

W. D. S. Layan

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH
and
TRIBAL SITUATION

Edited by

L. K. Bala Ratnam

A

CENTRAM

PUBLICATION

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**"Anthropology helps us to understand better,
and in whatever place or time we meet him,
that wonderful creature, MAN."**

— Evans Pritchard

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

MID-1990, and subsequently, the AICAS, in its wisdom, had decided that an Anthropology Exhibition, with focus on Human Evolution, should be organised at Palghat in February 1991, besides a National Seminar on Tribes and Nation-building, a Workshop on Expansion of Employment opportunities for Adivasis in Palghat District, a Symposium on the Relevance of Anthropology Museums, and a one-day Regional Workshop on Constitutional Safeguards for Scheduled Tribes and Legal Dissonances. These programmes were intended to be of a commemorative nature, since 1991 marked the 130th Birth Anniversary of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer whose books had attracted accolades from all over the world, and who came to be regarded widely in India and abroad as the Father of Indian Anthropology.

Difficulties we had many..., but we did succeed in organising the Anthropology Exhibition, jointly with the Anthropological Survey of India, at Palghat, from February 17 to 26, 1991. It was the Second Anthropology Exhibition in South India, the first one having been organised in Madras in the early 'sixties. The Government Museum, Madras, and the National Museum of Man, Bhopal, had agreed to participate in the Palghat event, but the Gulf crisis had led to "administrative problems", and hence they could not. Even then, the Exhibition theme, Human Evolution, attracted fairly good attention.

The origin and development of Man has been a subject in which people have always been interested. Gallons of ink have been spilt in the last 100 years and more, in describing Human Evolution. The biologist, the palaeontologist, the anthropologist, the archaeologist, the geologist, each in his own way, and by his own scientific methods, has tried to understand Man's origin and evolution. The main outlines of the history of Human Evolution were provided with the help of photographs, and translites in display panels, besides casts of human and pre-human forms, and prehistoric tools. Thousands of visitors, including school and college students, came to see the exhibits, and felt rewarded. There were a number of exhibits on related sub-themes, too, but what is pertinent to mention is the fact that the efforts of AICAS came for a mead of praise from one and all.

Simultaneously with the Exhibition, we wanted to bring out a publication which would have served as a kind of an appraisal of Indian anthropology today, — an assessment, in simple style, of the state of anthropology in the country, rather an inventory of our knowledge of anthropology. Here, we did not succeed; the nation was passing through a trauma because of the Gulf War..., and there was a breakdown in communication...; and several other handicaps. What became possible finally are embodied in this publication, *Anthropological Research, and Tribal Situation*. It is in three Parts. Part I, Remembering the Great Masters, makes an attempt to dwell on the Ethnography in Kerala. There is a paper by the Editor on Anthropological Research in India, and there are as many as six papers on Ananthakrishna Iyer and his contribution to anthropology with reference to Kerala, and Karnataka (old Mysore State), and a brief paper each on the works of L. A. Krishna Iyer and A. Aiyappan. Together they had enriched anthropological literature in South India since the early years of this century. Indeed, Ananthakrishna Iyer was a scholar who had pioneered field research, who had brought a sense of urgency and commitment to his work, and who had developed a methodology of

sustained, systematic observation. To all his field observations, he had brought the techniques and training of a life-long note-taker. His surveys among the castes and tribes were of a wide-ranging nature. He was also the first to popularise anthropology, and was also the first Teacher of anthropology in the first university in India to establish a Department, viz., Calcutta University, way back in 1920. Scholars from different parts of the world have lauded his contributions to Human Science. K. S. Singh's paper, titled "Ethnography of Ananthakrishna and Its Relevance", is an important one, since with reference to Kerala and Karnataka it compares the "framework" and content of ethnographic surveys undertaken during Ananthakrishna Iyer's days and the Anthropological Survey of India's "ethnographic survey of the country as a whole" under the "People of India" Project launched in October 1985. Pointing out that the two ethnographic surveys show both continuity and change, Singh has observed that Ananthakrishna Iyer's "contribution as a pioneering ethnographer has stood the test of time". It was to honour the memory of such a great scholar that the public of Palghat had decided in 1978 to establish an institution which would not only "perpetuate his memory", but also "popularise the discipline of anthropology and the other basic social sciences." In fact, C. M. Sundaram, ex-AICAS Chairman, points out, in his paper "Role of Anthropology, and Objectives of AICAS," that a number of foreign and Indian anthropologists had extended their support and cooperation in the establishment of the institution which was named after Iyer, — the *L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer International Centre for Anthropological Studies* (AICAS, for short). His paper briefly spells out the Aims and Objectives of AICAS, and what it has been saying and doing since it formally came into existence on June 30, 1979.

