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SUGGESTED RESEARCH PROJECTS IN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY*

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

VERY few countries in the world have some of the advantages which India possesses in regard to the study of anthropological science. India has firstly a Government department organized, more or less, like its far-famed Archaeological Survey. Work which is usually done by universities in other countries is thus entrusted to a branch of an official organization which naturally enjoys financial and other types of advantages normally not available to university people.

Quite apart from this, the geographical position and socio-economic structure of India has been such that she forms one of the most important key-points in anthropological research. In prehistory it is well known that in the matter of palaeolithic tools India forms one unit in the Euro-African culture complex. There is also some evidence here of another culture which has affiliations with the south-east and the north of Asia. Some good work has been done in these respects by the Universities of Calcutta, Yale and Cambridge and Harvard, but much more remains to be done. The work of prehistoric archaeology is sometimes not considered to be part of the official duties of an anthropologist. May be, perhaps the Archaeological Survey

* This can be treated as a sequel to the author's 'Current Research Projects in Indian Anthropology' published in *Man in India*, Vol. 32, No. 3.

of India ought to have specialists who have earned enough experience in geological methods of dating, and in pleistocene geology, in order to carry on researches in prehistoric archaeology in India.

Even if prehistory does not come under the purview of the anthropologist in India, yet there are problems which arise out of it which ought to be their prime concern on account of other reasons. Cultures, in prehistoric times, may have flown into India from the east and the west ; and it is not unlikely that they might have developed some kind of individuality on the soil of India itself. Cultures can sometimes be transmitted without corresponding population movements or they can be attended by such migrations.

We hardly know anything dependable about the racial composition of the peoples of India. We only know faintly that some came from the east and some from the west. So far, our reliance used to be on Risley who carried on work more than fifty years ago. His technique (actually that of Topinard) has been improved to some extent, yet, as pointed out by Sir Arthur Keith while reviewing the new anthropological findings of the 1931 Census, we are yet not in a position to dispense completely with the findings of Risley. In current anthropological literature, Risley's classification has been superseded by that of Guha. Guha's new classification is however based on the measurement of 2,511 individuals in a population numbering 352,837,778 in undivided India. That classification is suggestive so far as it goes, but cannot take the place of thorough-going scientific work. Guha's primary data regarding the 2,511 individuals still remains unpublished. In the meanwhile, what can be done is to carry on detailed measurements, on a family basis, of different groups of populations in India in order to gather a more dependable basis for reconstructing the racial history of India. Quite lately, some authors have suspected that there might be a submerged Mongoloid strain in the composition of the Santals ; while considerable doubts have been thrown upon the validity of the Negrito racial strain in so far as current proofs are based on the single character of the hair and not on an assemblage of characters. An opinion is also current

that the Indian people are becoming more and more brachycephalic with the passage of time. Some authors again are clearly of opinion that the Himalayas must have played a considerable part in the evolution of the Primates and possibly of the Hominidæ. These are scientific questions which cannot be underrated, and it is natural to expect the Anthropological Department of the Government of India to take up work in a manner so that adequate materials for their solution may be published in course of a few years' time. And what is still more important is that such data should be made available to scientists who might be working in the universities. In many Government departments, there used to be, in pre-Independence days, a kind of trade-secret or private-property attitude about data gathered at public expense. We hope, post-Independence India is different and the time has come for Government departments not to claim all monopoly of wisdom on their own side, but to seek instead the co-operation of universities where anthropology is taught and research carried on in one or other of its branches. It is quite likely that the university departments will also profit by such co-operation. As universities in our unfortunate country are largely cut off from the stream of current life, and as there is an undercurrent of national chauvinism in a people suffering from prolonged suppression, our researches easily tend either to prove that we were great in ancient times, or that we can repeat what other people have been doing in anthropology elsewhere, no matter whether such activities have any bearing upon the problems which are of life and death to the sixth of the human race which inhabits our ancient land.

One problem which is of great importance to the whole people of India is with regard to her population. Not that our rate of growth is greater than in many other countries ; but the fact is that the absolute population of India is so vast that any benefit which might accrue to us from our several five-year plans is likely to be swallowed up by our increasing numbers. So that unless we are able to reduce growth and at the same time increase the production of wealth, the standard of life will remain where it was. And in regard to the reproductive life

of our people there is hardly any representative and dependable study up to the present time. Some have tried to nibble at the problem, but as we see it, this ought to be one of the major concerns of the human biologist in India.

India consists of stratified population groups on a vast scale. There are tribal people like the Juang, the Kandh, the Gond, the Santal, the Abor, the Naga, the Mishmi, the Kadar, the Chenchu and so on, about whose reproductive life we know hardly anything. Altogether, the tribal people are supposed to form 25 million, that is, a population equal to about three times that of Australia. Some of them appear to be decaying, others are on the increase. In a similar manner, with regard to the urban and the rural population of India, we have no reliable material on the basis of which we can calculate what is happening to either of them in regard to reproduction. These are questions which concern the tribal as well as the non-tribal 330,000,000 people, and answers to which must be made available to all who are responsible for the economic and social welfare of India. They should be taken up for investigation not merely by the Government's own department but by every institution where physical anthropology is taught in the postgraduate classes.

From questions which concern race and population, let us now turn to other matters. America is subject, in some parts, to the race question. One great service which has been done in the U. S. A. in the past by anthropologists like Franz Boas was to investigate whether there was any hereditary superiority attaching to white races in comparison with the Negroes of the United States. The conclusion arrived at was negative. Much of the observed backwardness was due to poverty as well as to the stigma from which coloured people are made to suffer by white races all the world over. Who knows, how our so-called 'tribal' and 'scheduled castes' who have suffered age after age from social suppression, stand in comparison with the upper caste people? One anthropologist working on a small sample of untouchable leather-workers found a remarkable similarity in their physical composition with some Brahmins. If these investigations could be pursued, we would be in a position to educate the people of India and say to them how much of the

alleged backwardness of scheduled tribes and castes is not due to any inherent inferiority, but due to social suppression, if that is the cause eventually arrived at. And when a cause is not hereditary but environmental, it becomes easier to control it by means of radical short-term programmes. Even if a backwardness is ascribable to heredity, long-term programmes can be devised for their eradication.

This leads us on to the question of caste and of its present function in Indian society. Many have written on caste, and much of this literature has been in respect of its early history. But of its present status, we have a proportionately very meagre literature. Some recent work has shown how caste is still, to a more or less extent, a determinant in the selection of occupations. The traditional superiority of some types of occupation and inferiority of others prevents a free passage of labour from one group to another. Money has not yet been able to dissolve wholly the traditions or the stratifications bound up with caste's ancient economic counterpart of complementary guilds. Now that all are trying to work out new plans for the economic reorganization of India, it is likely that, in the rural sectors, economic plans will come into clash with the existing socio-economic organization with its attendant superstructure. We may ignore it if we wish to ; but as social scientists, we believe it is wiser to take stock of existing affairs and then shape our activities accordingly. One who knows about his patient's disease in greater detail is more likely to succeed as a physician than one who treats his patient like a lump of clay.

Very important studies on caste, as it exists in each state in India, can be undertaken by interested social anthropologists. The questions which can be taken up for investigation are the existing correlation between caste and occupation, the trends of change as revealed by comparison with past studies, the existing traditions in regard to the superiority and inferiority of occupations, the course of changes followed by castes' consciously, and soon.

Besides caste, India has also a large non-caste population. It is unfortunate that such non-caste populations also sometimes show social traditions very much akin to caste. It has been

the fashion in the past to regard all such cultural traits as being not derivatives of Hindu culture by diffusion but of aboriginal descent. How far such claims are logically valid, has never been examined; authors have over-readily expressed opinions one way or the other more or less in accordance with their theoretical predilections. But this is not the way of science. We need a more determined logic, and much more painstaking observation, before we can derive conclusions with any reasonable measure of dependability. Much work among the tribal groups in India, particularly with regard to the role of status and occupation, remains to be done in tribal India.

It is well known that many of the tribal people of India refuse to fall in line with economic plans which suit the interests of the entire population of an area. The Juangs and Pauri Bhuiyas are used to a predatory form of cultivation, and they have a social organization as well as a superstructure of rites, ceremonies and beliefs which sprang out of that kind of productive arrangement. Better economic methods may bring them more wealth, but sometimes at the cost of a reduction of their social status in comparison with other groups with whom they now form a complementary part in a larger whole. Just as caste may cause obstruction, so a similar resistance may come from among the tribal people when we try to work out new plans for India's total uplift. A social anthropologist's major concern can easily be formed by such studies. These studies are not merely based upon utilitarian motives, but they have also a tremendous academic value. We learn from them how different facets of human civilization are organically interrelated; how wealth may mean not only economically valuable goods, but also socially significant statuses; how far even the latter help to determine the course of change in human civilization (they may also be considered to be 'economic'); which are more and which are the less important factors; whether all through human history the same forces have retained their proportionate value or not; why they have varied from time to time, and so on.

We have so far dealt with the resistance which rises from within the caste system and from the social organizations of the tribal people. But within both these societies there are also

elements of organization, some formal and some informal, which may very well be utilized for promoting the cause of national reconstruction. A little is known about these, but as the enquiries have not been with this specific purpose, the data are unequal in distribution, and also of unequal dependability. In many parts of the world, the people's own tribal organizations are today being utilized, often after necessary adaptation, to act as the agency of furthering quick change. The same thing is possible in India ; but then we have to gather more facts about our rural population than is available at the present moment.

In spite of the way in which caste has operated in respect of of the economic organization of India, and which it is neither necessary nor desirable to perpetuate under changed conditions of production, caste had one other aspect which deserves careful study both from the pragmatic as well as the philosophical point of view. Caste brought together many tribes under one organization. It had its own economic framework, but it had also an associated way of bringing about a confederation of various types of cultures. Those who have studied this aspect of Hindu civilization claim that from very early times Hindu thinkers recognized the validity of the multiplicity of religious experiences. Mahatma Gandhi who stood as the latest champion of this catholicity of Hinduism said, "There are as many religions as human beings." From this point of view, Indians succeeded in building up in India a system which is known as Hindu religion, but which, in fact, is a confederation of various religious creeds and of various experiences brought together and made into one undivided whole.

Today when the world has been made narrower by means of swift means of transportation, when people from all corners of the world are brought willy-nilly into intimate contact with one another both in war as well as in peace, there is coming into being a spirit of toleration in respect of cultures which are foreign to one's own. People show more respect for Chinese culture, Egyptian sculpture and painting and towards Central European folk songs and dances than they used to do in the middle of the last century. But "toleration" or "tolerance" is not

enough ; beneath it there lies a sense of a partial inferiority of that which is not my own.

In India, the Hindu and the Muslim remained apart from one another ; the Bauri and other 'untouchable' and originally tribal castes have remained isolated in marriage from the upper caste groups. Yet when it came to religious experience or belief, the Brahmin did not hesitate to pay homage to tribal gods and goddesses, or to men and women who have drunk deep in the waters of mystical experience, from whichever group such saints may have come. It was held that a man who rose high in his inner spiritual experiences became shorn of the labels which divide man and man in the ordinary social world. They were free from *samskaras*, they became 'home-less' and one with the Universal Being. Whatever may have been the actual value of such homage, the Hindu did succeed, on the basis of the above attitude, in building up a very special type of confederation of cultures which has endured in spite of the inequalities which divided one part of Hindu society from another. When the world is looking today for a new way of life, when the feeling is gaining predominance that a fixed and mill-made uniformity of cultures is neither possible nor desirable for mankind, the way how different cultures were brought together under Hinduism, how they held together in spite of forces operating in a contrary direction, may offer to us some new fields of fruitful scientific investigation. The world today needs a brotherhood of cultures based on respect for partial views of truth other than one's own, but without the basis of inequality which lay at the root of caste's economic organization.

Some anthropologists in India are working on inter-cultural relations, but what we need is that such enquiries should be informed by a larger philosophy, a larger purpose which shall bear fruit for a world to come.

Anthropology has a heavy responsibility in India. The ground is hardly covered. There are promises that much might be done. Let us hope we shall be true to the responsibility which we think is our own and thus do our small bit so that India of the future generations may be better than what we find it today, and this at a lesser cost than if we fail to make use of the knowledge which anthropological research can place at our disposal.

CASTE AND OCCUPATION IN RURAL ORISSA

By NITYANANDA PATNAIK

Barpali, Orissa

BARPALI police station is situated 40 miles to the southwest of Sambalpur in Orissa. It has an area of 109 square miles and a population of 52,849. The police station contains 77 villages, which are divided into two unequal halves. One half has 48 villages and the other 29 villages. In general this area is famous for handloom cloths which the weavers of this locality weave. The cloths are colourful and bear multiple and beautiful designs. In addition to this, there are several small industries worked by goldsmiths, blacksmiths and other artisan classes, such as bell-metal workers (*Khadara*), potters, etc.

The village of Barpali is the headquarters of the Barpali police station. It has a dispensary, a post office, and a high school. It is situated by the side of the road leading from Bargarh in the north to Bolangir-Patna in the south. It is also reached by a fair-weather road from Binka and Rampur in Sonepur which lie to the southeast of Barpali. In addition to these main arteries of travel, there are many small village roads from various points within the police station. Therefore Barpali is reached quite easily from outside. Daily motor bus services ply on the road leading from Sambalpur to Bolangir-Patna via Barpali. These communications facilitate movements of the people to and from this area.

For a year, a group of American as well as Indian technicians specializing in the fields of public health and sanitation, fundamental and adult education, agriculture and animal husbandry, village arts and crafts, and village reconstruction have stationed themselves in the village of Barpali where they are working in the neighbouring villages on a development programme. For the upliftment of a rural society

it is necessary to know its caste structure as well as its social and economic condition. At first the workers selected twenty out of 77 villages to start the work. The selection was done on the basis of a 'receptivity survey'. The main criteria of receptivity in this rural community to the acceptance of new ideas and improved conditions of life were thought to be as follows: 1. The villages chiefly composed of owner-cultivators, where there were few landless labourers and no absentee landlords, were selected, because we thought that receptivity in these villages was likely to be greater. 2. Rural India has a network of interrelated hereditary castes which guides production to a certain extent, and which also fixes the status of a person in relation to others. Some castes are very conservative and recoil from any change in their condition of life. The caste system and caste traditions were therefore studied in connection with the implementation of the programme.

The Castes

The different castes which are found in the project villages are Bhandari (barber), Brahmin, Bhulia (weaver), Binjhal (Hinduized tribal), Baisnaba (religious sect), Bairagi (religious sect), Bania (gold and silver-smith), Dhoba (washerman), Dhibar (fisherman), Dumal (cultivator), Ganda (scheduled caste weaver), Harijan, Ghasi (sweepers, scheduled caste), Gour (milkman), Ganda (Hinduized tribal), Kumbhar (potter), Keut (fisherman), Kuda (labourer), Khadara (bell-metal worker), Kulta (cultivator), Kuli (weaver), Kusta (weaver), Luhura (blacksmith), Laban (leaf and twig collector), Mali (gardener), Marwari (businessman), Mangan (sweeper), Pandara (cultivator), Rajput (warrior class), Sahara (Hinduized tribal), Sundhi (businessman), Teli (oilman), Thanapati (Siva-worshipper), Tiar (fisherman).

The Ganda, the Binjhal and the Sahara are said to be the original inhabitants of this area. The tradition of 'Gandmara' (Ganda killing) and the holding of the post of Jhankar (village priest) by the Binjhal, the Gandas, and the Sahara corroborates the evidence of their coming to this area before any other caste occupied it. In many villages the Gandas and the

Binjhals are the village headmen (*gountia*) and the zamindar. The people belonging to these castes do not accept food from the hands of any other caste except the Brahmins, and each group is endogamous. The Kulta, the Pandra and the Dumal are good agriculturists of this area and are rich and prosperous. They do not seem to take any interest in new ideas. The Gandas are found more or less in every village. They weave cloths and plough their paddy fields. All other castes have taken to cultivation. In some cases it is a subsidiary source of income and in others it is their primary occupation. The chart at the end shows different occupations taken up by different castes and the degree of change in respect of caste occupation in each case.

The Kusta Mehers weave *tasar* and silk cloths, and the Bhulia and the Kuli Mehers deal with cotton yarn. The *saris* or women's garment which the Mehers weave are very charming from the point of view of colour and decorative design. The villages are heterogeneous in caste composition. There are no separate wards for different castes except for the Ganda, Ghasi and the Chamar who live quite apart from the other castes in their respective wards. The Kulis also live in a separate ward of their own because they are considered to be untouchable, though they are not as low as Harijans. The villagers live close together in their respective houses which are not attached to each other.* They deliberately do not build their individual houses attached to one another for the alleged reason that their deities will get angry and cause illness. Also they say that it is a preventive measure against fire.

The caste system in India is based on interdining, occupation and intermarriage. In this area the caste system is very rigid. Not a single case of inter-caste marriage is met with. Inter-caste dining is taboo. With regard to occupation, it is however less strictly followed. The chart which has been given shows how different occupations are followed by people belonging to different castes and how agriculture or the cultivation of land is either a primary or a subsidiary source of

* In the coastal plains of Orissa, houses are built in parallel rows on both sides of an open street, and they are placed side by side in an unbroken series.

income for all castes. There are many castes who carry on the same occupation, but there is no social communion and interrelation among them. There is a caste which has been divided into several subcastes, each carrying on its separate occupation. Also there is a caste which has been divided into several endogamous sub-castes which are working on the same occupation.

The following paragraphs amplify the above facts by describing examples taken from this area.

Caste Tradition and Inter-caste Behaviour

The Mehers (Weavers). As has been said already, there are four weaver castes living in this area. The Bhulia, the Kuli and the Ganda weave cotton yarn, whereas the Kusta weave silk and *tasar* yarns. The latter weavers buy cocoons from Chakradharpur and steam them at home. After steaming, the cocoons are spun into yarn which the Kusta weave into several kinds of cloths. There is no taboo against weaving silk and *tasar* yarn on the part of the Bhulia, Kuli and Ganda weavers, but they do not kill the silkworm by steaming the cocoons as the Kusta weavers do. The Bhulias believe that the silkworm possesses the signs of *Sankha*, *Chakra*, *Gada* and *Padma* on their bodies, as the Lord Krishna used to possess. The killing of the worms is a great sin according to them. To confirm this religious taboo of carrying on the occupation of Kusta weavers, some of the Bhulias told me that once upon a time two Bhulias practised killing the silkworm by steaming. Then they wove cloths as Kustas do, but they did not live long as they had done something contrary to the rules of their society. Killing the worms by steaming the cocoons, spinning the *tasar* yarn and weaving cloths out of it is believed to be the hereditary occupation of the Kusta weavers. So the gods do them no harm.

The Chamars or hereditary leather-workers say that they used to collect cocoons from this locality and sell them to Kusta weavers. They do not steam them. Once however the price of the cocoons came abruptly down and the Chamars did not want to dispose of the cocoons at a low rate. As soon as the cocoons are collected and brought home, they need steaming,

otherwise the worms will bore through them and damage the threads. At this critical juncture, the Chamars steamed the cocoons instead of allowing them to be bored through. Except in this special case, the steaming of the cocoons is not ordinarily done by the Chamars because they take the silkworm as a *yogi* saint sitting in a closed space in deep meditation. Killing a silkworm is the same as killing a *yogi* which is a great sin.

There are many well-to-do people of the Marwari and other castes who can afford to carry on business in cocoons. But they also do not venture to do so. As soon as the cocoons are brought home, they need to be steamed, but no other caste steams them for religious reasons stated earlier, and so they do not dare to carry on business in cocoons.

During the transport of the cocoons from the place of origin, some are destined to be damaged by the worms. As soon as the bags of cocoon are brought home, they are opened and the damaged ones are separated from the good ones. The latter are at once steamed and the former are sold to a sub-class of Kustas called Oriya Kusta. The Oriya Kusta like other castes do not steam the cocoons bearing worms. So they do not directly carry on business in cocoon with the wholesale dealers. They always depend upon the Laria Kustas who supply them with cocoons, which the latter Kustas do not know how to use. The Oriya Kustas spin the cut cocoons and sell the *tasar* yarn to the Laria Kustas because the former do not weave.

