite of trade union participation in labour disputes, labour groups separate when social problems are present, and reorganize themselves under parochial ties of language similarities or native village origins. Thus we find that even Bihari labour groups identify themselves by their village origins in Chapra or Darbhanga under such compulsions. Inter-communal integration and economic class distinctions of an industrial urban pattern are absent here. The neighbourhood is merely a fresh projection in a new arrangement of old caste traditions.

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ASIAN LAW AND USAGE IN EUROPEAN EXPRESSION : SOME ILLUSTRATIONS FROM TIBET

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SOCIAL ethics and civil laws differ from people to people as they change from time to time. When the laws of one country are enforced in another it leads to miscarriage of justice : the trial of Maharaja Nandakumar is a historic example.

Political concepts and systems are neither universal nor eternal. Yet very often in historical writings, theories and institutions of one people (or of one age) are read into those of another people (or of another age). The process is sometimes due to lack of understanding and is sometimes deliberate or conscious. Such misrepresentation occurs most when the history of an Asian country is expressed in a European language. Both interests of diplomacy and difficulties of semantics cause such casualties of history. Tibet provides several examples of miscarriage of justice at the hands of Western readers of Eastern history.

The man in Tibet is associated historically with the man in India through the *Dharma* (=*Chos* in Tibetan)[1] and thus *Man in India* provides an appropriate forum for a discussion of Tibeten laws and usages. Methodology in this paper will be semantics supplemented by historical illustrations. A leading British authority on laws and customs of mediaeval Europe, Frederic William Maitland, said, 'People cannot understand old law unless you give a few concrete illustrations'. Maitland had in mind the laws and customs which were framed in Latin and Old English. The task of the present writer is to express in English the laws and usages framed in Tibetan.

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This paper does not intend to cover religious thought and philosophy and therefore leaves out incorrect or imperfect renderings of terms from Eastern religions. One must however cite the monstrous construction of 'Living Buddha' to denote Bodhisattva (Tib. *Byan-chub sems-dpa*) or 'Nirmanakaya' (Tib. *Sprulsku*). The Dalai Lama, for instance, is neither the Living Buddha nor God on Earth. Even a scholar like Max Weber considers the Dalai Lama as 'the continuously corporeal and living incarnation of god',[2] and thereby contradicts the Buddhist notions about god.

Suzerainty

Tibet had commercial and cultural relations with China and India from ancient times and with Mongolia from mediaeval times. From about 1644 some political relationship developed between Lhasa and Peking due to Priest-Patron relationship between the Dalai Lamas of Tibet and the Manchu Emperors of China. The Manchu control over Tibet was complete during the rule of Dalai Lama VII (1720-1757). This control declined later and was almost defunct by 1857. The Manchu court never acknowledged this fact.[8] Interested in trade with China, Great Britain had to evince sympathy with Chinese claims in various matters including that of Tibet. Great Britain hit upon an expression derived from Roman law, namely, 'suzerainty', and, since there was no precise definition of suzerainty even in European usage, it was found convenient to describe Chinese relations with Tibet as 'Chinese suzerainty over Tibet'. In 1907 Great Britain and Russia solved their conflicting claims all over Asia by agreeing to recognize their respective spheres of influence ; they also agreed to be out of Tibet over which they recognized China's suzerainty.

The expressions in the Anglo-Russian Convention (31 August 1907) are : 'the suzerain rights of China in Tibet' and 'the admitted principle of the suzerainty over Tibet'. Now the Tibetan language did not know suzerain or suzerainty, and in the Tibetan official record of this Convention an elaborate and cumbrous expression had to be made for this foreign concept. This expression if translated into English stands thus : 'the

way of Chinese rule over Tibet as that of a big country governing a small independent country' (*rgya-gshung-des-bod-la dbang-bai-tshul-ni rgyal-khab-che-bas rgyâl-phran-rang-dbang-chan-la-dbang-bai-tshul*). The present Dalai Lama says in his autobiography (*My Land and My People*, p. 68) that the term suzerainty 'was very inaccurate, and the use of it has misled whole generations of Western statesmen'. In the Tibetan edition (*Ngos-kyi-yul dang ngos-kyi-mi-mang*, Freedom Press, Darjeeling, 1963, p. 73) the Dalai Lama does not attempt any translation of the term and just transcribes the word in Tibetan alphabet.

The European description 'Chinese suzerainty over Tibet' *vis-a-vis* the Tibetan designation for the Manchu Emperor and other facts of history is an interesting study.

The Priest-Patron relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor arose as a matter of mutual aid. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Yellow Sect of Lamas, of whom the Dalai Lama was the chief, was engaged in establishing their political power all over Tibet and found it necessary to have a strong ally in a neighbouring power. The Manchu dynasty which began its rule in China in 1644 was anxious to have control over the Mongol tribes who happened to be devotees of the Dalai Lama. The Manchus being non-Han were not tied to the Confucian complex and could profess faith in Mahayana ; with profit they became allies of the Yellow Sect. The Manchu Emperor was recognized as an incarnation of Manjusri (Tib. *Hjam-dpal*) while the people (that is, *Han)* and the government (that is, bureaucrat-literati) of China were positively un-Buddhist and Confucian. The fourth Manchu Emperor, Chien Lung (1736-96), very truly summed up this relationship in his historic dissertation on Lamaism (1745) inscribed on a stele in Yung-Ho-Kung, the famous Lamaist temple of Peking. Said Chien Lung : 'As the Yellow Church inside and outside (of China Proper) is under the supreme rule of these two men (that is, Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama), all the Mongol tribes bear allegiance to them. By patronizing the Yellow Church we maintain peace

among the Mongols. This being an important task we cannot but protect this (religion).'[5]

The Dalai Lama and his government addressed the Manchu Emperor as *Gnam-bskos*, that is, Son of Heaven as per old Yueh-chi and Han usage, or as *Gong-ma*, that is Most High (Emperor). The first epithet, descending from the ancient Tartar concept of divine right, was used by men of all races and creeds in their respective languages all over the highlands of Asia for the Emperor of China ; this did not necessarily involve any allegiance in spiritual or mundane sense. The second epithet, *Gong-ma*, could be used about any high ruler, spiritual or temporal, and was in fact used for Lamas wielding political power, as for Sakya Lama or Dalai Lama. Hence the Son of Heaven or the Most High of Tibetan currency is a far cry from the suzerain of Western polity.