We have included in Part II six papers, two of them confining themselves to the anthropological collections in the Government Museum, Madras, and in the Trivandrum and Trichur Museums in Kerala. Kalyani Raj has, in her brief paper, dealt with the Macleay Museum of Natural History at Sydney University, its origin, growth, and development. This museum has, besides anthropological collections, a splendid repository of insect specimens which was the result of the nine-decade-long efforts made by three personalities, Alexander Macleay, his son William Sharp Macleay, and his nephew William John Macleay. There are over six lakhs insect specimens dating back to the mid-1700s, besides thousands of artefacts, historic photographic images, and some scientific instruments. It has been pointed out that during mid/late 18th century, Hardwicke used to supply insects to Alexander Macleay from India.

Ram Sharma's account of a museum in the making, viz., the National Museum of Man at Bhopal — the Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya (RMS) — is of current and topical interest, and throws light on the conceptualisation of the institution, and finalisation of the concept..., since RMS "will be the first museum of its kind to have a large component in the form of an outdoor display show within which environmental settings pertaining to differing periods through history and depicting the growth and development of Man are to be recreated. "Both the Indoor and Outdoor Museums are intended "to provide ample opportunities for cultural and educational pursuits."

But the most important paper in Part II is the one titled "Anthropology Museums — Their Role and Relevance" by R. S. Negi, former Director of RMS, who deals with the functions of such Museums in the Indian situation, and stresses their importance particularly "in the promotion of mutual understanding between different segments of the population, respect for other cultures, language, religion...and bringing about emotional integration among the different

segments of the population". Negi argues that the "most important" function of an Anthropology Museum "is to present an integrated history of the evolution of Man and Culture", as it can help in two ways—one, in contributing to "mutual understanding and integration" among the people, and two, in educating non-formally and making the people realise "that they are part of nature, and/or product of the Indian history and traditions". He has emphasised that there should be (a) Regional-level museums playing the role of what he has termed "feeder museums" to national-level, central museum, and (b) local/neighbourhood museums through diversification and decentralisation, so that they could cater to the much-neglected local communities. Negi has proposed a Model for organisation of an Anthropology Museum, and AICAS has plans to discuss this Model at the Symposium on the Relevance of Anthropology/Folk Museums in December 1991. We may also draw attention here to N. Harinarayana's paper which embodies his observations on Anthropology Museums abroad and their tremendous impact on human minds. There are over 1500 Anthropology Museums abroad, and we may put on record the fact that "anthropology has come to stay as a vital museum discipline, like art, archaeology, and natural history".

We may, at this point, also make an observation that the concept of a museum has been undergoing some change in recent years. Today, a museum has begun to "see itself as a powerful instrument of informal education, as even a kind of a cultural centre". In fact, over the last 20 years the definition of a museum has changed. In 1974, the ICOM General Assembly had adopted a statute under which a museum "is a non-profit-making permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for the purpose of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment."

The Section on "Tribal Weal and Legal Frame", which forms Part III of this publication, has five papers in all. Murkot Ramunny, who has spent over 25 years in the North-Eastern Region, makes a number of valuable points in discussing the role of applied anthropology in planning and development. A. K. Narayanan Nair, formerly of the Indian Forest Service, has pinpointed the dangers in the ruthless exploitation of forests, and K. Madhavan, former Member of the Central Water Commission, in "Water Management and Culture", has dealt with the factors affecting water management, including engineering techniques, and organisational issues with reference to the implementation of numerous small schemes using sophisticated technology. According to Madhavan, the mobilisation of suitable personnel may help in resolving the "social problems" which have come to the fore recently.