Of all the weaver castes, the Kusta is the highest in status. They live in the village among other caste people who touch them and have other social interrelationships with them. The Bhulias do the same thing and are looked upon in the same way. They live right in the midst of the other caste people and are considered touchable. But the Chamars who are one of the lowest untouchable castes do not eat from the house of the Bhulias as they look on the latter as being equal to the Ganda in caste. The latter caste is also one of the lowest untouchable ones which is called Harijan. The Chamars give three traditional reasons which prohibit their accepting food from the Bhulias. Among the Bhulias, the marriage ceremony takes place in the house of the groom, not in that of the bride, which

generally is the case among all other classes of people. The kind of marriage which involves carrying the groom in procession with pomp and beat of drum to the bride's house where the marriage takes place is considered to be a superior type of marriage ; this is not met with among the Bhulia and the Ganda castes. The people of both the castes practise the inferior and less expensive type of marriage which involves the bringing of the bride to the groom's house where the marriage is performed. The Gandas are musicians and drum-beaters, so they are employed for beating the drum and playing on the flute on the occasion of marriage. When the Bhulias call upon them at the time of marriage, they pay their dues after deducting a portion from the sum fixed to be paid to the Gandas for performing the service. The Bhulias say that the portion which is deducted is the 'brother's share' which they are entitled to get from the Gandas. The last reason which they give is this. The Bhulias prepare cakes of the shape of the musical instruments, such as harp, drum, etc., which the Gandas use in marriage, worship them and finally eat them. All these traits found in the ceremony of marriage among the Bhulias mean to the Chamars that the Bhulia had some previous interrelationship with the Gandas with whom the Chamars have no interding or any other social interrelationship.

It may be mentioned here that the people who belong to the Kusta, the Chamar, the Barai, and the Tiar castes are known as Laria. They are the people who have migrated from Madhya Pradesh where Hindi is spoken. They are different from the original inhabitants of this area in language, manner of dress and ornamentation, social customs, religious festivals, and attitude and behaviour. The Oriya-speaking Laria castes perform a ceremony once which is known as *Gharai puja* (ancestral worship). It takes place once in a generation. In this ceremony pigs and fowl are sacrificed. These animals are not sacrificed in any festival practised among the original settlers. As the Kusta, Tiar, and Barai live among the latter people, they do not like to sacrifice these animals with their own hands. When they are ready to perform this ancestral festival, they call upon the Chamars to perform the sacrificial part of the festival, so the Chamars say

that the Kusta, Tiar, and Barai people are culturally similar to them in some respects. Therefore they accept food from them. They do not accept food from the hands of the Ganda, Ghasi, Kuli, Bhulia, Dhoba and the Bhandari, who all belonged originally to Orissa.

The position of Kuli in the caste system of this area is a curious one. Twenty years ago nobody touched them; barbers did not shave them, washermen did not wash their clothes and the Ghasi did not sweep their streets or clean their latrines. So from this it is known that they were considered as the lowest of all classes of people. But the once-untouchable Kulis are gradually becoming touchable under the situation of constant contact with other people for a long time. Now-a-days barbers and washermen serve them, but the Ghasis do not yet do so. For sweeping and cleaning, a sweeper caste lower than the Ghasi, known as Mangan, is employed by them. The Mangans and the Ghasis do the same work of sweeping and cleaning, but they are different from each other in caste. The former cleans and sweeps before and after bathing in the morning as well as in the afternoon, whereas the latter do not work in these untidy jobs after bathing and in the afternoon, because doing them after bathing is a taboo in Ghasi society. This strange phenomena of considering the Kuli Mehers as a low caste is still a problem. How the Kuli Mehers who live by weaving, which is generally the occupation of higher castes, came to be looked down upon by other castes is an unsolved problem. A caste is considered low on the basis of occupation. The man who does the job of cleaning and sweeping the streets and latrines, processes hide and eats carrion is treated as lower than and inferior to a man who does the job of weaving. In Barpali, so far as the case of Kuli is concerned, a group practising a high occupation is regarded as socially inferior. This is not according to the usual caste rules.

The Chamars (Leather-workers). Distance in residence and difference in occupation may divide a caste as the case of the Chamars will show. There are, according to a Chamar, five different sub-classes in this group of leather workers. They are, (a) Ruidas, (b) Satnami, (c) Dhosia, (d) Kalanjia and

(e) Telengi. It is in Barpali that the Ruidas Chamars are found. They say, they were the same as the Satnami Chamars who are found now in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur from where they have migrated. Distance in residence and difference in occupation have been responsible for the fragmentation of a caste. The Satnamis wear a sacred thread which the Ruidas Chamars do not. The former are more or less religious-minded, but the latter Chamars are not so. When somebody salutes the Satnami Chamars, they utter 'satnam', i.e., 'the name of truth' in return. This is not found among the Ruidas Chamars. The Satnami Chamars only cultivate, whereas the Ruidas Chamars cultivate as well as carry on leather work. The Dhosia Chamars are different from the other four sub-castes in occupation. They carry on the occupation of making musical instruments and drums etc., which other sub-castes do not make. The Telengi Chamars are different from all the sub-castes because they came from a different locality in Vijayanagaram (Andhra State). The place is so far from the places where the other Chamars live, that any communal interrelationship is not possible.

The Ruidas Chamars who are living in this area do not call themselves Ruidas but Mehers. They feel ashamed of being called Ruidas. I have seen the Chamars in the district of Sundargarh, a district adjacent to Sambalpur, where they freely call themselves Ruidas; they do not hesitate to say this. Perhaps the Chamars of Barpali have borrowed the terminology of Meher from their country-mate, Laria Kusta Meher.

The Malis (Gardeners). In this area are found three sub-sections of the Mali caste carrying on different occupations. They are: (a) Ful Mali (Sagmali); (b) Gandha Mali (Thanapati); and (c) Rathor Mali. The Rathor Malis are superior to all, but they are not found in this locality. Both the Rathor and Gandha Malis perform the worship of Siva, which the Ful Malis do not. The Rathor Malis do not plough whereas others do. The Thanapati Malis are superior to the Pujari (a non-Brahmin religious caste). Water from the hand of the former is accepted by all even by the Brahmins, which is not so in the case of the Pujaris. The Pujaris wear

the sacred thread as Brahmins do, whereas the Thanapatis do not. The latter worship the Lord Siva, whereas there is a taboo against the former's doing so. The Thanapatis drive the plough by means of their own hands, whereas the Pujaris do not do so. From this we gather that in some cases ploughing is not a criterion for judging which caste is superior and which inferior. The Rathor Malis are superior to other Malis because the Rathor does not plough. The Thanapatis are superior to Pujaris even though the Thanapatis plough whereas the others do not. The basis of superiority of the Thanapati over the Pujari rests on points other than ploughing.

In this connection it may be mentioned that out of the two sub-castes among the Brahmins, the Oriya Brahmins are considered superior to Jhadua Brahmins because the latter smoke, carry loads on their shoulder, and perform priestly work in Siva and Vishnu temples. Here the standards of judging the superiority or inferiority are smoking, carrying loads and worshipping. Both the sub-castes, Oriya and Jhadua, do not plough. To complete the description of the caste system among the Malis, the occupation of Ful Malis is worth mentioning. They grow vegetables, fruit trees and cultivate. The basis of their main income is vegetable gardening. Therefore, they are called Sag-Malis (vegetable Malis). They have no social interrelationship with the Rathor and the Gandha Malis.

The Fishermen. This group includes Keut, Tiar, Dhiban, and Gingra. All the nomenclature borne by these castes mean a group of people who carry on the occupation of fishing. Each is a separate caste, although all of them carry on the same occupation. Each group is endogamous, and there is no social interrelationship among them. The criteria of caste difference among these four fishing groups are based on the methods by which each catch fish. The Keut fishermen use a casting net for catching fish, whereas the Tiar and the Dhibar do not do so. The former never use any net. They use always an automatic, valved trap which is known as *benda*. This is made of bamboo splits which they make themselves. The Dhibars use a net which is very long and which requires

two men to manipulate. It is a drag-net and is known as *khadijal* (a net having spokes). The Gingra fishermen use casting nets as the Keut do, but at the same time us *banisi* (rod and line), which the Keut do not.

The Keut and Gingra both do the job of popping rice. It is the work of the women. The Tiar and Dhibar do not do this work. However, there is no taboo on their part against popping rice. Some instances of the Tiar and Dhibar popping rice are met with in the village of Barpali.

Of all the fishing implements which the four subdivisions use, the long net of the Dhibars and the casting net of the Keuts are the best for catching fish. The *benda* proves less effective in comparison with the other two implements. When the Tiars take a big tank on lease to catch fish, they seek the help of Dhibars and Keuts, who catch fish in their own contrivances for the Tiars. The Tiars say that they also sometimes use nets at the time of competition and under economic stress, but they frankly admit that they do not like to use nets for fishing.

The sub-castes carry on the same occupation, but they are separated from one another in respect of interdining and with regard to marriage.

The Oilmen. In this area there are two types of Telis, one being known as Teli and the other as Haldia Teli. Though some other kinds of Telis are found outside the area of Barpali *thana*, yet as they are outside the jurisdiction which is under description, it is not necessary to mention them here. However, I feel that the whole picture cannot be given of the Telis unless those who live outside are also included. Except the Haldia Telis who are mostly businessmen, all other Telis live by pressing oil. This occupation may be now a subsidiary source in some cases and a main source of income in other cases, but oil-pressing is the caste occupation of the Telis. In one of the groups, the women press oil. They push the presser attached to the pestle against their chest, holding it by both their hands. Among others bul-

locks are used to perform this. The Telis who use bullocks are divided into two sub-castes. One sub-caste uses one bullock, whereas the other uses two. In this area the Telis of the first sub-caste alone are found, whereas those of the second are found only outside this area. No interding or intermarriage is permissible among the several subdivisions of the oilman caste.

Caste in the Field of Education

Caste occupation in some cases plays an important role in the educational field. From the analysis of data collected on a school survey in this area in ten lower primary schools, it was found that the children belonging to the Kusta, Bhulia, Kuli, Kansari, and Bania attend school less regularly than other children belonging to other castes*. In some cases the percentage of attendance of these children in a year is as low as 20 to 25 per cent. This low percentage of attendance is met with in the case of children belonging to weaver classes, artisan classes, Gours and Malis.

Among the weaver castes, as soon as a boy attains the age of 10 he acts as an apprentice under his parents, learning the art of weaving. It is the same with other children with regard to their respective caste occupations. As their parents do not see any practical usefulness of the kind of education given in schools, they encourage their children to learn their own occupation which will be ready-paying for them. If the system of education imparted training in weaving, smithy work, and carpentry, then the children of these castes would surely have joined the school in larger numbers than they do now.

So far as the case of the Gour, Ganda, etc. are concerned, they cannot attend the school as the present timing coincides with the working hours of these castes. Therefore, if the present timing of school were changed to four hours in the morning in summer and rainy season instead of five hours in the noon, and four hours in the noon in winter instead of two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, it would be a better schedule. With a changed timing, if a little bit of

* See *Man in India*, Vol. 34, No. 1

vocational training were also given, then we would expect the children of all castes to come to school regularly.

Conclusions

What this study of the caste system and caste traditions reveals is this. The system of caste is intimately connected with occupation. Agriculture has become an occupation of people from all castes. There are many castes who have become tri- or bi-occupational and more. If in a village only one or two families of milkmen are wanted and there are a hundred families of this caste, then it is obvious that the rest of the people will have to seek employment in other occupations. Some would be engaged in cattle-tending which is their caste occupation, and the rest in cultivating land and agricultural labour, etc.

The case of Luhuras (blacksmith) is different. They are few in this area and are not found in every village. After the coming of the improved machine-made iron implements into this area, the people did not want the crude wrought tools turned out by the local blacksmiths, and consequently large numbers of them were thrown out of their caste occupation. Therefore, they were bound to take to other occupations which were not their own. On the other hand, the Mehers and Dhibars are rigidly following their caste occupations. The caste occupations in some cases, as is evident from the study of caste system, are associated with certain mythological and religious traditions which prohibit other people from taking them up. These caste traditions, however, are breaking down under modern economic stress.

Though the Tiars are traditionally accustomed to use a trap for fishing, now on occasions they use nets, particularly when they must compete with others and during times of economic difficulty. Though the nets help them catch promptly large numbers of fish, they use them against their will. The Satnami Chamars, who were not working on leather, changed to Ruidas Chamars after they migrated from Madhya Pradesh and settled in this area. They freely worked on leather here, as in this area hides are easily obtained. Some of the Ruidas Chamars under

the influence of high caste Hindus have left leather work altogether and have taken to carpentry and agriculture. Originally the barbers and the washermen did not serve the Kulis, but these restrictions are no longer in action, though the Ghasis still do not do any work for them. As soon as the Kulis became 'civilized' and when such people who have no sympathy for caste migrated to these villages, the situation changed and gradually the Kulis began to adopt the customs of the people among whom they live.

In summation it may be said that the caste traditions come not only in the way of economic reform but also in the field of education. The traditions are slowly breaking down in some cases under modern conditions, such as migration of the caste people from one area to another, break-up of the village social organization, and lastly, because of the heterogeneity of most villages in modern times. The analysis of caste system also teaches us another thing—how knowledge about its present status will be extremely valuable in the programme of economic and educational reforms in this area. The knowledge about the people among whom we work will act as a guide to our action in the future.

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Popula- tion</i>	<i>Caste Occupation</i>	<i>Sole Prim- ary</i>	<i>Subsi- diary</i>	<i>Non- Caste</i>	
Bhandari	14	37	Village service, barbering		15	12	
Brahmin	59	247	Religious, priest, etc.	10	10	21	43
Binjhal	44	195	Village priest, tribe.	3	31	8	31
Baisnab	3	9	Religious, begging	1		3	2
Bairagi	4	17	Begging, etc. Religious			4	6
Bania	14	53	Smithy-gold work	3		17	
Dhobi	15	51	Village service, washing	1	6	17	15
Dunial	21	91	Cultivation	4	25	22	26
Ganda	186	829	Weaving	60	139	33	299
Ghasi	4	18	Village service, sweeping, cleaning		1	2	8
Gour	244	950	Milking and cattle tending	59	96	23	424
Gond	43	175	Cultivation	1	30	29	33
Kumbhar	5	18	Pot-making		6	7	5
Keut	65	269	Puffed rice and chapped rice, fishing	8	22	12	127

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Family Popula- tion</i>		<i>Caste Occupation</i>	<i>Sole Prim- ary</i>	<i>Subsi- diary</i>	<i>Non- Caste</i>	
Kuda	1	2	Cultivation, earth-digging		2		
Khadra	33	134	Artisan-brass and bell				
			metal work	26	18		13
Kulta	144	501	Cultivation	197	143		7
Kuli	47	175	Weaving	33	95	2	3
Lohora	5	12	Blacksmithy	1		1	21
Laban	24	64	Collectors of leaf, tooth-twig				
			etc.	7	37		4
Mali	67	284	Gardening	40	51	7	111
Marwadi	2	16	Business	4	1		
Pandra	13	71	Cultivation		10		20
Rajput	1	7	Rajput (warrior)				2
Sahara	89	299	Cultivation	41	16	15	137
Sundi	1	5	Business	3	2		
Teli	29	125	Oil pressing	1	9	42	39
Thanapati	18	102	Worshipping	33	36	1	6
Tiar	15	41	Fishing	2	2	18	4

EARLY INSTANCES OF RACE-CROSSING IN INDIA

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Introduction

IN India it is often taken for granted that the aborigines, because of their isolated geographical position, have been more or less free from intermixture. This appears to be rather unwarranted in view of the authentic references of race-crossing which we propose to describe here.* Edgar Thurston (1909) whose sphere of action was South India and where the aborigines are held to be comparatively purer than in North India appears to have been the only person who gathered the majority of these records.

In North India, the few records of Roy (1912) and Risley (1915), based though they are on tradition alone, appear to show probably the hybrid origin of the Mundas as a whole. Already nine hybrid groups have been described by Sarkar (1954) and it appears now that the simple word 'Munda' is illusory from the standpoint of both physical and cultural anthropology. This probably necessitates an entire change in our approach to the Munda problem.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to analyse and group together the early instances of race-crossing which have been reported between 1883 and 1909. It will also be seen that non-Indian peoples like the Negroes and the Mongolians are involved in the reported cases of crossing.

The Data

The data comprise the following crosses :

- (a) Chenchu (female) and Boya (male) (Thurston, 1909).
- (b) Chenchu (female) and a local man from Kurnool (Thurston, 1909).

*The present article does not presume to exhaust all known cases of race-crossing in India. The Editor will feel thankful if readers furnish fresh reports on the subject.

- (c) Tamil (female) and African (male) (Thurston 1909).
- (d) Tamil Pariah (female) and Chinese (male) (Thurston, 1909).
- (e) Andamanese (female) and U. P. Brahmin (male) (Portman 1899).
- (f) Andamanese (female) and Hindu (male) (Man, 1883).
- (g) Nicobarese (female) and Madrasi (male) (Man, 1889).
- (h) Nicobarese (female) and African (male) (Man, 1889).

(a) and (b) Thurston (1909) has recorded two instances of crossing of two Chenchu females with local men. The first was between a Chenchu girl and a brick-maker of Kurnool district, while the second was between a Chenchu and a man of Boya caste. Nothing is known regarding the progeny of the above two unions.

(c) The third example of race-crossing from South India was between a Tamil woman and an African. But no specific data are available. Only one child (sex unknown) with frizzly hair was noted by Thurston.

(d) Thurston also reported about a small settlement of hybrid population on the slopes of the hills between Naduvatom and Gudalur as a result of crossing between a group of Chinese with Tamil-Pariah woman. These Chinese were convicts from the Straits Settlements.

Thurston was able to take anthropometric measurements on the family members of one of the groups, which are given in Table I.

TABLE I

Anthropometric measurements of the Chinese-Tamil family (measurements in cm.)

	Head Length	Head Breadth	Cephalic Index	Nasal Height	Nasal Breadth	Nasal Index
Tamil Pariah (mother)	18.1	13.9	76.8	4.7	3.7	78.7
Chinese (father)	18.6	14.6	78.5	5.3	3.8	71.7
Daughter	17.6	14.1	80.1	4.7	3.2	68.1
Son	18.1	14.3	79.0	4.6	3.3	71.7
Son	17	14	82.4	4.4	3.3	75
Son	17.1	13.7	80.1	4.1	2.8	68.3

Thurston found the Chinese element to be predominant among the offspring as will be evident from his description. 'The mother was a typical dark-skinned Tamil Paraiyan. The colour of the children was more closely allied to the yellowish tint of the father than to that of the mother; and the semi-Mongol parentage was betrayed in the slant eyes, flat nose, and (in one case) conspicuously prominent cheek-bones.'