Western authorities, both diplomats and scholars, found justification of the doctrine of China's suzerainty in the periodical despatch of presents from the Dalai Lama to the Manchu Emperor. This custom in Western diplomatic diction was Tibet's tribute to China.

Tribute

The Chinese State-paper recorded the presents from Tibet as tribute and Western authorities accepted such description as correct. A notice of the Chinese concept of tribute is thus necessary before considering the Tibetan version of the presents.

In the Chinese view of the world, China was the Middle Kingdom, the Chinese were culturally superior to all other peoples and that all barbarians who called on the Son of Heaven could do so with tributes of local produce. All visitors to the Imperial Court, merchants as well as diplomats, were recorded as tribute-bearers. An authoritative account of the so-called Tributary System as prevalent during the Manchu rule (1644-1911) is found in a study by Fairbank and Teng.[6]

The list of countries from which Tribute Embassies visited China, as recorded in the Chinese archives, is a material aid to determining the nature and veracity of Chinese claims. Thus

with Korea, Annam, Siam, Burma, Laos, Sulu, Nepal and Dzungars are entered Russia, Holland, Portugal, the Pope and England as tribute-bearers. The dates for the European missions are : Russia 1676 and 1727 ; Holland 1663, 1667, 1686 and 1794 ; Portugal 1670, 1678, 1752 and 1753 ; Pope 1725 and England 1793, 1795, 1805 and 1816. The status of these Western powers on the recorded dates is a commonplace with an average Asian school-boy to-day and it does not entail any research to find out whether these sovereign bodies would ever despatch tribute to China.

The notions of sovereignty, ancient or modern, had however no place in the Mandarin law of nations which divided the world into civilized and barbarian halves. Thus tribute could be 'accepted' from a body of barbarians, merchants or travellers without knowledge or concurrence of the country concerned. Hence the townships and monasteries of many Asian countries are recorded as tribute-bearers. Some cities entered are Aden, Calicut, Herat, Medina, Rum, Samarkand and Tashkent ; Northern Shan tribes of Burma and Eastern (Khams-Amdo) tribes of Tibet carrying 'tributes' from temples are also there. The Dalai Lama of the Yellow Church was not denied the 'honour' of tribute-bearer in the State-papers or Mandarin historiography. The Mandarin law of nations has been most ably expressed by a Chinese in English language thus: 'If relations there had to be, they must be of the suzerain—vassal type, acceptance of which meant to the Chinese acceptance of the Chinese ethic on the part of the barbarian.'[7]

The Tibetan description of their 'tribute' has been consistently *Rten-chas*, that is, articles or precious articles for presentation. Even the official biography of Dalai Lama VII, who was a protege of the Manchu Emperor, uses the term *Rten-chas*. The articles with which the Manchu reciprocated the Lama's presents are also described in Tibetan records as *Rten-chas*. The same term was used for gifts exchanged between high personages like priests and kings all over the Lamaist world.

It is not to be understood that the Tibetan language has

no word for tribute. There are two words : *Khral* and *Dpya*, both standing for tax as well as tribute and both widely current from ancient times. Lhasa epigraphs and Tun Huang manuscripts preserve the record of the great warrior kings of Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries exacting tribute from the Tang Emperors and their subjects.[8] The Chinese annals grimly record the failure of expeditions against the Tibetans but wisely omit the tribute to the barbarian kings.

The content of the *Rten-chas* and the protocol of its presentation are also relevant. The most important item was *Rtem-gsum* (Three Articles), that is, an image, a scripture and a *stupa* (Tib. *Mchod-rten*). The Three Articles are a must from a priest to a priest or from a priest to his disciple. The loads containing articles like the Tibetan serge with the famous spot-design, incense made from sixty ingredients and rhinoceros horns had no doubt commercial value but were not the essence of the gift. The leading officer carrying the presents was a high monk ; he had to visit first the ancient Ri-bo-tse-lnga temple dedicated to Manjusri. This temple was on a mountain with five peaks (in Chinese, *Wu-tai Shan*) in a Mongol area of northern Shansi province and was closely connected with Lamaism from the times of Sakya Lamas and Kublai Khan. After worship of Manjusri here the delegation carrying presents proceeded towards Peking. Such presents were sent every three years and the Most High Manchu had to reciprocate with gifts valued upto three times those from Tibet. Such exchange of articles had a trade aspect for peoples of Turkestan, Tibet and Mongolia and kept the doors of China open for these barbarians. The Dalai Lama—Manchu affair was however somewhat distinct. The exchange of greetings and gifts was between a Priest and his Patron. The gift from the Priest had an aura of Mahayana ritual : the essence of the gift was Three Articles (image, sacred book and *stupa*) ; the gift-bearer had to make a detour to worship at the ancient shrine of Manjusri and then arrive at Peking to hand over the gift to the incarnation of Manjusri. When the Manchu dynasty fell and the incarnation of Manjusri was expelled (1911) the Priest-Patron relationship was over. Dalai Lama XIII stopped

the despatch of presents to Peking and the Republic of China never had such gift from Tibet.

Lamaist Polity

The fact of the matter is that the Lamaist polity as it functioned till recent times cannot be expressed in the language of Roman law. The notions of Austinian sovereignty, which came to possess the entire mankind at the opening of this century, but which had taken three centuries to crystallize into practice in Europe, did not enter into the making of the Lamaist polity. This thesis is contained in a projected paper nearing completion shortly. A short notice of the issue involved is made below.