The problems of the tribal communities are many. Truth to say, there has been much shouting on tribal welfare since Independence, but the right frame of mind to deal with the problems facing the tribal population has been lacking. In fact, there is confused thinking in dealing with tribal problems. The idea behind Government's tribal policy has been that these simple folk should not be exploited, economically and socially, by the plainspeople. Murkot Ramunny has attributed the non-protection of tribal people from exploitation to the "lack of political will", and referred to the "non-use of anthropologists to help the administrators to understand the mind of the tribal people".

There is a straightforward presentation of the tribal situation today, and coming as it does from B. D. Sharma, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, his observations and conclusions are based on field material available to him, and hence are authentic and are entitled to serious attention and urgent consideration. He has drawn the attention of the

Supreme Court to the "non-implementation of the Constitutional safeguards" in respect of the Scheduled Tribes. Dealing with the "Scheduled Tribes and Legal Dissonances", he has referred to "violations" of the Constitution as well as even of "human rights", and to the "unjustified hardship and harassment at every step facing the tribal people". This rather "unhappy" situation has been attributed by him to the "dissonance between the legal frame and the basic tenets of the Constitution about equity and justice". He has pleaded for "a complete overhaul of the legal frame created by the alien rulers, in order to remove the consequent distortions and harmonise it with the Constitutional scheme." The major issues listed by him for urgent consideration include (a) the Excise Policy, and need to amend the Excise laws; (b) Forest Management, enabling withdrawal of all cases under various forest laws pending against tribal people in the Scheduled Areas; and (c) acceptance of tribals as owners of the Minor Forest Produce.

We would like to draw attention to another important paper by T. Madhava Menon, titled "The Man-Forest Interface". He has attempted a conceptual generalisation of the interface, besides indicating briefly the stages in the Interface, some of the transitional conditions which had necessitated "the spatial extension of the cultivated portion of the shifting circuit leaving less area for forage production, and increasing the frequency of crop-raiding by animals". He has dwelt on what would happen when crop-raiding becomes "an optimal survival strategy for wild life, especially elephants", and indicated what would be the shape of things if the trends as indicated by him were left "untreated". He adds that, inevitably, they will lead to the "settling of agriculture and the permanent destruction of the forest". He warns that diversification into commercial crops may reduce food availability for the community and open their economy to speculative forces. He concludes "that what was once forest inhabited by a simple manly, and noble population, however savage, will be turned into dirty townships like anywhere else in non-forest India".

We are thankful to the contributors to this publication for their prompt response, Any shortcomings which may be found are to be ascribed to the Editor's own deficiencies. The field of anthropology is quite vast, and it still kindles and excites the interest of those associated with it. I am reminded of what David Mandelbaum once told me during a meeting at Madras a few years ago. He had said that in all branches of anthropology, only the "preliminary explorations" had been done, and that "the deeper intellectual penetrations have yet to be achieved". As pointed out by him, the development of anthropology has been "so promising and the need for its contributions is so clear that great anthropological achievements should be reached by the oncoming generations of anthropologists".