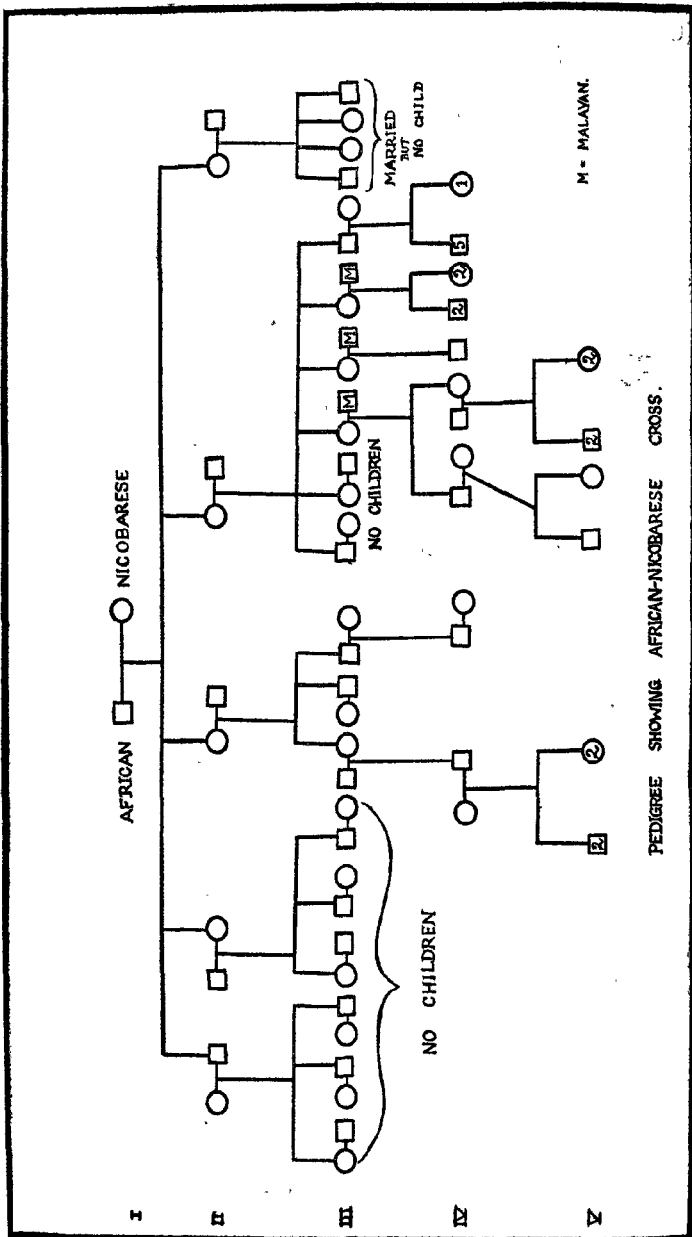
It will be seen from the anthropometric measurements that the cephalic indices of all the children are higher than either of the parents while the nasal indices vary between those of the two parents.

(e) Portman (1899) described a marriage between a Brahmin Sepoy Mutiny convict from the United Provinces and an Andamanese woman. The convict fled from Port Blair Penal Settlement in 1858 and stayed with various Andamanese groups for more than a year. He married an Andamanese girl and the union resulted in an abortion.

(f) E. H. Man (1883) recorded a union between an Andamanese woman and a Hindu from India in the Andaman Islands. The union resulted in three children but all of them died before reaching their teens. Man states, 'With the exception of three children, none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of crossbreds among these tribes'.

(g) Man (1889) also recorded a union between a Madrasi and a Nicobarese woman which occurred in the island of Teressa. They had only one son who died on attaining manhood.

(h) In the same year Man recorded another instance of race-crossing among the Nicobarese. This was between an African man and a Nicobarese. The complete pedigree was collected by Man in 1887 and is reproduced here. It is not known to what tribe the African man belonged. In the F_1 generation there are four daughters and one son. In the F_2 generation there are ten males and nine female members. All the male members of this generation married native women. Three female members of this generation married Malayan males and the rest married among the natives. Out of the



PEDIGREE SHOWING AFRICAN-NICOBARESE CROSS.

Figures within the circles and squares indicate number of children.

sixteen marriages in this generation (10 males and 6 females) with the native, thirteen unions had no children. But all the three females who married Malayan men have children and grandchildren.

Discussion

The data, which are included here, are from the mainland of India and the adjacent groups of islands. In Southern India, the population involved in the admixture are two aborigines and two low caste Hindus. The resultant progeny of the crossing is unknown.

Two low caste Hindu women are involved in crosses with two foreign elements, one Mongoloid and the other African, which appears to have been Negroid in all likelihood. The Mongoloid element appears to be the dominant element in the cross, and since a number of persons (probably eight) are involved in the crossing we can imagine its hereditary influence on the population. The African frizzly hair appears to be also a dominant character according to Thurston, and the chance occurrence of a frizzly hair among the natives of South India may be due to such stray crosses. Such factors have rarely been taken into account in ascribing a Negrito racial strain in this country.

In the Andaman Islands the groups involved in the crosses are the Hindu males and Andamanese females. In both the cases we do not find any surviving offspring. One of the crosses did not mature into a viable offspring whereas in the other case none of the surviving children lived beyond 7-8 yrs. In the other case a large number of offsprings was born but the fertility was found to be affected in the F_2 generation. Excepting the daughters of the F_2 generation who married Malaysians all the progenies of the F_2 generation married among the Nicobarese. This shows that out of 16 back-crosses only three, two males and one female, proved to be fertile. Man has remarked on this case as follows, 'Children of the first cross appear to be quite as strong, viable, and long-lived as those of pure blood, but the result of these crossed unions does not indicate an increase of fruitfulness in the progeny'.

It appears from the foregoing remarks that there is a difference in the survival rate between the Andamanese and the Nicobarese racial crosses and those where the Mongolian is involved. This is particularly seen in the Andamanese crosses, where no F_1 generation has survived.

Summary

(1) Inter-racial crosses recorded by E. H. Man, Edgar Thurston and M. V. Portman during 1883 and 1909 were discussed.

(2) They are as follows :

- (a) Chenchu (female) × Boya (male)
- (b) Chenchu (female) × a local man from Kurnool
- (c) Tamil (female) × African (male)
- (d) Tamil Pariah (female) × Chinese (male)
- (e) Andamanese (female) × U. P. Brahmin (male)
- (f) Andamanese (female) × Hindu (male)
- (g) Nicobarese (female) × Madrasi (male)
- (h) Nicobarese (female) × African (male)

(3) A discussion of the above crosses together with the resultant progenies has been made. A difference in the rate of survival between the Andamanese and Nicobarese and the Mongolian crosses has been observed.

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SOME PHYSIOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE NOLUAS OF BENGAL

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THE Noluas are a socially compact group scattered over four districts of East Bengal, namely, Nadia, Jessore, Khulna and Faridpur. They manufacture mats from reeds. Their total numerical strength is 1704, 884 men and 820 women. From the somatometric and somatoscopic points of view they are a short statured, mesocephalic, mesorrhine, wavy haired and dark complexioned people.

During my investigation among this group of people, I made observations on 200 male subjects, their ages varying from 22 to 30. The observations are on pulse rate, body temperature, respiration rate and blood pressure.

Pulse Rate

The data were collected from 200 individuals, age varying from 22 to 30.

The data were taken with the individuals in sitting posture (in a chair) and at rest.

The average pulse rates are arranged according to age in the following table.

PULSE RATE

<i>Age</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average rate per minute</i>
22	20	74·2
23	15	74·5
24	20	73·8
25	25	75·2
26	26	74·1
27	24	75·0
28	22	73·2
29	27	73·0
30	21	72·5

The average rate of 200 Noluas is 75·09 per minute. This may now be compared with the rates of other people.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rate per minute</i>
Europeans	71·72
South African Negroes (male)	72·10
South African Negroes (female)	76·50
Nicobarese	74·4
Andamanese	66·0
Noluas of Bengal	75·09

Body Temperature

The temperature was taken under the left axilla and also at perfect rest, all cases with signs of any derangement of health being excluded and only physiologically normal subjects were selected. The temperature was recorded with Hicks' thermometer with a Fahrenheit scale applied for 5 minutes in each case. The following table shows the range of temperature according to age.

TEMPERATURE IN RELATION TO AGE

<i>Age</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average temperature</i>
22	20	97·2
23	15	97·4
24	20	97·0
25	25	97·1
26	26	96·8
27	24	96·7
28	22	96·5
29	27	97·8
30	21	97·5

The average body temperature of Noluas is 97·1° (F). In 1935 I worked personally with Dr. R. K. Mondal among the Santals of the Santal Parganas, among whom we found the average body temperature to be 96·6°. Man has noted the average temperature of the Nicobarese as 98·5° and of the Andamanese, as 97·7°. Suk gives the average body temperature of the South African Negroes as 98·2° for males and 98·3° for females. He took the temperature under the tongue and not under the axilla.

Respiration Rate

The data here also were collected from 200 individuals, age varying from 22 to 30.

The data were taken with the individuals in lying posture (i. e. lying at ease on a bench) and at rest.

The average respiration rates are arranged according to age in the following table.

RESPIRATION RATE		
Age	No. of cases	Average respiration rate per minute.
22	20	18.6
23	15	18.8
24	20	17.7
25	25	18.6
26	26	18.4
27	24	17.8
28	22	17.5
29	27	18.0
30	21	17.9

The average rate of respiration per minute of 200 Noluas is 18.03.

A table is prepared for comparison with the rate of other people.

Name	Author	Rate per minute
South African Negroes (male)		20.5
South African Negroes (female)	Suk	20.9
Nicobarese	Man	17.3
Andamanese	Man	21.5
Old Americans (male)	Hrdlicka	18.0
Old Americans (female)	Hrdlicka	19.0
Noluas of Bengal	Basu	18.03

Respiration rate is dependent on age, sex, exercise, disease and other circumstances. Thus physiologists give the following rates per minute : baby 50, child 26, adult 16. The ratio, heart rate divided by respiration, is about 4.5 to 1, and is fairly constant in normal health. In disease the ratio may vary either way, and is of some diagnostic value.

During the observation, all the subjects were at rest as mentioned above and were not aware of this observation, as otherwise they would be apt to concentrate their attention on the function and breathe more quickly.

Blood Pressure

I examined the arterial blood pressure of a number of Noluas during rest. My leading idea was to find out the average blood pressure of the Noluas.

The Hill-Barnard Sphygmomanometer was used in examining the blood pressure and the pressure band was applied to the left upper arm of the subject.

A rubber bag is fitted round the arm and lightly compressed by a broad leather band buckled over it. From the back a rubber tube leads to the manometer and when the air is pumped into the bag through the tube the pressure within is indicated by a needle running over the face of the dial of the manometer. When the air pressure within the system is nearly equal to the blood pressure within the main artery of the arm, the oscillation of the needle is marked with every pulse beat and when the pressures in the two systems are equal the oscillations are found to be the largest.

The subject sat on a chair with his left arm resting on a table at the same level with the heart. When the instrument was adjusted I engaged the subject in conversation for a few minutes to avoid any exciting effect of the application of the band to his arm. Three readings were taken of the blood pressure of the subject during rest.

Experiments were done on 200 individuals, age varying from 22 to 30. The subjects were all males.

The average blood pressure (both systolic and diastolic pressures) of the Noluas are arranged according to age in the following table.

BLOOD PRESSURE

<i>Age</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Systolic pressure in mmHg</i>	<i>Diastolic pressure in mmHg</i>
22	20	95	45
23	15	95	60
24	20	90	50
25	25	110	70
26	26	85	50
27		24	90
28	22	115	75
29	27	105	70
30	21	95	55

The average systolic pressure of 200 Noluas is 96·6 mmHg and the diastolic pressure, 58·3. Now the average systolic pressure of 200 Noluas in the brachial artery is between 85 and 115 mmHg, while the diastolic pressure is from 45 to 70 mmHg.

McDougall has shown that in the brachial artery of the Murray men the average blood pressure during rest is equal to 98 mmHg.

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ARTEFACTS OF FISHING AND NAVIGATION FROM THE INDUS VALLEY

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Calcutta

Introduction

OUR previous studies on the Indus Valley (Sarkar, 1953) indicate that fishing by means of hooks was well known in that region and the possibilities of other methods of fishing cannot be ruled out. The fishing boat was therefore a primary desideratum and Mackay (1938) while describing the impression of a boat on seal (Pl. LXXX IX, A) from Mohenjodaro has drawn attention to the rarity of representations of boats and ships among the Indus Valley finds. Hora (1954) is of opinion that the fishes painted on the potsherds of Harappa belong to the marine type, which again implies the presence of boats and the necessary furniture connected with maritime fishing. In this paper an attempt has been made to identify the other artefacts, besides fish-hooks, which might have been associated with fishing and the use of boats. Although the majority of the Indus Valley sites are situated on the bank of navigable rivers, there has not been any attempt to identify any artefact connected with boats and navigation from among the archaeological finds.

A stone age people like the Andamanese (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922) who are also experts in coastal navigation use as boat-furniture 'the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a nautilus shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.'

It would be worthwhile to search for such artefacts among the Indus Valley peoples without any kind of bias towards the

racial affiliation whatsoever. The standpoint of comparison here is only the artefacts associated with fishing and navigation, and parallels with other groups of people have also been discussed.

Ringstones as Anchors

Circular stones of various sizes ($\frac{1}{2}$ " to 4' in diameter) with central hole are common at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, whereas they are conspicuous by their absence at Chanhudaro. This probably raises doubts about the sacred nature of these objects.

The large ringstone, and also those of medium weights, might have been used as anchors for boats. The large ringstone (Harappa : Pl. CXVII, 2, 6, 16) with wavy ends was probably used for anchoring more than one boat ; the wavy surface facilitating the fastening of the rope. The weights of these stone-rings, either with wavy tops and bases, or with undulating surface (Harappa, Pl. CXVII, 3), have scarcely been mentioned. No. 26 of Pl. CXXX (Marshall, 1931) weighs 10.262 kilograms and is made of limestone with a diameter of 9.9". These heavy objects were probably left permanently on the coast for anchorage. The four Mohenjodaro specimens (Marshall : Pl. CXX 27.9 and 33) which have the appearance of conical stones with a hole at the top nearly approach present day anchors, at least, in shape.

The smaller-sized ringstones were possibly carried in the boat to serve incidentally as ballast. But its main purpose might have been that of a mooring stone. The anchor tied to a long rope, with a weight of about 6.903 kilograms, is thrown into the wet sand when the boat approaches the coast. The stone gets fixed in the sandy beach and this fixation in the wet sand depends on the weight of the stone. The Andamanese even at the present day are known to use heavy chunks of coral or a stone as anchor ; and when the coral or stone is firmly lodged in the wet sand the boat is drawn up to the coast by light pulls of the rope.

The smaller ringstones might also have been used as mace-heads (Haddon, 1900), weights to nets and weels (Clark, 1248) or digging sticks (Peake), or as children's toys ; but the possi-

bility of their use in navigation cannot be wholly ruled out. The paucity of ring-stones, as a whole, at Chanhudaro raises doubts as to their religious nature. This is further strengthened by the apparent absence of boats and their furniture in the same site. We have already seen in our study of fish-hooks (Sarkar, 1953) that fishing at Chanhudaro was probably restricted to tanks and other inland waters. The Cornish fisherman (Nance, 1919) uses stone as ballast and mooring-weights. Later the holding power of flukes was added to the weight of the stone and such 'strop-stones' as anchors are in use in the Indian and Chinese seas, in Iceland, Norway and Brazil. Nance's figures will show how a stone weight clamped between wooden supports, serves the function of an anchor as well.

Fishing nets from the Indus Valley

Fishing nets (Pl. LXXX, 16) have been indentified from paintings on a potsherd found at Harappa. This painted sherd shows a fisherman carrying two nets hanging from a pole across his shoulder. A few fishes and turtles are lying close to his nets. The fisherman stands on a cross-hatched band, identified by Vats (1940) as a river. The dip nets of the Punjab known as *kurli* and *khonchi* are conical in shape and Hamid Khan (1930) describes *khonchi* as of the shape of a conical basket.

Net-sinkers from the Indus Valley

Terracotta net-sinkers so far identified from various sites may be classified into two types, namely, (i) hollowed or annular and (ii) grooved. Type I (Marshall, Pl. CLII, 16) has been discovered from Mohenjodaro and Type II both from Mohenjodaro (Marshall, Pl. CLVII, 61) and Chanhudaro (Pl. XCII, 9, 14). The Harappa report does not contain any reference to net-sinkers. Type II is either a grooved marble or a rectangular piece with groove in the centre. Type I is similar to pottery-rings found with the remains of fishing net at Khafaje, a site some 10 miles east of Baghdad, and Type II conforms to the Al'Ubad net-sinkers (Hall and Woolley, 1931) which were fashioned out of pebbles shaped like a cottage loaf with a groove round the centre.

Small net-sinkers are meant for cast nets but the proximity to rivers presupposes the use of drag nets as well, which require fairly heavier weights than those for cast nets. A large number of slab-like objects have been unearthed at the Indus Valley sites and their probable use as net-weights for drag nets may be taken into account. Chanhudaro has yielded a large number of such objects (Pl. XCI, 33-49) and they all appear to be net-sinkers. Small ring-stones (Pl. CLVII, 55-58, Marshall, etc.) may quite serve the purpose of net-weights. Mr. N. K. Bose, the Editor, has informed me that the fishermen of the sea-coast of Puri, Orissa, frequently use stone blocks as net sinkers, a few of them are even constricted in the middle for facility of tying ropes. Stone weights in nets were also used by the Egyptians (Radcliffe, 1926). Stone-weights used to anchor the narrow end of a weel or net, have been found in Denmark and South Sweden (Clark, 1948) and are employed by Cornish fishermen to harbour crab-pots or herring nets. It is a common practice among Indian fishermen to use slabs of stone or pieces of brick with drag-nets.

The possibility of 'beads' serving the function of net-sinkers for cast nets cannot also be ruled out. The beads classified by Beck (Vats, 1940) as cylindrical, long-barrelled, spherical or elliptical might have been used as net-sinkers. The common present-day net-sinkers in India are made of cast iron and their sizes vary according to the type and size of the net. Hornell (1924) mentions two types of terracotta net-sinkers, namely, (i) drum-shaped and (ii) annular. There is a specimen at the Ethnographic Gallery of the Indian Museum collected from Rangpur, North Bengal, which is annular and about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and it conforms to the hollowed type from Mohenjodaro. Such pottery rings, about an inch in diameter, are quite abundant in the Indus Valley, and their employment as net-sinkers has been considered by Mackay (1938). The sinkers of a net from Puri, Orissa, in the Ethnographic Museum of the Calcutta University are more spherical than drum-shaped. The refugee fishermen from Pabna, East Bengal, are at present using torpedo-shaped burnt clay-sinkers ($2\frac{3}{4}$ " - 3" \times $\frac{7}{8}$ " - 1") for nets (*mahajal*) operated in the deep reservoirs of Madhya

Pradesh. Drum-shaped net-sinkers ($1" \times \frac{5}{8}"$) are used in screen nets in Nagpore area. Torpedo-shaped or long-barrel shaped terracotta sinkers ($1\frac{1}{2}" \times \frac{1}{2}"$) are still in use in Hyderabad. The colour of these sinkers is black whereas those used in the *mahajal* are red. Those from Hyderabad mentioned above are also employed with Uduvalai nets in South India. I am informed of another type of Madras net-sinkers of burnt clay which looks like a hollowed marble.

Thus it does not seem unlikely that the beads might have been used as net-sinkers apart from their use as personal ornaments. Some of the long tubular (length $1\cdot7"$ — $7\cdot8"$) beads might not have any ornamental value at all. The fish-pockets of the nets are dependent upon the length of a net-sinker and it is not unlikely that the long tubular beads, $2"$ — $3"$ in length, were meant for large marine fishes.

The dual function of many objects of material culture is well known to all students of ethnography. In Bengal, even now, iron net-sinkers are worn as a charm against evil eye.

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE HOS

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I

IT is comparatively easier to describe the religious practices and ceremonies of a people than to describe the philosophical ideas which underlie such observances. In regard to the Ho and cognate tribes, several attempts have been made to describe the philosophical foundation of their religion, and it shall be our purpose in the present paper to examine Prof. D. N. Majumdar's thesis in this respect. Some difficulty arises from the fact that the Mundari-speaking tribes of Bihar and Orissa are in intimate economic association with their Hindu neighbours, from whom a certain amount of influence has already permeated into the religious world of the Hos and other cognate tribes.

In trying to examine Prof. Majumdar's thesis, we shall first of all describe the religious beliefs of the Hos as we found them in Seraikella, a former princely state adjacent to Singhbhum district (Bihar State) which is the present homeland of the Hos. This will make a good comparison with the statements found in the monographs written on the Hos of Kolhan by Prof. D. N. Majumdar (1937 and 1950). We shall then review his theory of *Bongaism* as forming the foundation of Ho religious beliefs. In this article we shall refrain from dealing with the assimilation of Hindu gods and goddesses in the field of Ho religion.