The (modern) State has its indispensable constituent in a (firm) territory. The Lamaist State had its indispensable constituent in a community · rendering allegiance to the particular ruling monastery. In the ecology of Tibet and Mongolia, floating communities were the norm as was in the earliest stage of Indian polity. *Janapada* as a constituent of the ancient Indian State was more the community than the territory[9] and floating States consisting of ethnic or occupational communites flourished in historical times.[10]

In the Lamaist world, a ruling monastery could levy tithes in an obviously foreign land and could even carve out 'enclaves' there, while it tolerated and permitted communities of foreign (non-Buddhist) traders to settle with 'ex-territorial' privileges in its own country. Much of the law, in the Lamaist world, had its sanction in custom or priestly reprisal and sovereign powers were not centralized. The position about sovereignty had a parallel in several non-Lamaist countries of Asia, though under quite different socio-economic forces. Confronted with the facts of Asia several British jurists admitted the incompatibility of Roman law with Asian conditions.[11]

Asia at the opening of this century presents a paradox for students of historical jurisprudence. While Westerners were reading their notions of territorial State and monistic sovereignty into the mediaeval history of the highlands of Asia, Mongol intellectuals fighting Chinese imperialism strove in

vain to erect a Pan-Buddhist Lamaist State covering the Mongols and the Tibetans.[12]

REFERENCES

1. A paper entitled 'The Missing Context of Chos' in the *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Sikkim), vol. II, no. 3 is relevant on this point.

2. *The Sociology of Religion* (London : Methuen 1965), p. 186.

3. Handy accounts of Sino-Tibetan relations till 1950 are found in Dalai Lama : *My Land and My People* (Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1962) and H. E. Richardson : *Tibet and Its History* (Oxford University Press, 1962). The *Bulletin of Tibetology* has two articles entitled 'Historical Status of Tibet' (vol. I, no. 1) and 'Tibet's Status during the World War' (vol. II, no. 2).

4. I owe my copy of this Tibetan translation to the well-known scholar, Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, formerly a monk-official in Dalai Lama's secretariat and now resident in New Delhi. I am, however, responsible for restoration into English of the relevant passage.

5. F. Lessing : *Yong Ho Kung, An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking*, vol. I (Stockholm : Statens Etnografisca Museum, 1942), p 59.

6. J. K. Fairbank and S. Y. Teng : 'On the Ching Tributary System' in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vi (1941). Since the publication of this paper further work in this field has been done by several scholars. I depend heavily on Fairbank and Teng for the Chinese point of view and facts from Chinese annals and archives. The conclusions, particularly about Tibet, are mine.

7. T. F. Tsiang quoted by Fairbank and Teng.

8. Charles Bell : *Tibet Past & Present* (Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 274, and H. E. Richardson : *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (London : Royal Asiatic Society, 1952), p. 21 ; also his paper entitled 'A Fragment from Tun Huang' in the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, vol. II, no. 3.

9. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (Banaras Hindu University, 1963), pp. 60-61, 68-69 and 91-92.

10. Many of these communities were relics of pre-Aryan/non-Aryan tribes. Vide, for example, B. H. Baden-Powell : *The Indian Village Community* (London : Longmans, 1896) and Robert Shafer : *Ethnography of Ancient India* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1954).

11. E.g. Henry Maine (1822-1888), Law Member of the Governor-General's Council (India) 1862-69, wrote after his Indian experience *Village Communities in the East and West* (1871-76), *Early History of Institutions* (1875) and *Dissertation on Early Law and Custom* (1883).

12. A Buriat Buddhist, Agwang Dorjiev, was the leader of this ill-fated movement. Dorjiev's contacts with Dalai Lama XIII determined Lord Curzon's policy of forcing a mission into Tibet. For an account of Dorjiev see R. Rupen : *Mongols of the Twentieth Century* (Indiana University Press, 1964). The background of Anglo-Russian diplomacy is found in two papers in *Royal Central Asian Journal* (London) : P. L. Mehra, 'Tibet and Russian Intrigue' in vol. XLV, pt. I, and Alastair Lamb, 'Some Notes on Russian Intrigue in Tibet' in vol. XLVI, pt. I.

AVAKTAVYA-NĀMA : AVOIDANCE OF NAMES

D. C. SIRCAR

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Abstract : There are some interesting practices in regard to the uttering of names of particular kins in Bengal. The author describes some of these and compares them with similar practices in other parts of the world.

IN primitive society, behaviour toward certain persons related by blood or marriage follows prescribed patterns, and such predetermined conduct largely falls into two categories called 'avoidance' and 'privileged familiarity' by ethnologists.[1] As regards the first category, for example, the brother and sister in some Melanesian groups never utter each other's name, and among certain tribes like the Crow Indians, the son-in-law and mother-in-law neither speak to each other nor utter one another's name, while any word forming part of the name of one is represented by the other in a roundabout phrase. The rules of avoidance are supposed to apply generally to persons of the opposite sex who are forbidden to mate by tribal rules, whereas licensed familiarity obtains between potential mates.[2]

Such primitive characteristics are noticeable even in the life of the upper classes of society in many parts of India. A fairly widespread custom seems to be the avoidance of the name of each other by the wife and the husband.[3] Among Bengali Hindus, there is privileged familiarity between the husband and the younger brothers and sisters of the wife, between the wife and the younger brothers and sisters of the husband and between the parents, uncles and aunts of the husband with those of the wife,[4] while there is avoidance between the wife and her husband's elder brother. In the

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central areas of Bengal, now in East Pakistan, there is a similar tabu between the wife and her husband's maternal uncle. Not only are the Bengali husband and wife expected not to utter each other's name, the wife cannot even utter the name of any of the elder relations of the husband. Even the words 'husband' and 'wife' are indicated in phrases like 'so-and-so', 'so-and-so's father' 'so-and-so's mother', 'the master of the house', 'the mistress of the house', 'the married girl', 'the newly married girl', 'the Brāhmaṇa', 'the Brāhmaṇī', 'the headman of the village,' 'the headman's son', etc., etc.