L. K. Bala Ratnam

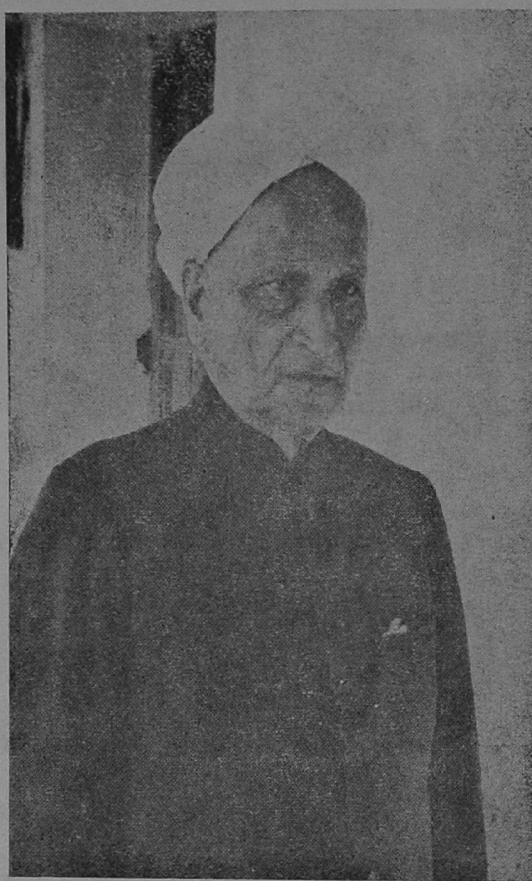
Palghat, June 7, 1991

PART ONE

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They Studied Man ...



Top Left : L. K. Anantha'krishna Iyer (1861-1937); Top Right : (Padma Bushan) L. A. Krishna Iyer. The year 1991 marks his Birth Centenary. Left : A. Aiyappan (1905-1988); Right : U. R. Ehrenfels.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

The Early Pioneers; Significant Advances in Recent Years

By

L. K. Bala Ratnam

“ANTHROPOLOGY helps us to understand better, and in whatever place or time we meet him, that wonderful creature, Man”, said Professor Evans-Pritchard, one of the brilliant dons at Oxford.

Anthropology is a very wide subject, and embraces “everything that has to do with humanity, — nature and works of man”. While on the historical side it touches prehistory, archaeology, palaeontology, and the study of ancient and modern culture, on the physical side man’s physical evolution and structural, Physiological and other biological factors are studied in what is known as human biology, or physical anthropology.

No New Science

Anthropology is no new science. The Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Chinese included the ways of life of foreign peoples among their scientific studies. Aristotle is credited with being the Father of Anthropology, and Herodotus, Polybius, Caesar, Strabo, and Tacitus have given excellent descriptions of foreign peoples.

While ways of life other than the European variety first attracted the attention of 18th Century European philosophers, 19th Century savants went to non-European communities in their investigations of the origin of institutions. This became a fashionable intellectual exercise in France and England beginning with the studies of Comte who coined the word “Sociology”.

The science has progressed tremendously in England and America during the past 90 years with the appearance on the anthropological scene of Tylor, McLennan, Frazer, Boas, Balfour, Haddon, Keith, Rivers, Malinowski, Radin, Marett, Hutton, Lowie, Radcliffe-Brown, Kroeber, and others.

Main Impetus

While India was well-known to classical writers like Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, and, later on, to Arabian travellers and geographers, of her people only those of the North were more intimately known. It was Herodotus who spoke of the “dark coloured” and “curly-haired” warriors of South India. Meiners spoke of two varieties of men (the Aryans and Dravidians) and mentioned a third group of whom Buchanan and Forbes furnished more notes.

Truly, anthropological investigation advanced very slowly. Interest in the study of man in the last few decades of the last century was sporadic. Dalton, in 1872, published his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, and it was from Bengal, there came the chief impetus to anthropological studies.

The Sarasins investigated the controversial question of the Vedas. The work of Harkness on the Todas of the Nilgiris was followed by the publications of Mateer for Malabar. Marshall, Hislop, Fryer, Shortt, and others. Jagor conducted the first scientific anthropological research among the Kanikkars of Travancore, and the Kurumbers. Fawcett, in 1888, published his monograph on the Savaras, and later memoirs on the Nambudiris, Nayars, and Kurumbers.

Ethnographic Survey

In 1889 - 90, Emile Schmidt made a survey of the tribes of South India, and Ceylon, and first discovered "that the linguistic groups in India do not coincide at all with uniform racial groups". Lopicque later studied the Vellalas, Parayas, and Cherumars.