The Hos are a Mundari-speaking people. In Singhbhum they form 30·5% of the total population. In Seraikella the Hos form 15·2% of the total population. This percentage is much

higher in the western part of Seraikella which is adjacent to Kolhan, the southern part of Singhbhum district where there is a high concentration of Hos.

Though the administration of law and order among the Hos of Seraikella and Kolhan was formerly maintained by separate authorities, yet culturally they form part and parcel of the same tribe. There is no bar on their intermarriage excepting such as stem from the rules of clan exogamy.

According to our informants, disease, death, calamities, crop failure and welfare of a village community or an individual etc. are caused by the *bongas*, *eras*, and *roas* of dead persons. They are either benevolent or malevolent and their power varies according to the categories in which they fall. Some are propitiated annually in different festivals with offerings and sacrifices. Individually they are also propitiated when they are found associated with the origin of diseases or a calamity (Ray, Chattopadhyay and Biswas, 1954). We shall now describe the *bongas*, *eras* and *roas* and the ideas about their form, power, etc. which are prevalent among the Hos of Seraikela.

II

A. *Bongas*

1. *Sing bonga* : He is regarded as the supreme deity and identified with the sun. He is benevolent and is referred to as *Dharam*, which means 'righteousness' in Hindi or Oriya. He is worshipped in all village festivals ; offerings in any religious ceremony are made first to *Sing bonga*. White cocks are sacrificed in his name. If he is not worshipped in proper time he causes disease or death of the guilty person. When a party of men goes to fix up a marriage or to bring the bride price or on some other auspicious work they are keen about the omens sent by *Sing bonga* on their way. Some omens indicate that *Sing bonga* is pleased, while some other signs indicate that he is angry. If the bad omens are more numerous, then a sacrifice is made to appease *Sing bonga*. A few of the omens are as follows :

Good Omens

1. Bear running away.
2. Cow answering nature's call.
3. Cow and her calf grazing together.

Bad Omens

1. Bear grunting.
2. Cow or calf grazing alone.
3. Presence of deer or rabbit or *Bocho* (a kind of bird) on the way.
4. Cat mewling.
5. Dog digging or scratching earth.

If anybody other than a Deuri or Dhenoa¹ sees Sing bonga he or she dies. Soma Kerai, a Dhenoa of Dolandi village in Seraikela, once saw Sing bonga by the side of a local pond. 'He is a naked man having a reddish-white complexion and riding on a horse.' Thus he is anthropomorphic.

In the *Jaher than*, a grove of *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) trees attached to every village, his seat is represented by a boulder. According to legend, he is the creator of everything.

2. *Marang bonga*: According to Matae Kerai, another Dhenoa of Dolandi village, Marang bonga signifies two deities, namely, a male one called *Pauri* and his consort *Kera mah*. This is not only the belief, but in practice also we find that two offerings are made in the name of Marang bonga (Ray, Chattopadhyay and Biswas, 1954). But this dual nature of Marang bonga has not been reported from Kolhan or any other part of the Ho country. The peculiarity is that the goddess of the Bhuiyas, another tribe of Seraikella, is known as *Pauri* and she is also worshipped as one of the household deities by the Raja of Seraikela.

Marang bonga is thought to be a malevolent deity and very powerful. Nobody has seen Marang bonga. Marang bonga is not worshipped in any village festival. When Marang bonga is found to have caused any disease, then only the Dhenoa can

¹Deuri is the priest of a village. There is one Deuri for each village and generally the post is hereditary. The Dhenoa is the magician cum medicine man. Anyone who knows the art can become a Dhenoa. There may be more than one Dhenoa in a village,

appease the bonga's displeasure by offering and sacrifice. Marang bonga has no seat in the Jaher than or sacred grove.

3. *Desauli* : He is also know as *Geram bonga*. The word *geram* is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gram*, a village. He is the presiding deity of a village. He is both benevolent and malevolent. He is worshipped in all village festivals after Sing bonga. Red cocks are sacrificed in his name. He has also a seat in Jaher than. He looks like a giant wearing white cloth from head to foot. He is seen only when he is angry. Once Sankar Soy, the present Deuri of Dolandi, saw him by the side of a village pond. On the occasion, after returning home he fainted. His elder brother, the then Deuri of Dolandi, found out the reason by divination. Later on a fowl was sacrificed in order to appease Desauli. Each village has its own Desauli.

4. *Guru bonga* : He is the preceptor of the village deities. He resides in the hills. He is both benevolent and malevolent. He cannot be seen. But he passes through the cultivated fields just at dusk and leaves a fiery trail in his wake. Soma Kerai of Dolandi has seen these trails on several occasions.

5. *Buru bonga* : He is not a village deity but the deity of the hills and resides in the hills. He can change his shape into that of a tiger or a bear, etc., and when angry devours men and cattle. According to Soma Hembrom, an old man of Kendposi village, the complexion of Buru bonga is black and he rides on a black horse. He has a remarkable pair of moustaches.

6. *Asari bonga* : He is worshipped when agricultural operations are carried on in the paddy field. If he is pleased by worship good crops are harvested. If not the crops die quickly or the quality becomes poor. Nobody has seen him.

7. *Barabhojni bonga* : He is also a diety of the village other than Desauli. If he is pleased by offerings he keeps the thatches of huts in tact during storms. But new thatching should not be done before the annual worship of this bonga is over, otherwise he will damage the roof. Last year (1953) Birang, mother of Soma Parhea of Dolandi, thatched her hut before the annual worship of Barabhojni bonga was over. As a

result the thatch was blown away in a storm. That it was due to the anger of Barbhojni bonga was found by divination.

8. *Gyot bonga* : Once in the year his worship is done on a community basis. He is benevolent as well as malevolent. The annual worship of Gyot bonga is done for the welfare of cattle. About three years ago, during this worship Gopi Parhea of Dolandi did not contribute a fowl according to his share. As a result a tiger was sent by Gyot bonga which carried away one sheep and two goats during three consecutive nights. This was stopped when he sacrificed two fowls in the name of the bonga concerned.

Beside the above-mentioned bongas there are also other bongas, but we shall complete our list of bongas only by mentioning the *Ghatoaris* and *Kalam bonga*. There are two Ghatoaris who guard the northern and southern entrances to a village. Kalam bonga is the deity of the *kalam* (threshing floor) ; he guards the paddy when it is stocked in the threshing floor. He is worshipped in the kalam before threshing starts.

B. Eras

The eras are female spirits always associated with evil work and they never do anything good.

1. *Nage era* : She is associated with ponds. She can take the shape of fox, pig, frog, etc. She can be recognized by the fact that when she comes in an animal form that animal is seen once and vanishes in the next. She blinds or deafens people by throwing water. She is worshipped by the Deuri along with other bongas during the annual village festivals. She is a spirit quite distinct from the bongas, but in power she is ranked with the bongas. According to Soma Hembrom of Kendposi, Nage eras are water spirits. They live in the tanks which do not dry up. If anybody meets them near the tanks they will make them blind by sprinkling water into his eyes.

2. *Bindi era* : Same as Nage era, according to Motae of Dolandi. Both of them are satisfied with offerings of turmeric, eggs and black hen.

3. *Bundha Nage era* : These are also water spirits. They

look like women, and if seen by a man or woman, he or she will fall ill. Only the Deuris and Dhenoas can see them. Sankar Soy, the present Deuri of Dolandi, has seen such a spirit. She looked like an ordinary woman.

4. *Baghea era* : These are tree spirits. They look like pigs.

5. *Kudra era* : These are black dwarfish spirits residing in forests. They also can change their shape. If anybody sees them, he or she falls ill. They are of the following varieties.

(a) *Bharam kudra*—reside in uplands. They execute the orders of magicians. They are the seniormost among the kudras, and they eat up their victims. (b) *Dhan kudra*—these spirits come to eat up the children of wealthy persons. They do not touch girls, but do away with all but one boy. (c) *Bunum kudra*—they carry out the orders of magicians.

It is not possible to complete the list of eras as they are numerous. But the above-mentioned eras are the more important.

C. Roas

According to our informants, when a man or a woman dies his or her *roa* (which means 'shadow' in the Ho language) escapes from the body for ever. But as long as a person sleeps, the soul roams about here and there and comes back when the person wakes up. After the death of a person the corpse is buried under the earth, and it is believed that the *roa* of the dead person roams near the burial place and has to suffer from the rains, the sun and mosquito bites etc. So the relatives call back the *roa* to the dwelling house so that it can rest in the *ading*, which is a small platform of earth where the 'shades' of the dead ancestors are believed to reside, though they can wander here and there. Here food and drink are offered to them on festive occasions and during religious ceremonies.

Collectively the shades are called *Hum ho*—*Dum ho* or *Oa bonga*. In family worship, offerings of food to the 'shades' are

made individually so long as their names are remembered. But in a village festival offerings are made collectively in the name of Hum ho—Dum ho, i. e., to all dead persons of the village community, both male and female.

These 'shades' have got some supernatural power. If food is not offered to them in proper time they send stomach-ache. There is no question of rebirth or dwindling of these shades. They look like ordinary men and women. They can be seen in dreams. Motae Kerai has seen such shades many times in his dreams. According to Motae two of them are worshipped separately. They are *Baha bonga* and *Karam bonga*. They were the first men to plant *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) and *karam* (*Nauclea parvifolia*) trees respectively.

In case of abnormal death, such as death during pregnancy, the shade is not called back to the ading. According to our informants such a shade becomes malevolent. When a pregnant woman dies, her shade becomes a malevolent one and is known as *Ranga haddi* or *Bharam bhut*. She lures men to death.

III

The present state of Ho religious beliefs and practices is of such a composite nature that it is very difficult to reconstruct with certainty the original form or philosophical foundation of their religious beliefs. Prof. Majumdar has however come to the conclusion that *bonga* is 'a power, a very big power which pervades all space, as it were' (Majumdar, 1937, p. 133); and according to him, this concept forms the basis of Ho religious belief. He has designated this type of religion as *Bongaism*. Here we shall examine one by one the three main arguments used by Majumdar in support of his philosophical reconstruction.

(1) According to Majumdar the word *bonga* 'is indiscriminately used by these tribes to denote all sorts of powers or spirits' (Majumdar, 1937, p. 132).

At present we do not know the generic meaning of the term *bonga*. It is used to signify supernatural beings (but not each and every supernatural being), sometimes it is used

to mean a 'spirit' and with a slight change in pronunciation it is also used to mean a 'worship' or a 'festival'. Thus the word *bonga* with a short accent on the letter 'o' means a 'deity' or a 'supernatural being'; while with a long accent over 'o' it signifies a 'worship' or a 'festival'². Col. E. T. Dalton (1872), while enumerating the different festivals of the Hos wrote, 'The Hos keep seven festivals in the year. The first or principal is called the Magh Parab, or Desauli Bonga'. The others are 'Bah Bonga', 'Hero Bonga' etc. Majumdar (1937) criticised Dalton for using the term *bonga* to mean a festival and expressed the opinion that this use 'is apparently meaningless'. But in Seraikela, we found that the Hos even now use the term *bonga* to mean a festival, the pronunciation being slightly different as noted above. Majumdar's criticism of Dalton seems therefore to be not quite justified.

Again, we find that the souls (rather 'shades' according to the strict meaning of the Ho term) of the dead ancestors who are called back within the houses of their respective families are known as Hum ho—Dum ho. They are also known as Oa bonga. Oa is the corrupt form of the term *ora* which means a house or a hut. Further we find that a respected man is referred to as *bonga lekan* or 'god-like' by the Hos, and as *bonga hor* or 'god-man' by the Santals; *lekan* means 'like' and *hor* means 'man'. So if we carefully examine the data at our disposal we find that though the term *bonga* is used widely in a loose sense, still it is not used indiscriminately to signify 'all sorts of powers or spirits'.

From the description of the supernatural beings as given in Part II of this article it is clear that there are some spirits (the different eras) who are quite distinct from the bongas. They are not referred to as bongas. According to legend, they were originally individual beings (female) converted to spirits by Sing bonga, the supreme creator. This

² When the word *bonga* signifies a festival the sound is more or less like *bc-onga*, where the 'o' is a little drawn out as in 'most'. While the pronunciation of *bonga* when it signifies a deity is more or less like that of 'o' in 'force'.

legend has also been reported by Dalton (1872). The legend of the Mundas (Roy, 1912), a cognate tribe, is more less similar in so far as the origin of the spirits from female individuals is concerned. It might be that some of them in course of time were classified as bongas, but the rest continued to be regarded as female spirits and most of them are not worshipped in the annual festivals when the important bongas are worshipped. They are appeased or propitiated only when they are found to be at the root of any disease or mischief.

Excepting Sing bonga, the position of the other bongas is not uniform all over the Ho country. It will be clear if we compare the list of bongas collected at Seraikella with that of Kolhan given by Majumdar. As an example we can say that he has referred to the water-spirit as Nage bonga, but at Seraikella she is till an era. She is known as Nage era and not Nage bonga. It was also reported by Dalton (1872) as Nage era. The word *era* is used as an adjective to mean a woman. As an example in kinship terminology, we find that the term of relationship for wife is *era* and further the term for daughter's husband's mother is *bala era*, while the daughter's husband's father is called *bala* or *bala koa*.

It might be that a thorough critical examination of the data from different parts of the Ho country would relegate many of the bongas, whose number varies in different areas, into their original status of eras.

Further if we thoroughly examine the legends, beliefs of old men, or their practices and prayers, there is not any hint whatsoever that the bongas are impersonal beings; on the contrary, we find that they are anthropomorphic and possess supernatural powers in varying degrees.

Thus we find that Sing bonga, who is identified with the sun, is the supreme creator quite distinct from the spirits. The spirits as a class are clearly separated from the bongas, though some of them may have been raised to the status of a bonga in course of time.

(2) The clear distinction between the terms bonga and era, which might have become slightly blurred when some

eras began to be regarded as bongas, does not permit us to regard the term bonga as denoting any all-pervasive, supernatural, impersonal power.

Majumdar (1937, p. 134) has however said in this connection, 'A hierarchy of power is also recognised.....But this conception is not essential to Bongaism proper, it is something which has evolved in the course of their association with the different manifestations of this power.....What was only a vague and mysterious power became identified later on with the thing, or object, from which it derived its name. Thus we find today that the word Bonga is popularly used to mean the object with which it is associated, as if the thing itself was the power. The seat of the power was identified with the power itself, and thus mountain became a Bonga, the sun became the Supreme Being, the river was taken as the Nage bonga.....The idolatry of their Hindu neighbours might have served as the impetus to this mental change among the Hos.'

In other words, the distinction between eras and bongas and their hierarchical relation is, according to him, due to the influence of their Hindu neighbours. The Hos of Seraikella seem to preserve some of the older traditions current among the tribe; while, when Dalton wrote his book in 1872, there was hardly any friendly intercourse between the Hos and the Hindus who were actually in hostile relationship with one another. Yet the findings of Dalton and our own in Seraikella tend to prove that the hierarchical difference between the bongas and eras was part of their original tradition and not an incorporation from Hinduism.

Coming to details, we found in Seraikella that even the Desauli of different villages are not one and the same. It has been reported by Dalton and is supported by the prayers made in connection with the offering of food to a Desauli as documented by Majumdar (1950, p. 222).

Moreover it is clear from our data that even at the present time the Hos of Seraikella do not recognize the river as the Nage era or the mountain as the Buru bonga. They simply recognize that the river (or rather the ponds and tanks which

do not dry up) and the mountain are the places where those supernatural beings reside. The bongas and eras are differentiated according to their places of residence. This is also supported by legend, where we find that the spirits (who were originally female human beings) got their names from the places to which they were cast by Sing bonga. Thus we find that the seat of the spirit is not recognized as the spirit itself, as described by Majumdar.

(3) One of the strongest arguments in support of the theory of Bongaism advanced by Majumdar (1937, p. 133) is, 'A Ho recognises the existence of a world of Bongas....., When a Ho dies, he goes to this world, he is 'bongaia', to die is 'bongai jana', to live is 'menaia'. It is not a transformation or a metamorphosis, it is only a reversion, a union with the world of which it was part, a fraction of Bonga.'

First of all, the recognition of 'a world of Bongas' is contradictory to the idea of a supreme power. Secondly, it was clearly pointed out in *Man in India*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1938, p. 75, that 'Dr. Majumdar has perhaps been misled by a confusion between the expression 'bongaia' (as Dr. Majumdar thinks) but 'bangaia' ('he is no more' from the root 'bang', 'bano' 'to be absent', 'to cease to be'); to die is not 'bongai jana' (as Dr. Majumdar thinks) but 'bangaia jana' (from the root 'bang', 'bano' as opposed to 'mena,' to exist)'. This fact was also noted by us and we find that the word 'bongaia' means 'to worship.'

It is also clear from our data where we find that the soul or shade of the dead man is called back home. It is supposed to reside in the ading. They are offered food on various occasions. They are referred to as Hum ho—Dum ho. *Hum* is the corrupt form of the word *haram* which means 'old man' (to signify a dead ancestor), while *dub* is the correct form of the word *dum* which means 'to lie or sit down'. Thus Hum ho—Dum ho signifies old persons who pass their days mainly by lying quietly. They are collectively called Oa bonga or 'bonga of the house'. There is no question of their dwindling away or rebirth or reunion with any power, otherwise there would have been no necessity of calling them back to the ading of the respective families and

offering them food separately, even by mentioning their names so long as they are remembered (Ray, Chattopadhyay and Biswas, 1954).

Thus we find Majumdar's view with regard to the soul becoming one with the supreme spirit or bonga is foreign to Ho belief. The review in *Man in India* quoted above, evidently from the pen of the Editor, the late S. C. Roy, is quite clear. But the argument is repeated in Majumdar's *Affairs of a Tribe* (p. 265) published in the year 1950, the word *bongaia* having been only changed to *bangaia* without any further revision of the main thesis.

In conclusion we beg to suggest that there is still a possibility of reconstructing the basic form of Ho religious beliefs and practices by further field-work among the different sections of the Ho people, and by comparing their ideas with those of allied tribes like the Munda, Kharia, Birhor and Santal before they lose all their past traditions under pressure of a rapidly changing economy.

Quite apart from what might be revealed in future by further investigation, we feel that the following generalization can be made with reference to the nature of the religious beliefs of the Hos. They do not seem to have any concept of a supreme all-pervading impersonal power. Sing bonga, the supreme creator, is very much of a personality who creates, becomes angry or is pleased, and out of his anger or pleasure creates lesser spirits as well as the earth, the mountains, the rivers and all known living beings. In other words, we can say that the supernatural beings always appear as individuals, which is far from the concept of *mana*—an impersonal, intangible force.

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Corrections

p. 298, line 22 :

for "between the expression 'bongaia' (as Dr. Majumdar thinks)",

read "between the expression 'bongaia' and 'bangaia'. When a man dies, the term used of him is not 'bongaia' (as Dr. Majumdar thinks)".

p. 298, line 33 :

for 'dub' *read* 'durum'.

p. 290, in no. 3 of *Good Omens* and no. 2 of *Bad Omens* *read* 'lowing' *for* 'grazing'.

FURTHER NOTES ON LODHA MARRIAGE

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Introduction

IN a previous paper (*Man in India*, 34, 2) the author described a Lodha marriage ceremony which took place at Jhargram. More data were collected on the marriage ceremony which are partially different from the previously reported case. Four such cases are described below.

Case No 1: This particular case deals with the marriage of a Lodha named Upendra Mallik, aged 20, of Kultikri, with the daughter of Makra Bhagta, aged 13, of Kadamdiha under Nayagram Police Station. The marriage took place in the month of Baisakh 1361 B. S. (April—May, 1954). The usual negotiations were gone through and both parties came to each other's house several times. At last the parties reached an agreement and the bride price was fixed at thirty rupees, with several pieces of cloth for the ceremony. The bride price was received by the bride's mother on a brass plate containing a small quantity of the following sacred objects: cowdung, unhusked rice and *durba* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*). Several elderly members including the village headman were present during the ceremony. The bridegroom's party placed the money on the plate and received the cowdung, unhusked rice and *durba* grass as an evidence of sealing the marriage contract. The bride's father asked the bridegroom's party to inform him about the actual date of marriage as early as possible. Then the bridegroom's party went away.