As regards the avoidance of names, a late work entitled *Karmalocana*[4] has the following stanza.

आत्मनाम गुरोर्नाम तामानि कृपणस्य च ।
प्राणान्तेऽपि न वक्तव्यं ज्येष्ठपुत्रकलत्रयोः ॥

This means that one should not utter the names of the following: one's own self, one's preceptor or any elder, a miserly person, one's eldest son and one's wife. The stanza however does not refer to most of the peculiarities of social behaviour indicated above. As regards the name of a miser in the list of unutterable names, we may refer to a Bengali superstition that the utterance of a miser's name brings ill luck especially in the matter of getting one's food on the day concerned.[6]

The tribal rule of representing unutterable names in a clever way is popular among the Bengalis, including Brāhmaṇs and Muhammadans. One way of doing it is of course to use the word indicating relationship instead of the name of a person, for example, 'my father-in-law'. Another way is to indicate a person by a word like *amuk* (अमुक) meaning 'so-and-so'. A third way is the substitution of the first consonant of the unutterable name by some other consonant (especially the consonant *ph*), e.g. the names Lakṣmī, Harikṛṣṇa, Jagatnārāyaṇ, Haridās, etc, changed to Phakṣmī, Phariphṛṣṇa Phagatnārāyaṇ, Pharidās or Karidās, etc.

The more interesting practice prevalent among the people of Bengal is the avoidance of words having some similarity in sound with a part of the unutterable names. The similarity

is naturally determined on the basis of local pronunciation. A list of personal names, words resembling them or parts of them and the substitutes for the avoided words as used particularly in the central areas of the country (now in East Pakistan) is quoted below.

Name	Word	Substitute
1. *Adyanath* आद्यनाथ *Adimohan* आदिमोहन *Adiladdin etc.* आदिलद्दिन (*nickname—Ada* आदा)	*ada* आदा (*ginger*)	*jhalika*[7] झालिका
2. *Amiraddin etc.* अमिरद्दिन	*am* (*mango*) आम *ambuvaci* अम्बुवाची (*Bengali colloquial amavati*) आमावती *amavasya* आमावस्या	*phal* फल (*fruit*) *phalvati* फलवती *phalvasya* फलवास्या
3. *Candranath* चन्द्रनाथ *Purnacandra* पूर्णचन्द्र	*cand* (*moon*)	*jyochna* (*moonlight*) ज्योछ्ना
4. *Gauranga* गौराङ्ग *Gaurmohan etc.* गौरमोहन	*garu* (*cow*) गरु	*seot-bachur*[8] सेओट वाछुर *bada-bachur* वड़ वाछुर (*a big calf*)
5. *Govindalal etc.* गोविन्दलाल	*Govindapur* गोविन्दपुर (*name of a village*)	*pat-beca-hat* पाट बेचा हाट (*the market place where jute is sold*)
6. *Kalidas* कालिदास *Kalinath etc.* कालिनाथ	*kali* (*ink*) कालि	*andhiya*[9] आन्धिया
7. *Kedarnath* केदारनाथ *Qader Ali etc.* कादेर आलि	*kada* (*mud*) कादा	*khic* खिच (*clay*)
8. *Madhusudan etc.* मधुसूदन	*madhu* (*honey*) मधु	*caker ras* चाकेर रस (*juice derived from the honeycomb*)
9. *Maniklal etc.* माणिकलाल	*man-kacu* मानकचु (*the arum*)	*bada* (*big*)-*kacu* वड़ कचु

10. *Nilmadhav* नीलमाधव *Nilmani etc.* नीलमणि	*nil* नील (*blue dye*)	*kapade dewā kali* कापड़े देया कालि (*ink used in dying cloth*)
11. *Nimaicand* निमाइचाँद	*nim-gach* निमगाछ (*the nimba tree*)	*teto-gach* तेतो गाछ (*the bitter tree*)
12. *Panaullah* पनउल्ला *Prannath etc.* प्राणनाथ	*pan* पान (*betel leaf or bida*)	*bonta* वोंटा (*the stalk of the betel leaf*)
13. *Rangalal etc.* रङ्गलाल	*rang* रं (*colour*)	*varna* वर्ण (*colour*)
14. *Rasmohan* रासमोहन *Rasvihari etc.* रासविहारी	*rasta* रास्ता (*road*)	*sadak* सड़क (*road*)
15. *Visvanath* (*pronounced Bissonath*) विश्वनाथ	*brhaspati-var* बृहस्पति-वार (*Bengali colloquial bissud-var*) विस्सुदवार	*budh-varer parer var* वुधवारेर परेर वार (*the day following Wednesday*)
16. *Yaminikanta* (*pronounced Jaminikanto*) *etc.* यामिनीकान्त	*jam* जाम (*Eugenia jambolana*)	*kalo-phal* काल फल (*black fruit*)

The use of words like *amuk* (so-and-so) in avoiding names and words of relationship is illustrated by a distich said to be a prayer to the god *Karttika* (*Karttikeya*) offered by a girl whose husband, named *Karttika,* was ill. It runs as follows—

अमुक ठाकुर अमुक ठाकुर अमुक यदि वाँचे ।
जोड़ अमुक देया करिव पूजा अमुक मासे मासे ॥

'O god so-and-so (*Karttika, Karttikeya*), if my so-and-so (husband) comes round safely, I will offer worship, to a double so-and-so (a pair of earthen images of the god Karttikeya made specially for the purpose) in every so-and-so month (the month of *Karttika* every year.'[10]

There is again a popular story about a married girl whose husband and the latter's mother, elder brother and father bore respectively the names Loknāth, Tulasī, Ādyanāth and Madhusudan, so that she was not in a position to utter the word *loha* (iron) (लोहा),[11] the name of the *tulasi* (तुलसी) plant and the words *ada* (आदा root stock of ginger) and *madhu* (मधु honey). On one occasion, when she had to advise a friend regarding the

the preparation of an Ayurvedic medicine which required all the four things, she was constrained to say, 'Please prepare some juice of the leaves of my mother-in-law (*tulasi* plant) and also of my husband's elder brother (*ada*) and, after mixing the two, put into the mixture a few drops of my father-in-law (*madhu*); then put for a while the master of the house (my husband, i. e., a piece of iron) into the mixture after burning him well.'