Scientific interest began with the efforts of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland to persuade the Government of India to organise an ethnographic survey of the tribes and castes of the country. The survey was started during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, but it lasted only for a few years under Risley's command. Laudable work was done in the then States and Provinces, though the results, according to a few modern "Know-Alls", are "scrappy", "full of errors", and of "doubtful" sociological value.

In South India, the years 1901 - 1950 witnessed the publication of a number of anthropological works mostly by the State Governments concerned. Rivers published his account of the Todas in 1906; Thurston his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, seven volumes in all, in 1909; Ananthakrishna Iyer *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* (2 Volumes) during 1909 - 1912, and *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*, 1926, besides 4 volumes on *The Mysore Tribes and Castes* during 1928 - 35. In 1937, A. Aiyappan, a student of Malinowski, published his monograph on the *Social & Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar*, in which he tried to apply some of the teachings of the functionalistic school, and in 1942, a monograph on *Iravas and Culure Change*. L. A. Krishna Iyer published three volumes on *The Travancore Tribes and Castes* (1937, 1939, 1942), and one volume on the *Coorg Tribes and Castes* (1948).

Among important publications from around the 'fifties are the *Kadar of Cochin* by U. R. Ehrenfels, *Religion & Society Among the Coorgs* by M. N. Srinivas, and Aiyappan's *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village*, and *Kurichiyas*, and L. A. Krishna Iyer's *Social History of Kerala* volumes, besides P. R. G. Mathur's *The Mappila Fisherfolk of Kerala*. Work in Physical anthropology was also undertaken in South India by the Iyers and by Aiyappan, though additions have been made by Eickstedt, Guha, Macfarlane, and others.

These years also witnessed the publication of a number of books on the tribal peoples in the North .., notably by J. H. Hutton and J. P. Mills in Assam; Sarat Chandra Roy and L. P. Vidyarthi in Bihar; D. N. Majumdar in Uttar Pradesh, Verrier Elwin in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, Crooke in Punjab, R. E. Enthoven in Bombay, Russel and Hiralal, F. J. Richards, K. P. Chattopadhyaya, S. C. Dube, T. N. Madan, F. G. Bailey, and Mrs. Irawati Karve.

Attitude of Politicians

But the work done in the anthropological field, and the interest aroused has so far been "largely personal", and somewhat "haphazard". The attitude of politicians is not understandable. It is stupid to attempt to suppress information about tribes going abroad. The Uralis of Travancore have a saying that "when the elephants vanish, the line of Maharajas will also vanish". When this information was published in a British Journal, in the early forties, it caused a little furore in Travancore Government circles.

A National Asset

India has a population of 40 million tribal people, and there is no reason to be ashamed of them. We have hitherto considered them as a "national problem", but, I would say, they are a *National asset*. Tribal backwardness is a part of the general economic distress and backwardness of our masses. Under the Constitution of India, which came into force in 1950, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are entitled to receive the special attention of the Central and State Governments. This document provides a number of safeguards in order to take care of the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and to ensure that they are protected from any kind of exploitation. But this has not been so. Elsewhere, in this publication, the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Mr. B. D. Sharma, has drawn attention to the "violations" of the Constitution and of human rights, and pointed out that the main reason for this situation had been "the dissonance between the legal frame and the basic tenets of the Constitution about equity and justice". How the tribes are led or misled by interested politicians will be also understood from the manner in which they voted in some areas during the last three or four General Elections.

Undoubtedly, there is need for accurate knowledge of all tribal affairs..., of tribal institutions, tribal education, tribal law, and arts. Not long ago, it was hotly discussed whether anthropological and sociological research studies should be permitted as a part of tribal welfare work. This misunderstanding is due to a feeling that research and welfare are separate compartments of human activities which are not capable of coordination.

The great variety of racial types, the various world religions found in India, and the co-existence of cultures provide ample scope for anthropological studies. Such studies would bring not only a correct understanding of one's own culture in relation to other cultures, but also adequate anthropological knowledge which would help in framing legislative measures for tribal uplift, marriage, divorce, etc.