Later on, the date was fixed according to the convenience of the bride's family. No astrologer was consulted for this. The scheduled date was intimated to the bridegroom's family. On the fifth day preceding marriage, the village messenger or bailiff locally called *Dakua* (डाकुआ) or *Atgharia* (आठघरिया) of the bridegroom's village of Kultikri came to the bride's house

with the following presents : a new earthen pot, five pieces of turmeric, one wooden bead necklace such as is worn by Vaishnabas, one piece of red thread for the waist called *ghunsi* (घुन्सि) and a sum of two annas for the foster mother. He also brought some quantity of puffed sugar, known as *batasa* (बातासा). This day is called the *mangal* or auspicious day. On that day, both the bride and the bridegroom were anointed ceremonially with turmeric paste. The articles sent through the messenger from the bridegroom's village were received by the bride's mother on a newly purchased winnowing fan. This was kept in the corner of a room.

Before sunset turmeric paste was prepared by the village maidens. In the bride's house they applied the paste seven times to the forehead of the bride and then went to take a ceremonial bath. A newly purchased earthen pot was taken by a maiden, while a man of the Kotal (कोंटल) clan or *gotra*, named Chaitanya Kotal of Pathardahara, P. S. Nayagram, took an arrow, a woman's cloth or *sari*, dyed yellow, for the bride and the vermilion, mango twigs, betel leaves and betel nuts for the worship of *Dharamdevata* (धरम देवता) or the God of Righteousness.

They reached a tank and went into the water. On the bank, a small quantity of sand was gathered and seven pieces of betel nut and betel leaves were placed on it. An empty earthen pot was placed on it. Chaitanya Kotal applied vermilion marks on the pot and mango twigs were placed at its mouth. Then he prayed to Dharamdevata for the happy union. He asked one maiden to take the earthen pot from the place and to go into waist-deep water. He himself walked in until the water was waist-deep and drew a triangle by means of the arrow in the water. He asked the maiden to dip the pot within the area marked in this manner. The bride now dipped herself into the water and then proceeded to the bank where she was given a piece of cloth for wearing which had been dyed yellow. The pot is known as *mangal ghat* (मङ्गल घट) or the auspicious vessel. The same operation was also gone through in the bridegroom's house. In the courtyard of the bride's house, an open shed was erected ; the thatch was formed of *sal* (*Shorea robusta*)

and *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*) leaves. Underneath it, an earthen platform or altar was erected by Chaitanya Kotal, the earth having been brought from the root of the *sidha* (सिधा) (*Lagerstramia parviflora*) tree. The altar is known as *bedi* (बेदी). Every evening the turmeric paste was applied seven times to the forehead and the body of the bride. But she was not allowed to take a bath. She took her usual food but never stirred out of the house so as to avoid possible accidents.

*Marriage with a Tree**

On the scheduled date the bridegroom started for the wedding ceremony. The sister's husband of the bridegroom, known as the *Sambar* (सम्बर), was the chief conductor of the marriage ritual. They took the usual pieces of cloth and two wedding crowns locally called *mayor* (मेयोर) and some cash with them. On the way, the Sambar selected a mango tree. When the party reached the place, the bridegroom was directed to walk three times round the tree and to place his right palm with fingers pointing upwards on the tree. The Sambar tied a thread dyed yellow round the tree and the palm of the bridegroom. He applied three vermilion dots just above the fingers and directed the bridegroom to bow down before the tree. The bridegroom did accordingly and the Sambar removed the thread tied by him. Thus the ceremony of marrying the tree was over and on and from that day the particular mango tree became taboo to the bridegroom. He could no longer take any fruit or pluck leaves or branches from the tree. After this the party proceeded towards the bride's village. In the meanwhile the bride had been allowed to take a bath on the wedding day and an earthen pot was filled with water without however going through the worship of Dharamdevata. This pot was placed on the altar constructed on the auspicious day. Beneath the pot a small quantity of unhusked rice was kept and vermilion marks were painted by the Kotal on the pot.

*As far as has been observed, this ceremony is present among the Lodhas to the south of the Subarnarekha in Police Stations Gopiballabhpur and Naya-gram. North and east of the river, in Kesjari, Narayangarh, Kharagpur, Dantan P. S. it is absent.

Just after the bath the bride was taken to a mahua tree. There she married the tree as the bridegroom had done. The only difference was that here the bride placed her left palm on the trunk and the Kotal tied the ceremonial thread. This tree similarly became taboo to her. According to some of my Lodha informants, this marriage with the tree has got a special meaning. In case death accidentally visits the household, the mango and the mahua surrogates are likely to be affected in place of the real wife or husband. It is thus believed to give some kind of magical protection to the newly married couple.

When the bridegroom arrived with his party they were received by the bride's family as well as the villagers. They were given palm-leaf mats to sit upon and cold drinks were served to them. The cloths brought by the bridegroom's party were taken inside the house and the bride was dressed in them. Later on, the bridegroom was made to stand on one side of altar while he faced east. The bride stood opposite facing the bridegroom. Two screens called *kandar* (कण्डार) were held by the villagers between the couple, so that they could not see one another. In this position, the bride and bridegroom with those holding the pair of screens were directed by the Kotal to spin round in an anti-clockwise direction seven times. It is reported by some of the Lodha informants that the bride and the bridegroom are taken up in the lap of the bride's sister's husband and bridegroom's sister's husband respectively during the turning of the screen ; but this was not observed in this particular case. At last they stopped and the Kotal prayed to the Dharamdevata for the happy union. He said to the bridegroom, 'You are going to marry this girl. You should forgive her if she does anything wrong. It is your duty to maintain her so that she can be happy.'

After saying this, he blessed the couple by sprinkling water on them and then asked them to sit down on the spot. He tied the end of the bridegroom's turban to the corner of the cloth worn by the bride. The screens were now removed and the Kotal made the bride sit on the left side of the bridegroom. There was a brass plate on which unhusked rice, *durba* grass and vermilion etc. were kept. The Kotal asked the bride-

groom to apply vermilion to the forehead and hair-parting of the bride by means of his betelnut cutter, known as *janti* (जंति), which was with him from the day of the anointment of turmeric paste. He did so and the bride also touched the vermilion by means of her *kajal pata* (काजल पाता), a receptacle for collyrium, which was also with her from that very day. This operation was repeated three times. The wedding crowns or head-dresses were now put on the respective heads and the couple were taken inside the room. They were then served with gruel boiled with coarse sugar. The bridegroom was served first and later the bride with a fresh quantity on the dish used by the bridegroom. They passed the night there.

On the next morning, the party, including the bride, started for the bridegroom's village for the rest of the ceremony of marriage which is locally called as *basi bibaha* (बासि विवाह) or after-marriage rites. The ceremony of *bat ghera* (बाट घेरा) or 'blocking the road' was done by the sisters of the bridegroom and village maidens.

Wearing of the Iron Bangle (Kharu Parano)

The couple were taken to the earthen altar in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house and they were made to stand facing one another with the altar between them. There the bridegroom was supplied with the iron bangle and vermilion by the Sambar. He applied the vermilion on the forehead and hair-parting and then slipped the bangle on the left wrist of the bride.

Playing Hide and Seek

The bridegroom was removed just behind the bride and a pit was dug by the Sambar called *tank* or *pukhur*. A flat stone was placed upon the tank. Then the Sambar poured water on the couple and the tank became filled up. The bridegroom placed his betel nut cutter in one corner of the tank and the bride was made to search it out. The bride also hid her *kajalpata* at one corner and the bridegroom had to find it out in the same manner. They repeated the play several times. This is called *lukochuri khela* (लुकचुरि खेला).

Undoing the Sacred Thread on the Wrist

On the eve of the anointment of turmeric paste a *bidhi* (बिधि) containing a mango leaf, one betel nut, one betel leaf, each was tied on the wrist of the bride and the bridegroom (bridegroom's right wrist, and the left wrist of the bride). The Sambar took off these from their hands and kept them on the newly purchased basket and went to the tank for a bath. The couple, along with the Sambar, all took their bath. The Sambar threw the basket into the tank.

The couple returned home and sat on a mat. The villagers and relatives came and presented them with cash according to their capacity. No auspicious eighth-day or *Atmongola* ceremony was held in this case. The bride remained there for nearly a month. There was to be a second marriage or *Punarbibaha* when the bride attained puberty. In this marriage the Kotal was given a present of rupee one and annas four while the Sambar was supplied with a new piece of cloth which was dyed yellow with turmeric. The village headman of the bride's village was given eight annas as the *gram-manyā* (ग्रामदान) or tribute in honour of the village council.

Case No. II: This ceremony deals with the marriage of Mahendra Mallik, now aged 25, of village Kesiari under Kesiari P. S., with Haripriya Digar, aged 21, of Kukai of the same P. S. In this case certain peculiarities were noticed and these are described below. The bridegroom's party consulted the local priest and astrologer who wrote down the names of the bridegroom and the bride and then calculated the auspicious day for the ceremony. The bridegroom's party had to pay something to the astrologer. This date was intimated to the bride's family. According to the direction of the astrologer, the turmeric paste was applied five days prior to the wedding ceremony. On the fifth day preceding the marriage, a barber named Bijay Mana of Kesiari was sent to the bride's place. The bridegroom's elder brother, Kaklu Mallik, accompanied him. The barber took with him some sacred articles like turmeric etc. and a present of sweets in a new earthen pot. There was an iron bangle packed separately with the barber. On that day turmeric paste was

formally applied to the bridegroom and the bride with the tying of sacred thread containing durba grass, mango leaf and betel leaf on their wrists. At that time all the women of the family as well of the same caste in the village blew the conch shell as an auspicious sign. This is done whenever an important ceremony is being performed. Later, a brass pot, one betel nut, two betel leaves, a copper coin, some quantity of vermilion, durba grass, small mango trees are carried on a brass plate for the worship of *Basumata*, Mother Earth, *Dharamdevata*, God of Righteousness. This was done by the sister of the bridegroom. This worship is intended to record one's obeisance to Mother Earth and the God of Righteousness, seeking permission for the marriage ceremony. After the ceremonial bath the bridegroom's sister proceeded to her home. She was directed to mark her passage with the corner of her *sari* which was then wet. The bridegroom was to follow her.

Every day before dusk the bridegroom was anointed with the turmeric paste. He was not allowed to take bath. The bridegroom had to eat only chapped rice for five days. The same thing was done with the bride.

An earthen altar was erected under the shed built in the courtyards of the bride and bridegroom. There was no specified earth as found at Jhargram as from the root of the *sidha* tree. Four whole plaintain leaves along with stalks were placed erect at the four corners of the altar.

The Sraddha Ceremony (Offering to the Manes)

On the wedding day a special offering including rice, curry with fish etc. was made to the manes by the bridegroom's father. Early in the morning the bridegroom's father took a bath and cooked all these things in a new earthen pot. The offerings were made at noon. He kept these on the *isan* (ईशान) or raised earthen platform near the hearth. He also offered betel leaf and betel nut in the name of the ancestors. After the offering, the family members including the bridegroom and other relatives like the Sambar took their meal together. Next day these offerings were thrown into the water.

On this afternoon, the bridegroom took bath along with his

sister before their departure for the ceremony. Again a brass pot was filled up by his sister and taken to the bride's house.

Several respectable persons including the bride's brother came to convey the bridegroom, and a cart was arranged for their journey. The brass pot carried by the sister of the bridegroom was placed on the earthen altar on which some unhusked rice had been placed previously. Ornaments and cloths were received by the village headman or *Mukhia* named Bipin Mallik of Kukai, though the bridegroom's sister accompanied him.

Two screens were held by the villagers and there was no rotation of it. The couple were directed to sit facing each other; the Kotal tied their palms and put the head-dresses on their heads. Several relatives threw potatoes, brinjals towards the bridegroom demanding some present of sweets. This is called *hital chandi* or *hutul chandi* (हुटल चण्डी). Application of vermilion on the forehead of the bridegroom and bride was made in a different manner, by means of a grain measure called *katha* (काठा) or *ser* (सेर). The measure is made of cane slips and its capacity is roughly one seer or two pounds. This measuring basket and vermilion were placed on a brass plate supplied by the village messenger. The newly married couple went to the Baram, the tutelary village deity, and Sitala temple to pay their obeisance. The application of vermilion was done three times.

The couple were taken inside the room, served with gruel boiled with coarse sugar. The bridegroom refrained from taking his gruel as he waited for some gift from the bride's parents. This is locally called *man kara* (मानकरा). The bride's mother promised to present one brass plate and bell-metal beaker for drinking water. All other associated rituals were done at the bridegroom's place. There was the auspicious eighth-day ceremony after which the bridegroom came to his father-in-law's house along with the bride. The bride's elder brother (Madhab) went to bring them home. He remained there for two days and new cloths were given to him by the bride's family. This is called *Jamai phirta* (जामाई फिरता) or the return of the son-in-law.

The wedding crowns were thrown into the water after one

month. There was a second marriage or *Punarbibaha* (पुनर्बिवाह) when the bride attained puberty.

No tree marriage was held in this case and none such was found in this area.

Case No. III. In the village of Kukai, under Kesiari P.S., Brindaban Nayak, aged 22, married Panchami Digar, aged 17, of Satsol under the same P. S. He had to go through the usual rituals except the marriage with the tree as observed in the jungle area of Jhargram. On the second day of the marriage or *basibibaha* (बासिबिवाह) the bride came to the bridegroom's place. After the reception of the bride and the bridegroom, Brindaban's mother gave them *sherbet* prepared with coarse country sugar. Later a large quantity of unhusked rice was kept on the floor of the room. All the relatives and villagers assembled there. Then one of the sisters of the bridegroom asked the couple to sit near the heap of unhusked rice. The bride was directed to remove it from the place to her side. She did accordingly. Then the bridegroom collected all the grains towards him from the bride's side. This was done three times. Thus the ceremony of removing the unhusked rice or *dhan sarana* (धान सरान) was over.

According to some of the Lodha informants, this ceremony is nothing but the official recognition of marriage. This was the only ritual found by the writer out of several marriage cases throughout Midnapur.

Then all the rituals like wearing of iron bangle, pouring water, hide and seek etc. were gone through. The couple were then taken to a tank for the ceremonial bath. There they had to perform another ritual which is widely prevalent in Kesiari, Narayangarh, Kharagpur etc. This was a performed a follows.

The couple, including the village messenger or *Dakua* went into the tank. There, according to the direction of the village messenger, the couple pelted one another with balls of mud. When one tried to hit, the other dived into the water. After a few minutes each of them succeeded in catching the other by means of the mud. This ceremony is called 'playing with mud ball' or *kada khela* (कादा खेल) ceremony. Some of the Lodha

informants said that this ceremony has got an importance in Lodha life. In their distressed family life the Lodha couple quarrel with each other which sometimes take the form of fighting, beating with injuries on their bodies. This throwing of mud-ball or pelting by means of mud ball just after marriage gives them a ceremonial initiation into what will happen to them in actual life !

A third ritual was also performed by the bride just after the bath. The couple then came home in their wet cloth. She was given a brass pot filled with water which she had to keep up in a steady position for about half an hour. Her steadiness is the proof of her ability and forbearance. In Jhargram one case was found where the pot was filled with sand grains.

On that day the bride and bridegroom had to take their meal cooked in a new earthen vessel. The bride in her wet cloth had to remove the lid of the pot without making any sound. This proves another virtue of the bride. According to the Lodha proverb, this ritual signifies the future of the bride whether she may be a *Hanri khauki* (हान्रि खाउकि), i.e., one who eats from the cooking pot.

This was followed by the usual auspicious 'eighth-day ceremony' and 'return of the son-in-law'.

Punarbibaha (पुनर्विवाह) or Second marriage

Though the wedding ceremony was over, the couple were not allowed to pass the night in the same bed, as the bride had not attained puberty yet. At the commencement of the first menstruation the bride informed her mother-in-law through a village sister of the bridegroom. On the same day the news was sent to the bride's father's place. The bride had to stay seven days at the neighbour's house, thus avoiding her husband and male members of the family except little boys and girls. She had to take a bath early in the morning and hide her clothes from other people's view. On the seventh day she was brought back to her home, i.e., the bridegrooms's house by the same village sister. According to a Lodha saying, on the seventh day, if the bride meet a man on the way after taking her bath, the future offspring would generally possess all the characters of the person whom

she thus meets accidentally. However, on that day the village messenger, named Gour Kotal, was informed and he collected seven flowers of different colours in a basket. The couple were supplied with cloths dyed yellow on the evening just after bath. This was followed by a feast of sweetmeats. Before dusk the couple were made to stand in the countryard of the bridegroom. The bridegroom stood facing east while the bride faced her husband. A screen was held by the villagers. Gour Kotal then gave one red flower to the bride and a white flower to the bridegroom. They exchanged it thrice beneath the screen. The ceremony is called *phul dekhana* (फूल देखान) or 'showing the flower'. In this way nearly half an hour was spent. The couple were made to perform obeisance to the elderly members of the family and the villagers. They were given sweets and the usual meals were served at night. Several villagers were invited on the occasion including the village headman or Mukhia. Then the Kotal threw the flower into water at night. Thus the ceremony was over and the couple were allowed to sleep in the same bed.

In several cases, at Dantan, Narayangarh and Kesriari a barber came from the bride's father's house with the several articles. One relative, usually the brother of the bride, comes where the barber is not available. According to the informant Jiten Mallik of Kukai, the articles are, two pieces of cloths dyed yellow, one for the bride and another for the bridegroom, some sweets, two red threads for the waist, two necklaces of wooden beads, one mat for the bed of the couple. The barber is given his remuneration, though he never takes his meal there. But in the case described above no such arrangement was made by the father of Panchami, wife of Brindaban.

In the village Ma-Manasa, under Narayangarh P. S., almost all the marriage ceremonies were attended by the Deheri or village priest. There the village messenger had to perform all other ceremonies and the Deheri had to tie the ceremonial thread on the wedding day. The ceremonial marriage with a tree was also not observed in this area. In the same village, several cases of marriage were reported in which the bride had attained puberty before marriage. So there was no second

marriage ceremony. One Lakshmindra Kotal married Kini in the same village. They first obtained an astrologer's advice. The turmeric paste was applied on the day before marriage. The *mangal ghat* or auspicious pot was filled with water on that day and was taken to the place of the bride. The Deheri or priest tied the ceremonial thread. Before the ceremony, proper, a screen was held between the bride and bridegroom and the village messenger or Dakua showed them the flowers of different colours at that time. After the 'showing of flower ceremony' the marriage ceremony took place. There was no special second marriage ceremony. The bride and bridegroom were taken inside a room where some drawing representing the wedding crowns, betel nut cutter and *kajalpata* etc. were made on the floor of the room by means of unboiled rice paste or solution. This was done by the village maidens including the sisters of the bridegroom.

One Maheswar Kotal, the former messenger of the village Ma-Manasa, P.S. Narayangarh, reported that when the bride and bridegroom were of a very tender age, no screens were held during the wedding ceremony. There would be a second marriage when the bride attained puberty. Application of vermilion was made on the wedding day and occasionally the bridegroom slipped on the iron bangle on that day.

This was verified by several cases found at Dihipur, Karan-gabari, Metail, Parulda etc. under Narayangarh and Kharagpur P. S.