The social life especially in the rural areas of Bengal as we saw it in the first quarter of the present century reminds us of the Buriat, Kalmuk, Altaian Turk and Kirghiz tribes of Central Asia, among whom the wife never addresses either of the parents-in-law by name, uncovers her face or removes her dress in the presence of her husband's father or elder kinsmen, crosses their path and sleeps in the same tent or rides in the same wagon. We are especially reminded of the Kirghiz woman who must not look into the face of her husband's father or elder kinsmen and never utter their names even if they contain words of common use, as in the case of the Bengali women referred to above. What is more interesting is that there is a Kirghiz anecdote in which, exactly as in its Bengali counterpart, a woman was prohibited from employing the usual words for lamb, wolf, water and rushes, which formed part of the names of her relatives by marriage, so that, in reporting to her husband about the carrying off of a lamb by a wolf through the rushes on the other side of the water, she was obliged to say, 'Look yonder, the howling one (wolf) is carrying away the bleating one's young (lamb) through the rustling ones (rushes) on the other side of the glistening one (waters)'.[12]

In similar avoidance of unutterable names, the Assiniboin of Montana (North America) often likewise use 'something sharp' and 'the animal we ride' in order to indicate respectively 'a knife' and 'a horse', so that we have to admit that resemblances in social behaviour may develop independently.[13] But it is difficult to say that the behaviour of the Hindus and Mussulmans (especially of Central Bengal) was not influenced

in any way by the Turkish conquest of wide areas of the country in the beginning of the thirteenth century and consequent Muhammadan domination over the land, which ended only about the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same time, it is also quite possible that there was an under-current of primitive tribal trait among the Bengalis, which may have received stimulation from the Turkish practices during the early mediaeval period.[14]

REFERENCE

1. See *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. E. R. A. Seligman, vol. II. 1951, pp. 369-70 (s. v. *Avoidance*).

2. Scholars have not accepted Freud's attempt to explain this behaviour in psychoanalytic terms. Tylor connects it with residence. In his opinion, which also does not appear to be completely satisfactory, when the husband and wife live with the latter's relatives, there may be avoidance between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law ; on the other hand, there would be tabu between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law if the couple reside with the husband's relations.

3. In the early Sanskrit dramas, generally the wife is addressed by the husband by name, but the husband by the wife as *aryaputra* (आर्यपुत्र, the noble one's son). In the *Madhyamavyayoga*, a Brahmana addresses his wife as *Brahmani* ब्राह्मणी (a Brahmana woman), while his wife calls him *Arya* आर्य (the noble one). In the *Carudatta* also, the Brahmana hero mentions his wife as *Brahmani* ब्राह्मणी while, in the *Abhijnanasakuntala*, Dusyanta addresses Sakuntala by name, though the latter mentions the former rarely as *Arya* आर्य and addresses him generally as *Aryaputra* आर्यपुत्र, but occasionally as *Paurava* पौरव (a scion of the Puru clan). In any case, such avoidance seems to have been essentially a trait of the social behaviour of the non-Aryans of India. In South India, wives believe that to tell their husband's name or to utter it even in a dream would bring him to an untimely end (I. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, St. Martin's Library ed. (abridged) vol. I, p. 328).

4. This involves privileged familiarity between people of the same sex as well.

5. Quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *nama* नाम.

6. Cf. the name Ekadasi Vairagi applied (in a short story of Saratchandra Chattopadhyay) to a miserly *Vairagi*, the *Ekadasi tithi* being a fast day for religiously-minded people.

7. The word is possibly derived from the Bengali word *jhal* (झाल) 'pungent'.

8. The word *bachur* (बाछुर) is derived from Sanskrit *vatsatara* (वत्सतर) but the origin of *sect* सेक्रोट is uncertain.

9. The word is probably derived from *andhica* in the sense of 'darkness'.

10. There is a belief among scholars that *Karttikeya* worship is prevalent in Bengal only among the prostitutes of Calcutta, who honour the god only on certain occasions. Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II. part ii. p. 413. The stanza quoted above would show that the belief is wrong. In the central areas of Bengal, to which we have referred, *Karttikeya* is worshipped by women, especially of the upper classes of Hindus, every year on the last day of the month of *Karttika*. The priests' services are required in the evening of that day as well as in the morning of the following day.

11. The nickname of *Loknath* लोकनाथ would be *Loka* लोका which is corrupted into *Loha* लोहा. This, as also *loha* लोहा, which is the Bengali for 'iron', is further modified into *noa* नोआ.

12. See R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 1925, p. 85.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

14. Some of the facts noted here were mentioned by us in *Ind. Cult.*, vol. V. January 1939, pp. 333 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Koras of Midnapur

Earlier reference to the Kora tribe of West Bengal and Bihar was made by Risley (1891) in which he stated that they are of Dravidian origin and probably an offshoot of the Munda tribe. Rai Bhadur S. C. Roy (1915) suggested that they are of Oraon origin, practising different types of occupations, specially relating to earth-work, such as, raising embankments, etc.

The Koras speak a dialect of the Dravidian language and are regarded as one of the Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal. The 1951 census has given the details of distribution of the Kora population as follows in so far as West Bengal is concerned.

TABLE 1

Burdwan	14,601
Birbhum	4,685
Bankura	5,330
Midnapur	8,941
Hooghly	3,239
Howrah	249
24-Parganas	2,155
Calcutta	209
Nadia	11
Murshidabad	748
Malda	1,658
West Dinajpur	1,311
Jalpaiguri	214
Cooch-Behar	17
Darjeeling	32
Total	43,460

The writer of this note studied this community during October-November, 1964, in a village named Sitli, under the Narayangarh police station in the district of Midnapur.

Sitli is situated near a stream called Keleghai which becomes almost dry during summer and overflows its banks during the rainy season. There are patches of virgin forest on the south-western side of the river, some portions of which have now been cleared up by a few tribal communities for agriculture. Still, a few large old trees remain in tact, possibly preserved by these people in the belief that they possess magico-religious potentiality, and to axe them would invoke danger. These trees are considered as the abode of some individual regional deities and spirits. This particular zone is a continuation of the Chotanagpur plateau which gradually fans out in the eastern side into irreguler undulations. Sitli is a cadastral or revenue unit, having seven hamlets, occupied by seven different castes or communities. These groups are Sadgop, Mahishya, Tantubay/Weaver, Bargakshatriya/Bagdi, Lodha, Santal and Kora. These communities reside in the same village without any distinguishing names for their hamlets, but a sort of spatial isolation is always maintained by them.

The Koras of this particular hamlet originally came from elsewhere, some time before 1930. There are altogether 24 Kora families, some of which have originated due to split up of joint or extended families. Table 2 gives the details of population arranged according to age-groups.

TABLE 2

Population by Age

	0–4	5–14	15–34	35–60	61–up	Total
Male	8	21	17	10	0	56
Female	11	17	20	10	3	61
Total	19	38	37	20	3	117

Table 2 shows that there are altogether 56 males and 61 females of all ages, with a total of 117 individuals distributed in 24 families. There is no literate person in this hamlet, even amongst the younger generations. They speak a dialect which differs from Santali, as well as from the Mundari of the locality. On personal enquiry it was found that the Kora women, who by nature of their professions, very frequently come in closer contact with other Hindu castes cannot also speak the regional Bengali fluently, like their men-folk.

In respect of their economic activities, it has been noticed that almost all of them work as agricultural labourers or in jobs like the construction and repair of roads, etc. It has been noticed also that the working force, that is, the actual number of males and females working for bare subsistance, outnumbers the labour force in the age-group 15-60. This indicates their deplorable and unstable economic condition. For their labour, they are paid in cash, and sometimes in kind with paddy, etc. A few of them, in their leisure time go to the nearby jungle to collect fuel or firewood which they sell to the neighbouring communities. They also collect a few varieties of edible roots and tubers from the jungle. They catch a few varieties of fishes, locally available, from rivers or ponds. However, it has been observed that they do not get a square meal during the major part of the year.

They have mud-built four-sloped rectangular huts which are generally constructed by themselves, for which they collect necessary materials from the jungle.

In respect of their economic relationship with the other communities, they prefer the caste Hindus who occasionally give them jobs and food. They purchase other necessary commodities of daily use from the market or from the grocer's shop situated in the nearby village. In respect of their dress, they use the available mill-made or handloom cloths, which are inadequate for proper clothing.

Kora society is patriarchate in nature, and based on exogamous clan system. There are fourteen clans, which are

totemistic in name as were found in this village. Table 3 gives the clan names and their respective totems.

TABLE 3

Clan distribution

Name of the clan	Totem	No. of families
Burkur	*Sal* fish	4
Hansda	Swan	2
Hor	Tortoise	*
Hemrom (Gua)	Nut tree	1
Hure	A kind of tree	1
Kisar	A kind of fish	3
Ludam	Squirrel	1
Nagdu	Nest	2
Samad	Yam	2
Sapu	A kind of red bird	5
Suren	?	*
Tirki	?	*
Tundu	?	3
Tundung	?	*

* There are no male members belonging to these clans.

The totemic object is respected by the totemites and generally one never violates this rule. Marriage takes place outside the clan group.

The Kora families are of the following categories. Table 4 gives the details of their family sizes.

TABLE 4

Family size

Small-sized (1-3 individuals)	7
Medium-sized (4-6 individuals)	12
Big-sized (7-9 individuals)	5
Total	24

In these families, unmarried children live with their parents. After marriage the grown-up son generally establishes a separate household.

Marriage takes place at an early age, even before a girl attains her puberty. The traditional form of marriage is known as *Dutam Awra*, in which, the customary bride-price is paid and the negotiation is conducted by the guardians of the respective families. Besides, there is another way of getting a wife, which may be called marriage-by-force, in which the bridegroom carries away a girl forcibly. This method of getting a wife is called *Awrdikia.* After this, a ceremonial feast is given to the villagers. Widow remarriage is allowed and practised.

In respect of village organization, they have their own panchayat to discuss socio-religious affairs, which takes penal measures for violation of traditional marriage rules, etc. The headman of the panchayat is known as Mukhia. He is elected by the village elders and holds office until removed for personal lapse or for acting against the interests of the community by a vote of no-confidence. He is assisted by a Pradhan, whose main work is to run errands to other members of the tribe during ceremonies and festivals, for collection of subscriptions, as well as for administrative purposes. In case of serious offence on the part of a man, he is punished or fined, or sometimes excommunicated, according to the nature of his offence.

They believe in the existence of the mysterious powers controlling human actions and destiny. Some of these spirits are considered malevolent or benevolent by nature. A few regional deities and spirits are worshipped regularly with the sacrifice of fowl and goats. Like the Hindus, they worship the goddess Sitala, who is regarded as the deity of epidemic diseases like small-pox, cholera, etc. The worship is done by the village Mukhia. They have a few other festivals like Tusu, Bandana, etc. in which other communities also participate.