Case No. IV: One Santosh Kotal of Dihipur under Narayangarh P. S. married Matangini Bhakta, daughter of Hemlal Bhakta of Kumardubi, P.S. Kharagpur. A bride price of rupees eighteen only was paid. The astrologer was consulted for the auspicious day of marriage. On the third day preceding the marriage ceremony, turmeric paste was applied and ceremonial bath took place. This day is called as *Te-mangala*. On the wedding day the bridegroom also took a bath. The village messenger drew a triangle mark on the water before the ceremonial dipping of auspicious pot by means of a knife instead of an arrow. A holy man belonging to the Vaishnaba sect attended the function instead of a Brahmin or Deheri. His name was

Shibudas of village Shankhua, P. S. Kharagpur. All other rituals were performed by the village messenger and the Deheri of the respective villages. There was no screen. The Vaishnaba propitiated different deities and took about an hour to do so. He sprinkled water and unhusked rice upon the couple. He recited several incantations (मन्त्र). This was repeated by the bridegroom. At the end of the ceremony he advised the bridegroom not to beat his wife or torture her in any way. He should always feed her. He should forgive her fault if she committed any. After giving this advice he tied the ceremonial thread. There was a sound of conch shells blown by the village women. Then the village messenger made the bride sit on the left side of the bridegroom as usual. Shibudas, the Vaishnaba priest, was presented with a sum of ten rupees for his services. He did not take his meal there.

There was also the second marriage. The wedding crowns were thrown into water after one month and a half.

Widow remarriage or Sanga

Sanga (सङ्गा) is common among the Lodhas. This is less costly than the usual marriage. The ceremony is performed when one's wife dies or she does not bear children or even runs away, or where economic condition enables a man to have a second wife. Sanga is performed either with a widow or a divorced wife.

In the majority of cases, the wives did not come back to their husband's place after the marriage. The village Panchayet has no power to force a woman to live with her husband. So divorce is easy. This sort of union is called Sanga and the wife is called as the *Sangali bou* (साङ्गाली बउ). She enjoys an inferior position in the family. Some of the Lodha informants like Rajani Kotal of Dihipur said, 'A marriage is far better than Sanga.' One Ganesh Dandapat, aged 32, of Rangtia, P. S. Kesiari, married Rasabala Nayek, aged 28, of the same village. A negotiation was carried on through a middleman and later, Ganesh paid rupees one and annas four as the gram-manyā (ग्रामदान), royalty to the village council. Rasabala was a widow and she had no children. There was no fixed date for the ceremony and no specific ritual for it. Here Ganesh simply

went to Rasabala's father's place and took her away with him. He handed over the gram-manyā fee to the village headman. Ganesh had a wife who had however left him. One Panchanan Mallik, aged 38, of Sankaridanga, P. S. Dantan, married Nirada, aged 32, of Bhangapur, P. S. Nayagram, who had left her husband. Panchanan went there with a relative of Nirada, had a negotiation and paid rupee one and annas four as royalty to the village headman and took away Nirada as his Sangali bou.

Except the usual wife (*bou*) or wife of Sanga marriage (*Sangali bou*), there is also a form of concubinage. There the person does not pay any royalty to the village or bride price. The woman is treated as wife with a humiliating position. She is kept separately. The woman in such cases is called *Rakhali Bou* (रखाली बउ). There are several cases of this kind in Dihipur and Birkar in P. S. Narayangarh.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

SYMPOSIUM ON 'INDIAN VILLAGE'

This Spring, a seminar on 'Indian Village' was organized under the leadership of Professors Redfield and Singer at the University of Chicago, in continuation of their 'Comparison of Culture' series, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. Professors Redfield and Singer outlined the aim of the seminar as : '(It) will analyze a selection of recent studies of village India. Aspects of these studies relevant to the seminar will be presented by those who did the field-work'. The seminar attempted to develop a conceptual and operational framework for a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the 'little tradition' of the villages of India with its 'great tradition'. The following list of lectures will give an idea of the variety of approaches presented in the seminar :

Introduction : Dr. Redfield and Dr. Singer : A possible framework of holistic description of small communities ; the role of extra-village factors ; problem of the relation of the 'little tradition' with the 'great traditions'.

A. T. Mosher : The Influence of Hindu Religion and Social Traditions on the Village Economy.

O. Lewis : The Mexican and Indian Village : a Contrast.

O. Lewis : An Analysis of Indian Village Factions.

B. Cohn : The Changing Status of the Depressed Castes.

D. Mandelbaum : Value system and World View : The Kotas.

D. Mandelbaum : Value System and World View : The Indian Villager.

G. Steed : A Functional-Historical Study of Personality Formation in a Hindu Village.

K. Gough : Typical Biographies.

A. Beals : Social and Cultural Change in a Mysore Village.

M. Marriot : Village, Region and Nation.

Dr. Redfield and Dr. Singer : Summary and Conclusions.

On the last day of the seminar (May 21, 1954), Dr. Singer summarized the result of the discussion by emphasizing that of all the different social units like 'joint family', 'factions', 'caste', 'village' and so on, the 'village' is the most appropriate social unit for the holistic study of Indian culture. Two Indian anthropologists, Dr. Aiyappan and myself, were invited to participate in the seminar on this day. Dr. Aiyappan said that the study of Indian culture can be atomized to intensive study of sample biographies. He gave two very significant biographical studies exemplifying the nature of adaptation of Hinduism to modern conditions. I suggested that, in addition to the study of villages as our primary social framework, other supplementary focal points of reference have to be utilized to quicken the process of cultural survey : socio-economic study of sample rural markets in the different culture areas of India may be one such very useful approach. I also emphasized that India's 'great tradition' should not be taken as a static or rigidly defined entity to be derived from the sacred texts. It has been reinterpreted again and again through the ages, and we need to have an understanding of the 'great tradition' in its historical dynamism. The process of production of great tradition needs to be studied on the contemporary synchronic level too, mainly in the modern urban centres. Modern Indian city life presents a level of socio-cultural integration which cannot be derived from the interrelationship of its outlying villages and the understanding of relationship between 'little tradition' and 'great tradition' will remain incomplete unless we devise suitable anthropological methods for studying the cultural role of cities.¹

I am sending this brief report on the seminar² mainly as a pointer to our brilliantly financed Department of Anthropology, Government of India, how even a few competent intensive

¹ Dr. Redfield and Dr. Singer : 'Cultural Role of Cities', a working paper for the conference on the Role of Cities in Economic Growth and Culture Change, Chicago, May 24-26th, 1954, is a commendable attempt in that line.

² Mr. McKim Marriot is editing a report of the proceedings of this seminar which is expected to be published towards the end of December 1954 from the University of Chicago Press.

studies, with a well-defined problem in view, may help to give us a good understanding of the problem of 'cultural dynamics and cultural equilibrium' in India. Our Department of Anthropology spent its career of the last eight years, under the leadership of Dr Guha, mainly in isolated descriptive field-work, without a coherent problem-oriented framework. I take this opportunity to suggest to the new Director, Dr. N. Datta-Majumdar, that a symposium be organized under his sponsorship, with all the leading anthropologists in India participating, to discuss and define a tentative operational framework for the study of Indian culture. Then, field-work as well as theoretical analysis, both in the Government Department of Anthropology as well as in the universities and other research institutions, could be related to this common broad framework, which, in its turn, will have to be periodically revised in terms of empirical field experience.

September 6, 1954.

Surajit Chandra Sinha,
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SASTA'S ASSOCIATION WITH A MUSLIM SAINT

Very few Indians know that Sabarimali, famed in legend and history, and the seat of the temple of God Sāstā (Ayyappan), is of importance to both Hindus and Muslims. A peculiar feature of this holy spot in the heart of the Rauni Reserve in the Manimala Range of Travancore-Cochin, is that a Muslim family is connected with the ceremonials and administration of that shrine. The association is symptomatic of the friendship between Ayyappan, who is worshipped in the temple, and Vāvar, an Arab pirate, who became a saint.

In January, every year, batches of devout people from all parts of Kerala, and the Tamil-speaking districts of Madras State, go on pilgrimage to this temple to have a ceremonial view (*darshan*) of the god Sāstā on the occasion of the Makaravilakku festival. A large number of people proceed on foot singing devotional songs in praise of Sāstā, and shouting *Saranam Ayyappā, Ayyappā Saranam* ('Thou art my refuge, Oh Ayyappā').

In a book* published many years ago, I dealt with the traditional accounts of the origin of Sāstā, his advent to the hills, the various rituals, and other details connected with Sāstā worship in South India. Here I shall briefly refer to some new facts which have come to our notice.

Ayyappan, who was born of the union of Siva and Vishnu in the guise of a damsel, acquired at an early age skill in the use of various weapons. At sixteen, he went to the court of the Pandalam Raja where, as army commander, he started centres of training people in defending themselves, and in ridding the principality of robbers and pirates. At that time, over 900 years ago, there were constant feuds between neighbouring petty principalities. Udayan was one of the most powerful among robbers and frequently attacked Pandalam.

Vāvar who was born in Arabia and belonged to the Ismaelite stock, took to piracy, which in those ancient days was not considered a disreputable occupation. His deeds and battles with Ayyappan, and how they became close friends, are narrated in several Malayalam ballads which have come down to us through the centuries. They make quite interesting reading. One ballad entitled, 'In Praise of Vavar', says he was an incarnation of Vishnu, and extols him by saying that after his battles with Ayyappan he was so struck by the lad's physical prowess that he became desirous of embracing his religion. We learn that he was however prevented from doing so by Ayyappan who told him that all religions in the world were in essence equal.

It is therefore not surprising that pilgrims to the temple refer to Vāvar as Vāvar Swāmi, and worship him at Erumeli where there is a mosque devoted to Vāvar. Tradition has it that Ayyappan persuaded Vāvar to stay in this village, and his worship by all Hindu devotees without any distinction of caste has been cited as a fine example to all lovers of Hindu-Muslim unity.

It is interesting to point out that it was at Erumeli that Ayyappan planned to rid the area finally of the menace of

**Sāstā Worship in South India*, Sridhara Press, Trivandrum, 1943.

Udayan. Pilgrims commemorate this by a weird dance. They disguise themselves by smearing their faces and bodies with charcoal-paste, ashes, turmeric powder, *kumkum*, etc. Plantains and curry stuffs are tied in a blanket and suspended on a rod. Some are armed with bows and arrows and others with wooden clubs. With the load on their shoulders they run towards the temple and dance for some time. And as they dance they offer worship to *Sāstā* and *Vāvar*. The blackening of the face is considered symbolical of the aboriginal tribes who accompanied Ayyappan in his mission. Even today tribes like the *Kānikkar*, the *Mala Arayans*, the *Malapantārams* and the *Urālis* visit the shrine annually for worship.

After killing Udayan, Ayyappan worked for the restoration of the temple pillaged by Udayan, the robber king, at Sabarimalai, and when the time came to instal the deity, so the story goes, Ayyappan was seen to vanish and move into the centre of the shrine. The presence of *Vāvar*'s descendants at the annual Makaravilakku festival makes the pilgrimage also sacred to Muslims.

There is no objection at all to the devotees entering the Sabarimalai temple premises without the purificatory ablutions with shirts, coats and knickers on. The devotees break coconuts at the flight of (18) steps (*pathinettampati*) and as soon as they enter the temple they make *sombaie* (reverence) before the deity. They offer clarified butter and camphor to *Sāstā*, and broken coconuts to the god Ganesha. The place resounds with the loud incantation of *Ayyappā Saranam*, *Saranam Ayyappā*, and generates in the mind of the pilgrims a feeling of peace.

L. K. Bala Ratnam
Madras.

BOOK REVIEWS

Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure. By E. R. Leach, with a Foreword by Raymond Firth, F. B. A. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd, W. C. 2, 1954. Price 35 shillings net. Pp. xii + 324 + 6 maps, 7 diagrams.

Mr. Leach has indeed written a bold book. His principal thesis is that there is no 'average' tribal culture as is often described by ethnographers, even though they try to supply a corrective by describing a few variants from the supposed norm. The very idea of formulating such an 'average' culture, and of limiting it to a particular community which may be marked off from its neighbours by a specific dialect or by territorial separation, is in his opinion a wrong way of looking at things. It gives an ethnographer's abstraction a static quality, and is very much at variance with the realities of the actual situation.

Mr. Leach has ably demonstrated this with reference to the Kachins of Upper Burma. They are divisible into quite a number of tribes who speak dialects of their own; their dress, ornaments and houses show well-marked differences; in economy there is considerable divergence. So much so that many previous authors have designated each culturally distinguishable group as a separate tribe, and sometimes even as belonging to separate 'races'.

Mr. Leach has had the special advantage of a deep acquaintance with one of the principal languages of this area, and his fairly long residence and intimate association with the people in various capacities has helped him to appreciate the intricacies of Kachin or Shan social organization much better than in the case of previous workers in the field. To this has been added an intellectual freedom and an originality of thinking which have given his observations a special value.

As the facts emerge, it becomes clear that Kachin culture, at its social level, is not a static phenomenon, but is made up of various contradictory forces which again vary in their

mutual interrelationship. Kachin structure is the result of the interplay between what actually exists as a result of historical and geographical accidents, and what the people themselves consider to be ideal, and which they try to approximate in practice. And even here, there are two important and opposed strains. One is aristocratic and hierarchical and centralistic in power-pattern, while the other is its antithesis, democratic, equalitarian and revolutionary. These ideals are always being acted upon in varying measures among one or other of the complementary sectors of the whole group of 'tribes'. A kind of dynamic equilibrium is thus reached very much at variance with the static picture which is usually drawn by ethnographers. Mr. Leach has tried to find out how the two principles of organization, *gumsa* and *gumlao*, are correlated with ecological and historical factors. The result has been, on the whole, negative, in the sense that he does not find it possible to *predict* the behaviour of a group beforehand. Ecology and history set certain limits to the possible types of behaviour patterns; they set only the stage, while it is the actors who choose their part and play roles, which are of course within the range determined by the framework of geographical and historical accidents.

So far as motivation is concerned, i.e., the pull of the opposing organizational ideals, Mr. Leach has tried to demonstrate that the love of power or status has often been more dominant than the love for immediate economic gain. The careful manner in which he has analysed the operation of the lineages and territorial groups does great credit to his power of analysis, in which his intimate knowledge of language has stood him in very good stead.

It may be remarked here that when an anthropologist tries to observe the culture in which he himself lives, he generally fights shy of describing it, because he realizes at once that there are very many conflicting forces at work, and these rise or fall in relative importance in such a manner that any abstraction which can be designated by some such term as 'Bengali' or 'Indian' culture becomes at once an artificial abstraction which is very far removed from the

realities of the living situation. Under these circumstances, some social historians in the past have indeed tried to present culture as a bundle of opposing forces, which gain variable dominance in different groups or at different points of time. So much so that even individuals begin to display multi-faced behaviour patterns under certain transitional critical situations. Culture, in this sense, is never in the process of being but always of becoming.

Anthropologists have often tried to escape from the responsibility of analysing or describing such complex phenomena by artificially limiting themselves to small groups of pre-literate people among whom they have worked on the assumption that variation or internal flux has been weak here. It is against this complacency of certain schools of anthropology that Mr. Leach's book throws out a very serious challenge. We are happy that in spite of this feeling of challengefulness, Mr. Leach has not been led to a betrayal of the strictly scientific attitude with respect to his facts. He has described the reliability of different portions of his statements with a truly detached mind, and it is this which has given his ethnographic account a particularly high value.

In so far as his actual assessment of forces is concerned, it is of course for one who is equally familiar with the field to say how far that evaluation has been correct or otherwise.

N. K. Bose

The Tools of Social Science. By John Madge. London, Longmans Green & Co. 1953. Pp. x+308. Price not mentioned.

I believe, it has been the challenge of Marxism which has compelled not only 'natural' but also 'social' scientists to re-examine their fundamentals in modern times; and the present book by Mr. John Madge may be taken as the result of such a re-examination. He subscribes to the view that social science should become 'a form of doing instead of a form of contemplation' (p. 103); and also that 'without this active concern with the point at issue the investigator will lapse into the random collection of pointless facts and will claim immunity from the need to organise these facts *and to act upon them* until

some unattainable time when all the data are safely gathered in' (p. 15).

Commenting upon this utilitarian approach, the author has remarked in one place, with reference to the pragmatism of the U. S. A. and the Marxian approach of the U. S. S. R., that 'Both admit the uncertainty of truth and set up instead the criterion of utility. But, also for both, this criterion has shown itself liable to degenerate into a method of undermining alien falsehoods rather than of establishing useful truths' (p. 4).

Personally, he expresses the opinion that if a social scientist adopts an actively and openly selective point of view, he has the duty of choosing one which is at least reconcilable with the values of the society that he serves' (p. 16). This raises a very fundamental question in my mind. Shall we or shall we not also subject to critical examination the values of the society in which we live? The nation or class to which we belong may profess values which, in the last analysis, may be found to be antagonistic to the interests of mankind taken as a whole. If we have reasons for thinking so, what becomes the duty of the social scientist? This, I am afraid, takes us beyond the depths which we usually consider safe for those who are technicians in social research and in methods of bringing about social change. We need not therefore unnecessarily burden the author with a responsibility which he has not recognized as his own.

But within the limits he has thus set for himself, he has succeeded in turning out very creditably a penetrating and extremely useful handbook for social investigators.

The book has been divided into several broad chapters, namely, The Method of Social Science; Documents; Observation; The Interview, which is subdivided into Types of Interview, The Formative Interview and The Mass Interview; Experiment, and lastly, The Limits of Social Science. Each chapter is enriched by a large amount of relevant information gathered from current literature, to which has been added critical comments from the pen of the author. The criticisms are reasonable and not actuated by any propaganda motivation. But all through, there runs the author's basic philosophy that

social science has a purpose and an active responsibility which it can disregard only at its own peril.

We have great pleasure in recommending the book to social scientists of various categories, with the additional comment that contemplation need not always be an ivory-tower activity, and that it can be converted into an activity when the very foundations of even our utilitarian approach can be subjected to critical examination in terms of a broader sympathy or a greater measure of selflessness than is usually demanded of us by the social environment under which we live, and which accepts conformity as the price of the protection which it tries to extend to us.

N. K. Bose

Caste in Modern Ceylon : The Sinhalese System in Transition.
By Bryce Ryan. New Brunswick, New Jersey : Rutgers University Press, 1953. Pp. xii + 371.

The book is the result of careful field investigation carried out by the author personally, and with the help of some students of sociology in the University of Colombo. In the four parts into which the book is divided, Mr. Ryan has first described the institutional and historical background of caste, how it is related to family organization, feudal economic structure and Buddhist religious ideas. He has then proceeded to describe the present state of castes, their relative position in the hierarchy, and how also caste affects even those who lie outside its legal and formal scope. In the third part of the book, he has first analysed the sentiments, attitudes, etc. which are relevant to caste in modern times, and then proceeded to describe the present condition as well as the trends of change in different geographical regions of the island of Ceylon. In the last part of the book he has tried to deal more exhaustively with how caste functions in relation to the changing economic, political and cultural patterns developing under the stress of modern contacts and of modern forces in the island.

From the purely observational and descriptive point of view, Mr. Ryan's book reaches a high quality ; he has spared

no pains to make his observations accurate and exhaustive, and has done everything to make his presentation clear and objective.

The special aspect of caste on which he has however concentrated his attention has been with regard to its role in the determination of social status. The economic correlates of caste have not wholly escaped his attention. He has also very carefully described how caste functions surreptitiously in the political field, and how Government sometimes takes a more or less neutral attitude when passions are inflamed, even though there may be progressive officers who try to lead men into a more equalitarian behaviour towards their neighbours.

The changes which are coming about in caste have been ascribed by the author to urbanization, to changes in occupation brought about by contact, and lastly to the introduction of ideas which are hostile to the immobility of occupation and of status associated with caste in its ideal form.

Certain questions however arise, to which perhaps further depth-analysis of cultural trends may furnish an answer in future. Caste today, as described by Mr. Ryan, is very much an organization for the purpose of defining and assuring certain fixed statuses. Caste's economic counterpart has largely been shattered and is well on the way to extinction. The question which naturally emerges out of this is, how is it that a disintegrating social system still succeeds in functioning in the way that it does? When the economic and power relations between men or groups of men are fast being re-oriented in terms of a new mode of production, what makes the men and women of Ceylon cling all the more desperately to a status which is assured to them in terms of a passing social order?