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26 June 1965

Ramendra Ghosh

Persian wheel in Rajasthani sculpture

In Punjab, Rajasthan and Western India, people make frequent use of Persian wheels *Arahatta* अरहट्ट, *Araghatta* अरघट्ट, Hindi-*Rahata* रहट for drawing water from wells in order to irrigate their fields. In Punjab, iron-pots are attached to the wheel, whereas in Rajasthan people make use of earthen pots. The latter device is very well depicted in the plastic art of Jodhpur region, a feature which is quite rare in the realm of Indian art. The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur preserves a rectangular stone relief (No. 95 ; 7 inches × 35 inches) depicting a number of warriors including horsemen on the sides and in the centre a Persian wheel at work in an elegant manner. In this relief from Mandora, we notice only the upper portion of the wheel studded with earthen pots, the shape of which can be seen in vogue in Rajasthan even to-day.

Still more interesting is the tiny stone panel studded on the cieling of the Jagesvara *Mandapa* at Sadadi near Ranakpur in the Pali district of Rajasthan. It measures only 6 inches in height and 4 inches in width. The panel may be dated as early as the 10-11th century A.D. Here we have a complete view of the Persian wheel, i. e. the string of pots is touching the water inside the well as well. The pots are tied to the rope in a row hanging below. Such reliefs are not published as yet. More so, this motif is conspicuous by its absence in the pre-mediaeval published art of the country at the present moment. Bana Bhatta, the author of *Harsa Carita* (हर्षचरित), also makes a reference to the Persian wheel :—*Kupodam ca ghatiya-yantra mala* ; (कूपोदं च घटीय यन्त्रमाला) also *Udghataghati* (उद्घातघटी).. etc. In this connection Dr. V. S. Agrawala[1] has remarked that it was probably under contacts from the country of *Karka* (South-West of Persia) that the Persian wheel was probably introduced by the Sakas in Western India under the name *Karkandhu* (कर्कन्धु), i.e. well of the Karka country.

This suggestion seems to be quite cogent and let us also look for some earlier depiction of Persian wheel in Indian Art.

Till now, the above stone reliefs from Rajasthan[2] are of great interest to the student of material life during the mediaeval period. Frequent references to the *Arahattas* (अरहट्ट) in early-mediaeval and later inscriptions of Rajasthan also bear testimony to the popularity of Persian wheels in this part of the country. Their depiction in the plastic art was therefore quite natural. Let us search for more material in this direction. It is equally important to look for the depiction of Persian wheel in the art of Persia and Western Asia and that too pertaining to the pre-mediaeval period.

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Superintendent
Archaeology and Museums, Udaipur

14 September 1965

REFERENCES

[1] *Harsa Carita Eka Sanskritika Adhyayana*, (*Hindi*), Patna, p. 59 and foot note 2. *Kupa Cakra* (कूपचक्र) and *Kupa Yantra* (कूपयन्त्र) of Sanskrit literature may also refer to the *Arahatta* (अरहट्ट) of inscriptions under scrutiny.

[2] At Mandora exists a rock-cut step-well of L-shape and with an inscription of Vikrama Year 742. This structure of the 7th century A. D. is worth taking note of, Dr. V. S. Agrawala suggests (*op. cit.*) that the step-well *vava, vapi* (वाव, वापी) was also introduced in India by the Sakas under the name *Sakandhu* (शकन्धु).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ideas in Barotse Jurisprudence. *By Max Gluckman. Yale University Press, New Haven and London. 1965. 56 shillings.*

Professor Max Gluckman's researches on the law and social life of the Barotse of Northern Rhodessia are embodied in two books. The first volume was the *Judicial Process among the Barotse.* This second book deals with Barotse ideas on their constitution and their theory of power, status and rights in land, immovable property, ownership, contract, injury, liability and responsibility and obligation and debt. These questions are dealt with against the canvas of Barotse social life. The similarities and differences in the concepts of tribal and European law through its long course of development have also been clearly brought out.

The Barotse use the term *Mulao* for law. It covers a number of meanings such as custom and tradition, laws specifically made and orders of their council, decisions of councils, orders issued by superior authorities to subordinates, traditional rules among the different tribes, general ideas about justice, equity and fairness, equality and truth, appropriate relations between different persons and laws of nature or laws of God having moral implications. Law to them signifies regularity, rightness and reason.

The Barotse judges have maintained the certainty of law in the face of radical changes affecting people's life at the present time. The author has demonstrated through a series of cases how the judges have succeeded even though social conditions, interests, standard of morals and measures of reasonableness are in a state of flux.

The book is a valuable contribution. The deep insight in Barotse legal concepts which the reader gets by going through it is facilitated by the style of exposition.

Sachchidananda

In the Beginnings : Early Man and His Gods. *By H. R. Hays. G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York. 1963. $ 10.00.*

This book won for its author the Putnam non-fiction award. It is the popular presentation of the beginnings and early growth

of religion throughout the world. The author includes in his sweep not only the contemporary primitive societes of the world but prehistoric and historic societies as well.

The treatment is region-wise. Beginning with Paleolithic Europe, he moves on to the Near East, Asia and Africa and ends up with the Pacific and the Americas. Attention has been focussed on the rituals in each region. Beliefs have also been covered as the basis of and sanction behind the performance of rituals. The author has drawn heavily on the tribal monographs on the different regions as well as on the historical material available for Greece and Rome, India and for the Maya and the Inca. All important religious concepts like totemism, taboo, mana, shamanism, fertility cults, ancestor worship, witchcraft, oracles and rain-making have been covered.

The language of the book is free from anthropological jargon. It is very useful for undergraduate students in Anthropology and also for the lay reader who wants to have a rambling idea of the religious beliefs and practices of mankind in the simpler societies.

Sachchidananda

Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership in Southern Asia : Report on an International Round Table Conference. *National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. 1965.*

This book embodies papers presented in the conference on leadership jointly sponsored by the National Institute of Community Development and the Unesco Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia in May 1963. Scholars from India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Philippines participated and exchanged experiences and views on problems of rural leadership in their respective regions. The main points of interest at the conference were three : enunciation of an adequate conceptual and theoretical framework for the study of leadership, assessment of the research material available on traditional and emerging leadership and formulation of a broad-based research design in the light of the experiences acquired from theoretical and empirical work in the region.

Each paper gives an account of rural leadership research completed or currently under way in the respective countries. It also

summarizes the main trends in rural leadership in the countries they cover.

It is clear that no specific design could be prescribed for such studies in the entire South Asia as the social, political and economic background of each region was different. The book shows the paucity of empirical research in this important field and it is hoped that research workers would be stimulated to take up more purposeful field research in their respective countries.

The bibliography is extremely valuable.

Sachchidananda

The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline. *By D. D. Kosambi. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 1965. Pp. xi + 243 + figures 16 + maps 6 + plates 98.*

This provocative volume gives a Marxist interpretation of India's past. Professor Kosambi brings to bear on this subject a wide range of knowledge such as Sanskrit studies, numismatics, comparative anthropology, archaeology, mathematics, genetics and prehistory.

The author seeks to demolish the myth of a bygone 'golden age.' The ghost of this bygone age has haunted the author all through, sometimes forcing him to take recourse to the use of vague definitions. He has also by-passed the brilliant works by of R. S. Sharma, Dev Raj Chanana and R. K. Choudhury. He does not moreover take into account several facts and facets of our cultural heritage brought to light by other scholars.

This book will sell Kosambi's ideas to the West which are more or less the same as expressed in his introduction to the study of Indian history published in 1956 from Bombay.

Such a scholarly work should have been accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography. It has 16 figures, six very good maps and 98 photographs. The book has an exhaustive index. Added explanations in the index serve as glossary as well as reference to other works.

S. P. Sinha

Studies in Indian Folk Culture. *Edited by Sankar Sen Gupta and K. D. Upadhyaya. Indian Publications, Calcutta-1. May, 1964. Pp. xvi + 189. Rs. 12 ; $ 5 ; £ ½ net.*

Folklorists of Bengal *(1) By Sankar Sen Gupta. Indian Publication, Calcutta-1. 1965. Pp. xxi+180. Rs. 12 ; $ 5 or its equivalent.*
Tree Symbol Worship in India. *Edited, with an Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta. Indian Publications, Calcutta-1. 1965. Pp. xxxx+170. Rs. 12 ; $ 5.*

Besides a Preface by Sankar Sen Gupta and a General Editorial by K. D. Upadhyaya, *Studies in Indian Folk Culture* contains seventeen articles on different aspects of Indian folk culture. The articles are arranged under three broad heads : Folk Song and Dance, Folk Art and Craft and Folklore and Literature. The book is full of much valuable information and deals with many an untouched aspect of Indian folk culture.

Folklorists of Bengal (1) is the first volume of the projected three-volume work on the life and achievements of the folklorists of Bengal. It deals with seven distinguished names in the field of Bengali folklore, namely,Lal Bihari Day, Rabindranath Tagore, Saratchandra Mitra, Dineshchandra Sen, Dakshinaranjan Mitra-Majumdar and Chandrakumar De. Some of them, such as Lal Bihari Day, Saratchandra Mitra and Dineshchandra Sen are among the forerunners in the field of folklore studies in the whole of India. The pattern followed in each case is the same : life-sketch, achievements and bibliography of works.

There are twenty articles in the third book. The regions covered are Orissa, Bengal, Gujarat, Punjab, Western U.P., Karnatak and Kerala.

On the whole, the approach of the different contributors is predominantly a synchronic one and articles of a theoretical nature provide background for a deeper understanding of the intricate cult. One notes with regret the absence of articles on the tree worship of many regions of India in so important a publication. We hope these will be included in a revised edition of the book.

Dineshwar Prasad

Folk Paintings of India. *Published by International Cultural Centre, New Delhi. 1961. Pp. 50.* Rs. *12. 50.*

The present collection of the folk paintings of India comprises thirtyfive examples which date from the late 17th century to the present day. They are vivid reproductions of paintings done on

wood, pith, paper, cloth, leather and wall. The paintings in some cases are done with rice-paste, vermilion, orpiment, the juice of vegetable matter, black ash and lamp black.

Besides a preface by Verrier Elwin, the work contains a commentary on the paintings. It describes their milieu as well as their time and furnishes much valuable information about the traditional art of folk painting.

Dineshwar Prasad

From Ape to Angel. *By H. R. Hays, Pp. 439 including bibliography. Capricorn Books. 1964. $ 2. 65.*

The book has already been reviewed in Vol. 39 (1959) of the journal when it was published in 1958. It is needless to say that its publication in a popular and cheap form will be welcomed by general readers. It would have been good if the latest developments and advances in the field of social anthropology since 1958 could have been incorporated in this edition.

Salil K. Roy Chowdhury

Land of the Hornbill and Myna. *By Muktinath Bardoloi. Pp. 57 including Appendix and Index. North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong. 1964.*

In his introduction the author has rightly pointed out that the book contains merely notes which touch the fringe of the whole subject and has to be sufficiently supplemented with the collection of more data in course of time. The tribes dealt with are Monpas, Sherdukpens, Akas, Daflas, Adis and Gallongs, Miknis, Khamptis, Singphos, Noctes and Wanchos. All the tribes live in the North Eastern Region of India.

Salil K. Roy Chowdhury

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