Mr. Ryan has apparently conducted a fair amount of attitude surveys. The question however remains as to how these attitudes themselves have been changing in one direction or another, and, if they have, what have been the forces guiding that change. The reason for asking these basic or 'depth' questions with regard to attitudes, is that it is the comparative measure of these attitudes, or their fluctuating influence, which will give rise to the character of caste as it will manifest itself

in years to come. And in regard to this question, it is as much necessary to understand the motivating forces, and find out whether they are ephemeral or otherwise, which will give us a clue to the understanding of the present as well as of the future.

In spite of the absence of analysis of this kind, which can only come from a sociologist who is perhaps Ceylon-born, and who has actually experienced all through his life the varying attitudes through which his own and other classes have been passing in the course of his lifetime, we are sure that the present study by Mr. Ryan will be appreciated as one of the most painstaking and objective studies of caste by a social scientist who comes from outside a particular social system.

A book like Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*, or an appraisal of Western civilization of the kind which may come from the pen of a writer like Rolland is almost unthinkable for one who has lived outside Western civilization, even if he may possess the requisite technical qualification. It appears to be even so with phases of Oriental civilization when one can very nearly encompass all the objective phenomena within one's intellectual orbit, but when one just misses that which underlies the outward manifestations, but which alone gives significance to all that which is expressed on the outside.

N. K. Bose

Social Anthropology at Cambridge since 1900. By M. Fortes, William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1953. Pp. 47. Price 2s. 6d. net.

In the present inaugural address, Professor M. Fortes has given us a brilliant sketch of the course of development followed by Social Anthropology in Cambridge since the beginning of the present century. He has shown how, in its initial stages, it owed much to colonial administrators, missionaries and travellers. In its theoretical aspect however it was very deeply influenced by the doctrine of evolution, with the result that some of the early workers began to collect facts in order to suit prevalent theories rather than shape theories in order to give

meaning to carefully gathered facts. Rivers was one of those who tried to break away from this tradition. But, unfortunately, in his departure from evolutionism, he leaned over to the other side in an extreme measure ; so much so that he built up a method of historical reconstruction which was no less fanciful than that of the previous evolutionists in relation to their own theory. Rivers's great contribution however lay in the development of a more exact method of social investigation and of bringing Psychology into closer relationship with Social Anthropology.

But the really revolutionary contribution in this respect was made by Professor Bronislaw Malinowski. Professor Malinowski not only succeeded in developing a new outlook in respect of human cultures, but also helped in the creation of new methods of field investigation which have developed into a special art in recent times. The stray observations of amateurs is as much out of place today in Anthropology as they are, for instance, in modern Genetics.

Professor Fortes does not believe in the kind of historical reconstruction associated with the name of Rivers. But that does not mean that he has no regard for the historical factor as such. He recognizes, like other recent exponents of the Functional School, that history does determine to a certain extent the shape of things in civilization in its relation to the human organism. But he believes it must be real and not fanciful history. In the opinion of Professor Fortes, Social Anthropology has now come to a stage when one branch of it is becoming more closely allied to Social Psychology, and it is becoming a study of a small community on a small spot on the surface of the earth ; it is becoming, in his words, a study in micro-evolution. On the other hand, it is drawing closer and closer to Archaeology based on rigorously scientific methods in so far as historical reconstruction is concerned.

It is interesting to find that even men like Haddon and Seligman had to work under conditions far worse than those afforded in many of our universities or Government departments. Haddon occupied the post of a Reader even when he

was nearing seventy, while at London, Cambridge and Oxford, Chairs were established only in 1928, 1932 and 1947.

Quite lately, somebody remarked that in India scientists begin with big buildings and high statuses, while in countries like France and Germany, scientists begin to work in a stable, and fight their way upwards until recognition is given to them in the shape of new opportunities to work. In India probably we have to work the other way round. We have to wean Anthropology from its swaddling clothes of riches, and make it walk upon the earth instead of in a rich man's library. The struggle of those who shaped things anew in Cambridge may perhaps give us the courage to re-orient ourselves in a country where materials of immense wealth lie unused all around.

N. K. Bose

Anthropology. By J. E. Manchip White. London, English University Press, 1954. Pp. 191. Price. 6s. net.

It is interesting to compare little books bearing this name which have been published from time to time from 1881 to 1954. The first book was by Tylor himself and the present one is by Manchip White. Between these two intervene the books of Marett and Fortes. Each of the authors dealt with the main trends of anthropological thought current in his day. The perusal of each volume betrays the constant shift in emphasis and even content of our discipline.

One third of Tylor's book deals with 'Arts of Life', i. e., material culture which does not figure as a heading in the present book. It has been relegated to a few sections in the chapter on Cultural Anthropology. In its short compass the book gives the essentials of anthropological theory. Adequate attention has been given to Social Anthropology and to Applied Anthropology. The problem of acculturation and the relation of anthropology to modern life has also been dealt with.

Manchip White gives the latest details about the state of studies of fossil man. Weidenreich wrote in 1943 that the Piltown man was a chimera. Latest researches bear him out. Another significant discovery mentioned is that of what

Professor Darts calls 'Australopithecus Prometheus' from Makapansgat in South Africa.

While the author has generally achieved success in compression, at one place his remark tends to be generalization, very much off the mark. Speaking about administrators, businessmen and missionaries, he says, 'They are accepted as one of themselves by members of the tribe' (p. 170). There may be one or two people of this kind, but generally these people have a tendency to keep themselves apart from the tribesmen and the very nature of their duty prevents complete rapport between them.

Sachchidananda

Ancient Indian Culture and Civilization. By H. C. Chakravarti. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2, 1952. Pp. 342 + xxiv, appendix, bibliography and index. Price Rs. 9-8-0.

The author has written this book to bring out the unity and continuity of Indian culture all through ancient times. It is far from the traditional text-books which give bewildering details about kings, dynasties and battles. It gives in a simple style the main strands of Indian culture as developed in the period before 1000 A. D. He has utilized literary, historical and archaeological materials to acquaint us with India's contribution in the field of art, architecture, town-planning, administration, politics, education, religion, philosophy and literature. The legacy of India in the realm of astronomy, mathematics, medicine and chemistry has been adequately dealt with.

The book is written for the general reader who did not have history either at school or in college. It is all the more necessary therefore that the reader should have an idea, even though in brief outline, of the political history of India during the period covered by the book. In the varied details of cultural history the thread of political history is inevitably lost. It is a pity that out of 342 pages only 18 have been devoted to the contributions of India south of the Vindhya.

Sachchidananda

The Historian's Craft. *By Marc Bloch ; translated from French by Peter Putnam. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1954. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

Marc Bloch was for a long time Professor of Economic History at the Sorbonne, Paris. On the fall of France he joined the resistance movement, but fell into the hands of the Germans who shot him dead in June 1944 near Lyons with twenty-six other patriots.

The present book was projected and written during the Second World War. The foremost thing about Bloch has been his transparent sincerity and downright objectivity of approach. Others have talked about the narrowness of purely political history, the evils of excessive specialization and the unreality of the conventional periodization of history without ever leaving their own limited field. Bloch treated history as one whole. No period could be understood except in relation to other periods and topics. He knew that man is not entirely rational and that all his actions cannot be explained with reference to logic. He believed in a wider, more human history. He saw life as a whole, as a complicated interplay of ideals and realities, of conscious innovation and unconscious conservation. Institutions he described not as petrified fictions of the lawyer but as changing patterns which emerge from human life. According to him details have meaning only in the larger framework of the history of human society.

He was for the use of new types of source material. Old maps, place names, ancient tools, aerial surveys and folklore should be used for historical reconstruction. He was free from national prejudices and recognized the contribution of others. He set forth his convictions of the unity of all history and the living connection between the present and the past which makes history something more than a game for dilettantes. Bloch discusses in this book the uses of history, the nature of historical observation and of historical criticism, analysis and causation.

It is unfortunate that Bloch could not finish or polish his work. The style is terse and at times even difficult to

follow. The translator deserves credit for having done a difficult job well.

Sachchidananda

The Culture of South-East Asia : The Heritage of India.

By Reginald Le May. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1954. Pp. 215 including bibliography and index, 95 plates containing 215 figures and two maps. Price 42 shillings net.

This is a study of the cultural background of the countries forming South-East Asia. Reginald Le May has spent a good many years in these parts in various capacities. The chief object of the book is to find 'a terminus a quo', a starting point beyond which no light is at present available (p. 26) in the matter of contact between India and South-East Asia. The main emphasis is on the study of art in these lands and to examine as to how they compare with that of the land of their origin.

From whatever part of India the colonists may have hailed, the treatment and execution of sculpture and architecture imported from India rapidly took a definite local form in each of the different countries in South-East Asia. In Cambodia and Java the adaptation has been so well made that they excel the standard set by the parent art itself.

Though missionaries sent by Emperor Asoka visited these parts, regular colonization started in the beginning of the Christian era. There were as many as five distinct routes, and people from different parts of India, both North and South, joined these colonial expeditions. Indian cultural influences, both Buddhist and Brahminical, continued to irrigate the minds of the people for nearly one thousand years. Even when the fountain of inspiration from India dried up rich civilizations and great kingdoms continued to flourish in Java and Cambodia for a few hundred years more. Even now the underlying culture, customs and beliefs of people in this region betray traces of the ancient contact. The beauty and splendour of Borobudur and Angkor Vat are glowing instances of Indian artistic inspiration.

The book embodies the latest researches, both archaeological and epigraphic, in the field. The volume is richly illustrated with photographs of works of art found in different parts of South-East Asia. The title is somewhat misleading when nothing has been said about the present day culture of people of South-East Asia with which the author is fully conversant.

Sachchidananda

Kinship Organization in India. By *Iravati Karve*. Deccan College Monograph Series : II, Poona. 1953. Price Rs. 15.

Dr. Karve's work on kinship organization in India is a positive contribution to Indian Anthropology. The learned author has not only dealt with the kinship organization of Hindus spread throughout the length and breadth of India as it exists at the present day, but she has gone through ancient Indian epic and Brahmanical literature to reconstruct the web of kinship relations in those ancient times. Such a study is important from several points of view. It is worth while to study the genesis of the social organization of ancient India and trace the extent to which it has survived to the present day. It is all the more important when we realize that all North Indian Hindu kinship terms are derived from Sanskrit terminology which Dr. Karve has carefully gleaned from ancient literature. It would be highly useful to follow the gradual changes in kinship terminology from ancient times to the present day and examine if they tie up with the processes of social transformation that have occurred.

Dr. Karve has taken great pains to study the kinship terminology of different areas and traced them to their Sanskrit roots. She has shown the contrast between the kinship organization in the North and the South as also the blending of the two system in the Central zone. She has also demonstrated how some systems in the South sanction marriage of persons three or four generations removed.

Dr. Karve has also shown the way for taking different language zones of India and treating them as sub-culture areas. There is a need for bands of social anthropologists

to work up the mass of material on the Hindu social system in different zones. There is sufficient scope for division of labour among anthropologists at the first instance and then pooling together the fruits of their researches in one volume later. Such comprehensive work should also include chapters on Muslim, Sikh and Christian social systems together with the social systems of the tribal population living in different areas. Only then a complete survey of the Indian social system would be available.

Sachidananda

Sinhala Verse, Part I. Collected by Hugh Nevill, F. Z. S. (1859-1886). Edited by P. E. P. Deraniyagala, 1945. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 6.

Hugh Nevill was an outstanding personality among those civil servants who not only cared for their administrative duties but also showed scholarly interest in the life and culture of the people of the country of their sojourn. Mr. Nevill was a Fellow of the Zoological Society of London, and made an important collection of skins of Ceylonese birds and of Ceylonese shells, but he is best remembered in Ceylon for his collection of Sinhala antiques, especially palm-leaf manuscripts.

The present volume deals with 803 *kavi*, each with a descriptive account, a representative verse and its English translation. The subject matter of these verses varies from the origin of various natural and cultural objects, stories of valour and cowardice, legends of historic and religious importance to love ballads. Almost all types of folk songs occur in the collection, but one notes with concern that the editor did not make an attempt to classify them under some suitable categories.

Taken as a whole the volume comprises a very rich and valuable collection of Sinhala verses and the Ceylon National Museum deserves our congratulation for making it available in a neat and handy publication.

L. P. Vidyarathi

The Sinhalese Folk Play. By Sarath Chandra. Published by the Ceylon University Press Board, August 1953. Pp. 139 + xi (monochrome illustrations).

The character of folk life is fast changing and with it the 'voice of the soul' is also becoming silent. In Ceylon this trend is not unknown and the institutions and the scholars who are interested in the survival of the Sinhalese folk literature are making an earnest attempt to collect, record and interpret the vast store of Sinhalese folk-tales and folk-songs and folk-dramas.

In the present book Sarath Chandra has collected the various plays prevalent today in some remote and isolated villages of Ceylon. He examines the cultural background and expresses the opinion that the Sinhalese folk-play is still so closely associated with ritualistic practices that it is hardly possible to discuss one without discussing the other. In course of the interpretation of the plays, he brings to light Tamil influence on Sinhalese music and the influence of Bharat Natya on Sinhalese 'Kandyan' dancing. He also quotes instances to show that the folk art attempted to draw inspiration from Buddhism which absorbed animistic practices of the people of that time. Almost all the pages of the book are studded with marginal illustrations. Monochrome photographs add further interest to the book.

We hope Indian folk-lorists will find this a welcome addition to their library.

L. P. Vidyarthi

The Elixir of Life. By Arnold De Vries. Published by California Vegetarian News Digest, 2146 Brandan Street, Los Angeles 26. Pp. 68 including bibliography.

In this book raw food is considered in all of its ramifications and uses. Both the theoretical and practical value of raw food, in comparison with the same values of heat-processed food, have been determined. The analysis as a whole shows the way to a practical and effective mode of human nutrition while indicating the therapeutic possibilities and medical properties of raw food.

L. P. Vidyarthi

Rajagriha and Nalanda. By *Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., LL. B., Ph. D. Indian Publicity Society, 21 Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta 4. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2 as. 4.*

In this book Dr. Sen has traced the history of Rajagriha and Nalanda from the earliest period. The author has given a very vivid account of these two places, he has described the ruins and the important places of Nalanda and Rajagriha in such a way that one, who after reading this book, goes to these sites, would very easily be able to recognize them and understand their significance. He has also given practical directions for tourists visiting these two places. The book deserves wide popularity among scholars and tourists.

A. B. Saran

Anthropology Today : An Encyclopedic Inventory : *Prepared under the chairmanship of A. L. Kroeber. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois 1952. Pp. 966. Price 9 dollars net.*

The volume under review comprises fifty 'background' or inventory papers and covers a wide range of topics. The fifty papers each written by a chosen expert constitute fifty chapters. Each chapter deals with an important topic or an area of interest. In his introductory note, Kroeber defines an inventory or background paper as 'a systematic overview of the methods deployed and substantive results obtained by research along a particular front—a subject or field or segment of anthropology as this has developed in recent years.' Indeed *Anthropology Today* is a critical encyclopedic review of problems of historical approach and of problems of process, in which methods, theories and results have been examined in the light of the most up-to-date material. A perusal of the table of contents gives us a picture of the large area of interest that anthropology serves today. The schedule of papers embodied in the volume includes methods of dating, prehistory, archaeological theories, palaeontology, genetics, race, human behavior, evolution, social structure, culture, acculturation, linguistics, ecology, field-methods and techniques, and applied anthropology. Each paper

takes stock of new knowledge gained in the subject and is a resume of thinking and enquiry on important problems that face the anthropologist today.

The first two papers on long-range dating in archaeology, and dating fossil human remains by Heizer and Oakley respectively are excellent overviews of the various methods employed and results obtained. The papers on Primates by Straus, Fossil Men by T. de Chardin, Palaeolithic Archaeology by Movius, Neolithic Archaeology by Childe, Race by Vallois, Evolution and Process by Steward, Archaeological Theories and Interpretation by Clark are critical resumes of specific problems of the historical approach. There are five useful papers on field-methods and techniques which include field-method and technique in linguistics, psychological techniques, interview techniques, control techniques and processing of anthropological materials. Interesting and thoughtful papers have been contributed by W. Boyd on Genetics, by C. Kluckhohn on Universal Categories of Culture, by C. Levi-Strauss on Social Structure, by A. Martinet on Structural Linguistics, by A. Hallowell on Culture, Personality and Society, by R. Beads on Acculturation, by M. Mead on National Character and by R. Redfield on Relations of Anthropology to the Social Sciences and to Humanities. Each of the above papers is not only a systematic overview of the topics concerned but is also stimulative of thought and discussion. Boyd has suggested a racial classification of men (into 6 groups) based on gene frequencies, which according to him besides having a number of advantages, is objective and quantitative. Kluckhohn, after giving a short historical sketch of anthropological thinking about universal categories of culture, emphasizes the biological, psychological, socio-situational universals as best affording the possibility of cross-cultural comparison. Levi-Strauss has given an overview of social structure studies, including definition and problems of method, social morphology, social statistics and dynamics. Redfield has discussed the polarities within anthropology and varieties of models in anthropological thinking and the developing relations of anthropology with the humanities. There are

nine interesting papers in applied anthropology and, in the end, a very useful paper on technical aids in anthropology. Of the fifty contributors, all of whom are well known in their respective fields, forty belong to American universities or other institutions. Of the rest, five contributors are from the universities of England, three from France and one each from Germany and Java.

Even a rapid perusal of the papers reveals a mass of new anthropological data and discoveries and a marked re-orientation of anthropological thought and method during the last twelve years or so. Recent trends suggest that Anthropology would receive more and more stimulus from other disciplines which would not certainly disintegrate the former but on the contrary strengthen the unique character of its discipline. Investigations in such scientific disciplines have enriched Anthropology as with C14 dating (from Nuclear Physics), fluorine test (from Chemistry), palaeomagnetic method (from Geophysics), blood grouping (from Genetics), and so forth. Both the physical and biological sciences have greatly contributed to anthropological researches in recent years. The social sciences too have greatly contributed to anthropological thought. The study of culture and personality has increasingly engaged the anthropologist, the sociologist and the social psychologist. In America, inter-disciplinary researches have greatly contributed to the study of social institutions, personality and culture. Culture however remains the main field of anthropological study. As Kroeber rightly points out in his introduction, the principle of culture gives anthropology a viewpoint of enormous range. Applied anthropology, and what in America is called action research, have also gained in importance today. Application of the concept and technique of anthropology is increasingly being made by many governments. Indeed the practical scope of anthropology is being realised and extended by many countries.

From this encyclopedic inventory, the reviewer misses an inventory paper on the mesolithic in the old world prehistory, though two excellent papers have been contributed in

palaeolithic and neolithic prehistory respectively. From the inventory, the reviewer also misses the study of the most pressing problem that faces the anthropologist in Asia today, that of tribal rehabilitation and acculturation. Nevertheless, this encyclopedic inventory is an epitome of what anthropology is today and has immensely succeeded in its dual task of uptodate stock-taking and of providing a multitude of problems for further discussion and synthesis.

D. Sen

Adam's Ancestors. By L. S. B. Leakey, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1953. (Fourth Edition). Pp. 235, with 22 plates and numerous line drawings,

The popularity of Leakey's book is already well established by the exhaustion of its three previous editions. This fourth edition is completely rewritten with uptodate materials and with the addition of three new chapters.

There is one chapter dealing with the environmental conditions under which our palaeolithic ancestors lived. The technique of tool-making and the functions of the tools have been discussed in another two chapters. A description of the main Palaeolithic cultures (Lower, Middle and Upper) of the world, including a chapter on Palaeolithic Art, cover more than half of the book. These, together with the chapter on the evolutionary position of fossil apes and men, complete the picture of Adam's ancestors.

While discussing 'Early Man's Environment', the author has dealt at length with climatic conditions as revealed by stratigraphical evidences of the glacial and pluvial periods of the northern and southern latitudes respectively, whereas faunal and floral evidences form a comparatively insignificant part. The assertion on the correlation of glaciations of Europe with the pluvial periods of Africa, which might be proved true in future, is not proper in a book meant for beginners in prehistory. Further, we find that Leakey has correlated the 'earth movements which resulted in an elevation of the mountain mass of Himalayas'

(p. 25) with the Middle Pleistocene period. This is not attested by the geologists who have worked in that area. The three major phases of upheaval in the Himalayas occurred before the Pleistocene period.

The best two chapters of the book are those which deal with the technique and function of tools, together with some notes on the methods of dating, though we cannot share all the views of the author. He has said in one place, 'In reality there is no such thing as a "core culture" or "flake culture"' (p. 56). This is an extreme view against those prehistorians who classify cultures by the frequency of either core tools or flake tools in them. Nobody believes in the presence of 'core tool cultures' without the presence of flake tools. But these are basic typological forms. How one can avoid them? In a later chapter, the S-twist on hand-axes and ovates has been described by the author as an invention borrowed by one culture from another. But we think it is more due to the same modes of working that the S-twist on hand-axes and ovates have developed in different areas.

The author has taken a bold step in the right direction in dealing with the Lower Palaeolithic cultures on the geological time scale rather than on the typological features of the tools. But in describing the different Palaeolithic cultures of the world, Leakey has shown a bias in favour of African cultures, specially those of East Africa. If it were not a book for beginners this could have been overlooked. He has done little justice to the Lower Palaeolithic cultures of India. That could have been easily done within the space that he has actually given to the tool industry (pebble choppers and scrapers) of India which is a distinct phase of the Lower Palaeolithic culture-complex of that country, just like the Kafuan and Oldowan pebble cultures which form the basis of the Chelleo-Acheulean culture of Africa.

In spite of the above criticism, we are glad to say that Leakey has produced one of the most comprehensive books published so far covering all the aspects of Palaeolithic times. His exposition has the quality of great lucidity.

G. S. Ray

Culture and Personality. By J. Honigman. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954. Pp. 499, including bibliography and index.

In pursuance of the general trend which has been in increasing evidence for some time in the social sciences, the author has given us a very satisfactory formulation of the methods of investigation with which the two distinct fields of study, namely, culture and personality, can be profitably integrated. He has also presented a careful analysis based on a study of the cultures and personalities of the Samoans, Arapesh, Kaska, Balinese, Lesuans, Comanche, Plainvillers, Alorese, Kwoma, Navaho, Hopi, Chinese, Germans, Russians, Aymara, Maori, Kwakiutl, Eskimo, and other peoples, in course of which he shows how the structuring of the personality traits is a process directed by the forces of cultural institutions. He points out further that the modes of cultural expression vary in different communities; hence it naturally follows that deviations in the personality make-up are apparent in different communities. Thus different patterns of cultures evolve consistently with the development of different types of personalities; the latter being noticeably distinct from one another in separate cultures.

The process of orientation towards cultural ends is termed by the author as the patterning of personality. Personality is patterned by various learning processes, facilitated or partly inhibited by emotional drives, moral standards and other factors, namely, sexual adjustment, anxiety, etc. Besides learning, direct and indirect group membership and some other factors exercise a profound influence in standardising personality. While referring to group membership the author dwells on some salient traits of personality which guarantee group solidarity and uniformity. Thus, persistence in sharing in group life and allegiance to group standards are pre-requisites in maintaining social harmony and discipline.

In his search of the ultimate sources of personality traits, the author delves into the early experiences of individuals. He goes as far back as early feeding, weaning, play, sphincter training to account for the formation of distinctive traits in different cultures. Finally, he very aptly shows how the modal personality emerges with a set pattern of traits held in stable

functional concord with clear-cut attitudes toward the self, towards wealth, sex and sex-roles, old age, hostility and aggression, magical and religious beliefs, etc. He lays special stress on some agents of patterning, such as parental influence, independent and dependent families, technological change, family relations, political relations. Then he proceeds to elucidate the changes brought about in the personality structure by social differentiation. The manner of bringing up children in upper, middle and lower classes gets reflected in the formation of the personality. Also, caste and race prejudices and minority group feeling have much to do in modifying or restricting the growth of personality. Besides class and caste, areal differences, such as rural-urban, and occupational differences, cast a lasting impression on the personality as it is being chiselled out.

After enumerating the current concepts and approaches to the study of culture and personality, the author examines critically the techniques of research which are considered to be most suitable for purposes of investigation. He envisages as many techniques as eight. These are (1) sampling, (2) observation of behaviour in its natural setting, (3) interviewing, (4) testing, (5) communication analysis, (6) product analysis, (7) empathy and (8) mapping. He scrutinizes the merits and demerits of each of the above systems of investigation and gives his suggestions for handling them successfully for getting desired results.

To make the study complete, the author gives us an account of the circumstances on which the normal growth of personality may stumble, as a result of which various deformities may cripple the personality. Thus sensorimotor dysfunction, neuroses and psychoses, reality distortion, distortions of affects, regression, personality disintegration, and derangement of intellectual capacities may invade the personality. Finally, he recounts the cultural factors responsible for mental health and illness. There is also a clear indication as to where lie the true remedies for the prevention and cure of personality disorders.

We strongly recommend the book for its manner of presentation of various concepts and techniques, and for its very helpful suggestions in regard to research methods.

Early Bengali Saiva Poetry. By *Asutosh Bhattacharya*. Calcutta, Calcutta Book House, 1951. Pp. 64. Price Rupees Three.

While examining the early Saiva poetry of Bengal, the author has tried to show how the concept of Siva has been compounded of two different strains, one Brahminical and the other popular. The distinction between the two is quite clear; but the assumption that two such concepts must necessarily come from two historically separate cultures needs a little more careful re-examination. If the popular Siva concept of Bengal is non-Brahminical, then we should look for confirmation among some of the tribes and peoples who live on the margin of Hindu society. This opens the way to future investigation.

The theoretical assumption that anything which is logically discordant with the prevailing tone of a culture is *therefore* a derivative of another culture does not however seem to be always valid. The superb temple of Konarak goes along with a large mass of 'vulgar' sculpture; while the supreme humanism of modern European civilization has come to a kind of 'peaceful co-existence' with the most efficient organization for wholesale destruction of human lives. The work of Freud has also demonstrated quite clearly how an individual may form a kind of patchwork synthesis between feelings and actions which are mutually contradictory, but which spring from the conscious and unconscious levels of the same individual mind.

It becomes necessary therefore not to depend on any a priori hypothesis, but actually find out through the rigid application of historical methods how far the various elements or Saivism in Bengal were derived from separate historical sources. The question has also to be answered as to why and how logically discordant elements persist in a population, which may or may not be always divided into classes in the Marxian sense.

The Primitive World and its Transformations. By Robert Redfield. New York, Cornell University Press, 1977. Pp. xiii + 185.

In the *Primitive World and its Transformations*, Redfield traces the development of folk societies into civilization. Folk societies in ideal conditions are small and isolated. The people are homogeneous in that they have the same traditions and common understandings. They are societies based on kinship association and all relationships are personal. They are preliterate. The primitive societies of today possess many of these characteristics, and from our examination of these we may learn about the nature of societies before civilization came into being.

Civilization consists of heterogeneity. It is 'the anti-thesis of the folk society' (p. 22) in that it has all the attributes diametrically opposite to those of folk society. Moreover, civilization may 'be thought of as that society in which the relations between technical order and moral order take forms radically different from the relationships between the two which prevail in precivilized society' (p. 22). However, although in folk society the moral order predominates over the technical order it does not mean that in civilizations the moral order becomes smaller. 'There are ways in civilization in which the moral order takes on new greatness' (p. 24). Moral orders are shaken with the development of technical order, but there is also the rebuilding of moral order on new levels.

It is difficult to find today folk societies in their ideal form. They are either destroyed or altered by civilizations. The culture of the invaders is often absorbed by the folk society. Also civilizations may transplant folk societies into new lands. The existence of the peasant is associated with the development of the city. They are the people whose labors built the cities. The peasant is dependent on the city economically, politically and morally. He is also dependent on writing, although he may not be able to write himself. With the city also develops specialization of work and 'types' of men varying in skill and social classes.

Redfield neither glorifies the 'noble savage', nor does he regret the passing of the folk societies. 'Civilization is a new dimension of human experience. The great idea, moving among many traditions and in newly troubled minds, is now an agent of change, a shaper of the moral order' (p. 83).

The author draws distinctions between culture, ethos, national character, and world view. 'The culture of a people is.....its total equipment of ideas and institutions and conventionalized activities. The ethos of a people is its organized conceptions of the Ought. The national character of a people, or its personality type, is the kind of human being which, generally speaking, occurs in that society. The "world view" of a people, yet another of this group of conceptions, is the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe' (p. 85).

Fundamentally all men look upon the universe in the same manner. The feelings of orderliness, regularity, or law are universal. But with these are also the idea of capriciousness, and the ideas of good and evil. In primitive and ancient societies, God and nature are directly related. The separation of God and man from nature, and the exploitation of material culture, are characteristic of the western world alone.

Today the feeling has come that we can plan and build the character of man or nations. Reform or planning can be found in primitive societies, but we do not know much about the reflective thinking and creative work of primitive peoples in their aboriginal conditions. 'Primitive people are potential but not actual reformers' (p. 136). On the other hand, 'civilization provides the circumstances in which these capacities to build a new future are demanded and so come into development' (p. 136).

Towards the end of the book the author discusses the problems the anthropologists face in controlling their value judgements. They must understand the particular moralities of the people they study. There comes the problem of cultural relativism which 'means that the values expressed in any culture are to be both understood and themselves valued only according to the way the people who carry that culture see

things' (p. 144). This is hard to maintain in regard to societies which contain values we think to be harmful, such as Nazism or head-hunting.

In this book, Redfield presents anthropology as a general science. The general notions he has acquired from his study of various societies are here presented in systematic form. This is a book of history, not of a single people but of the entire human race. And the changes studied are general for all humanity 'as if humanity were one man slowly changing throughout many millenniums before civilization and then coming of age in a transition profoundly effective and relatively abrupt' (p. ix).

Jyotirmoyee Sarma

Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa. The Frazer Lecture, 1952. By Max Gluckman. Manchester University Press, 1945. Pp. 36. Price 3/6 shillings.

The author has tried to give a psychological explanation of certain ceremonies in South-East Africa in which a constitutional, ceremonial expression is given to the spirit of revolt which lies dormant in social groups subordinated by others within the same organizational framework. Such ceremonial revolts help to give added stability to the structure instead of weakening the latter. This has been demonstrated in respect of the relation between men and women in certain tribes, and between the rulers and the ruled among tribes like the Swazi or the Zulu.

As an example of correlation between objective, cultural facts and the needs of the individual organism, the present essay forms a very useful study. It might be suggested that the feelings ascribed to the subordinated persons in question may themselves be subjected to further investigation. It is quite likely that the degree of discontent which gives rise to the need of revolt, may itself vary from one group to another. It might also be interesting to find out by means of supplementary depth-psychological studies, how far these feelings are real or formal, how far they are individually felt and how far culturally or traditionally determined.

N. K. Bose

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE HO*

By D. N. MAJUMDAR

MR. Gautam Sankar Ray and two post-graduate students of the Calcutta University, have shown me great courtesy by initiating a discussion on Ho religion; and examining what they call 'my thesis in this respect'. I have never claimed my contribution on Ho religion as my thesis—it is at best an 'ethnographical account'. I would have been glad if Mr. Gautam Sankar Ray had written the paper himself, without bringing in his students; for, I feel a little embarrassed in discussing students who have associated with their teacher in the discussion, for being a teacher myself for several decades, who takes out students for field training, I know how the students react to instruction by the teacher. Three authors do not add more weight to the argument, if the factual basis is not correct but a joint paper may be welcome for other reasons. At the same time, I do not think that I can take any serious objection to the procedure, for students have as much right to criticise their teachers as others have and I also feel that the success of a teacher can be measured by the degree of independent thinking that instructions stimulate. I therefore, welcome the paper, whatever be the fate of my 'thesis'.

I have read the paper with great interest, and I think, it is written with all seriousness and with a genuine desire to provoke thinking. Before I write on the 'philosophy of Ho religion', I would however, point out certain errors which must have inadvertently crept in, for even with my smattering knowledge of Ho, I can detect them. Such mistakes are bound to occur, when the investigators do not speak the dialect, and a field trip of a few days ostensibly meant for training students in field study, cannot give the necessary knowledge of the dialect. I had to brush my memory of Ho dialect, and I admit,

*This is Prof. D. N. Majumdar's note on the article published in the current number by G. S. Ray and others. See p. 288ff.

I am no linguist, to find out the correct words for those used by the authors of the paper.

The authors have used '*Dhenoa*' which is translated by them as magician-cum-medicineman, but the word is *Deonra*. *Jaher than* which is translated as 'a grove of sal', should be spelt *Jahira than*. 'Kera mah'—is the Hinduised address of Dessaula, for Kera is a village situated west of Chakradarpur. The dual role of Marang bonga, reported by the authors is of local origin in Seraikela, for it is not known in Kolhan. 'Dessauli' in Seraikela is known as 'Gerambonga', it is entirely a local appellation and as admitted by the authors, is of purely Hindu origin. Guru bonga is not known in Kolhan, it is probably a description of the meteor, indicating the way, the Hos interpret natural phenomena, they are also bongas. In Kolhan, the concept of a teacher bonga, is not found. This is anthropomorphism with a vengeance. Buru bonga is said to be able to change shape into that of a tiger or a bear etc. and 'when angry devours men and cattle'. This is not known in Kolhan. Buru bongas reside on hills and forests, all the hills are clad with forests in the Chota Nagpur plateau. The wild denizens of the forest, create havoc and whenever, cattle or men are killed, it is taken as the work of Buru bonga. Asari Bonga is unknown in Kolhan, the attributes mentioned are those of the Hero bonga—'Barabhonjni' should be spelt borobhoji. 'Gyot bonga' is 'Got Bonga' and not Gyot as claimed by the authors. 'Kalam' should be Kolon (barn). Kolon Bonga is not known in Kolhan. Nage era does not 'blind or deafen people by throwing water'. Nage era shoots arrows (toray) which causes pain. It is not possible to make one blind or deaf by throwing water. The authors write, 'If anybody meets them near the ponds they will make them blind by sprinkling water to his eyes'. All the Ho of Seraikela would have been blind by now if that were possible. Water could be conceived to have such power, if Nage era was also a magician or a witch, and if she acted on water by charms or magic. Nage era and Binde era are the same, they are synonymous. 'Baghea era' are Baghea bongas who are not 'tree spirits', nor do they 'look like pigs'. They are the ferocious spirits of persons who are devoured by tigers. Kudra era,

has different role to that mentioned by the authors. They come to the house and make peculiar sound. Dhan Kudra do not 'eat up the children of wealthy people' as claimed by the authors, but they cause sterility, even death to children. It was a shock to me, to read that 'Ading is a small platform of earth where the shades of the dead ancestors are believed to reside'. Ading is the 'whole kitchen'. Karambonga, is a Tamaria god and not of the Hos. 'Roas' are not seen or can be seen by anybody. We doubt if the Deonra who supplied such prolific accounts of gods and spirits to the authors can see them. Singbonga is always benevolent in Kolhan, he is the 'unworshipped' Bonga, his intervention is sought only in case of failure of the lesser gods to effect redress. The authors mention that 'if anybody other than, a Deuri or a Dhenoa sees Singbonga, he or she dies'. This is certainly an alien concept in Kolhan. 'Barabhajini bonga keeps the house tops intact'. This is not known in Kolhan. The Hos of Kolhan call 'Paomi', but not Pauri, roa is not shadow but 'life' or 'soul'. Shadow is *umbul*. The shades do not look like men or women. The authors write, "At present we do not know the generic meaning of the word bonga. It is used to signify supernatural beings (but not each and every supernatural being), sometimes it is used to mean a 'spirit' and with a slight change in pronunciation it is also used to mean 'a worship' or 'a festival'." Continue the authors, "Thus the word bonga with a short accent on the letter 'O' means a deity or a 'supernatural being.' While with a long accent over 'O' it signifies a 'worship' or a 'festival'." I put the paragraph to Mr. Kanuram Deogam, M. P., who is a prominent Ho leader and a retired member of the Bihar Provincial Educational Service. He was surprised, and admitted that it was a 'revelation to him'. To me, it appears that we are like blind men leading other blind men. It needs an expert on Ho dialect, to decide such linguistic foibles. Neither the authors, nor myself, I admit, have the competence to speak on the issue. Mistakes and mis-statements abound in the article, particularly when the authors have reported Ho words and Ho concepts, and I can add much more to what I have said.

Even if the mistakes were not there, and the authors were

more critical in their use of native words and concepts, the fact remains that the Hos of Seraikela are more Hinduised than those of their compatriots in the Kolhan and that makes it necessary to take the reported facts with caution. The authors admit that 'the Mundari-speaking tribes of Bihar and Orissa are in intimate economic association with the Hindu neighbours, from whom a certain influence has already permeated into the religious world of the Hos and other cognate tribes'. The authors further write, 'The present state of Ho religious beliefs and practices is of such a composite nature that it is very difficult to reconstruct with certainty the basic form, or philosophical foundation of their religious belief'. I fully agree with the authors. In spite of such admission, the final verdict given by the authors on 'Bongaism'—a verdict which, I think, could not be given on the basis of the not too well baked material presented in the paper, is intriguing. I do not claim that my views on Ho religion are sacred and sacrosanct. They are interpretation of the facts that I could get. If I am proved wrong, I shall not be sorry for if the Ho religion has no concept of an impersonal force or power it would not wrong the Hos, nor the anthropologists, at best it may wound my sense of vanity a little. If I have differed from the late S. C. Roy or from Dalton, I had my reasons, and if the authors differ from me, they must also have their reasons. I know the views of the late S. C. Roy. I was his pupil, he initiated me into field work, he examined my thesis and awarded me the degree. If I had differed, I had done so because of my theoretical leanings, which my teacher the late Roy, did not encourage; he was so full of facts, that he would not like to commit, although I can tell in confidence that I had nearly carried him with me. If the authors have mentioned Roy's doubts about my treatment of Ho religion, they should have also noticed the concluding remarks of the late S. C. Roy, for in the same review, i.e., of 'The Tribe in Transition' he writes as follows. 'The account of Ho customs and beliefs given in this book is well written in simple and clear language and appears to be in general fairly accurate, and the inferences drawn by the writers are on the whole probable. The book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution

to Indian ethnographical literature'. Writing about Bongaism, in the Oxford Magazine (3/3/38), Dr. R. R. Marett said, 'The Ho religion is at the pre-animistic level when gods and spirits have little or no individuality and all turns on securing the aid of bonga or a wonder-working power, by means of any one vehicle or other that may be handy.' Neither it is an argument that the authors of the article, find some of their findings supported by Dalton, therefore Dalton was right or they are right. Dalton was wrong in many cases, and right in most others, but if we take Dalton to be correct, we may have to accept his Kolarian hypothesis, his anthropometry and we have also to accept as model his field technique. The large number of bongas, spirits, *roas* and whatever other categories, the authors divide the Ho pantheon indicate the rapid process of concretisation of the Ho concept of religion, and for this the Hindu religious beliefs and practices are largely responsible. We Hindus have concretised the power concept. We have shaped the Sakti cult according to our own ideas and interests, the Hos have done so, but in a crude way. They have done much more than the Hindus, if they have given lines and shapes even to the 'roas' as reported from Seraikela. Regarding the final verdict, that Majumdar is wrong, the authors are right, it is certainly not for Majumdar to decide, much less for the authors. More intensive research is needed than it has been possible for the authors who have worked under obvious limitations. I assure the writers that I shall be the first person to condemn Majumdar the author of the Affairs of a Tribe or of A Tribe in Transition, if I find the necessary factual proof against him. For the present, I shall only content myself with a scientific scepticism for the threads with which the 'new thesis' has been woven, are lean and delicate and cannot stand the strain of a pull. I should conclude by adding a little spice to flavour the controversy and that is, if Dalton is right, Marett and several other anthropologists of repute are also right, but I do not want to brandish the laurels to elicit felicitation. Neither I shall choose between 'after men, their gods' or 'after gods, men'.

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