Writing in the 'fifties, and, sixties, I had suggested that a Five-Year programme should be chalked out by the Government of India, to collect scientific data of tribal life in the different regions of India, because all sorts of forces were at work, and changes were occurring rapidly among the tribes. It was further suggested that as the Anthropological Survey of India could not shoulder the task alone, the ASI should seek the co-operation of Professors and Lecturers of Anthropology, and Sociology, in universities and also of other trained anthropologists and investigators, to join in the endeavour. This would help to find out and fix facts which might be helpful to social workers, besides providing a corpus of anthropological data. But it was only in 1985, thanks to the interest evinced by the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, that a favourable decision in this direction came to be taken to launch the "People of India Project", so that accurate information on

each one of the 5,000 odd communities in this country could be collected, and particularly on the impact of the development programmes, and the extent of interaction between communities.

Linguistic Anthropology

The establishment of the Social Sciences Association (SSA) in Madras in 1952 (and of which A. Aiyappan was the President and myself the General Secretary till 1965) provided a forum for presentation and discussion of anthropological and sociological problems, and of research projects in progress, and to be undertaken, in this country. The first All-India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists, convened by SSA in Madras, in 1954, was attended by distinguished scholars from India and abroad, and it also provided an opportunity to both anthropologists and sociologists to discuss common problems and to exchange ideas. Very appropriately the conference stressed the importance of the study of social sciences as India was then passing through many changes in her socio-economic and cultural life. The presence of American and British anthropologists at some of the regular meetings of the SSA, and my discussions over the years with a number of anthropologists Milton Singer Robert Redfield, David Mandelbaum, Aiyappan, (Mrs) Karve, N. K. Bose, Verrier Elwin, Ehrenfels, and others, have given me considerable insight into several of the problem areas. If we have to understand culture in all its details, linguistic anthropology needs to be encouraged in the universities, and provision made for its teaching. It is claimed that in linguistics, the development of descriptive, structural methods of analysis and of "lexico-statistics" has given us much new knowledge about the nature of different languages and their genetic relationships. Stress needs to be laid on the teaching of field research methods, and proper coordination of anthropological researches, though there was not much likelihood of work done by various bodies overlapping each other as India, indeed, is a vast country, with varied problems.

Advances in Anthropology

No doubt, Anthropology has been making several significant advances in practically all its branches. In Physical Anthropology, new discoveries about the evolution of early Man and about population genetics are transforming our ideas about the relations of biology, race, and culture. In Archaeology, the change in method and aims from "treasure hunts"...to inter-disciplinary, scientific study of "agricultural and urban revolutions" is beginning to reveal how early civilisation started and spread in several independent centres in the Old and in the New World. In Social Anthropology, intensive field studies of the social structures of the simpler societies have encouraged the extension of similar methods to modern nations.

Study of Indian Civilisation

The study of Indian civilisation has in the past made important contributions to these developments in the progress of anthropology, at least indirectly. In the growth of "Oriental Studies" are to be found the seeds of modern linguistics, comparative religion, and mythology, and comparative law and social institutions, — in fact, several of the core disciplines of modern anthropology. The books of Rivers, Thurston, L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, of Risley and S. C. Roy, among many others, were pioneer contributions to ethnography and ethnology, and they laid the ground work for later social anthropological studies.

En passant it may be stated that one of the first social anthropological studies was Radcliffe-Brown's study of the *Andamans*.

Research Opportunities

But these contributions of the past are likely, in a sense, to be overshadowed by contributions resulting from the application of the new methods and theories of archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and social anthropology to the study of Indian civilisation. The opportunities for anthropological research in India are probably greater than elsewhere because of the great continuity and variety of Indian civilisation. Problems for research include history of early man in India, origins of agriculture, first cities, India as a single linguistic area, and continuity and unity of Indian culture. The International School of Dravidian Linguistics (ISDL), Trivandrum, has taken up a project, preparation of material for an Encyclopaedia on "Dravidian" Tribes, "in order to summarise what has been published already for the benefit of the academic world". The ISDL's scope, according to its Director, "is both more limited in that it attempts to include only the tribal groups speaking 'Dravidian' languages, and more complex in that the coverage attempted is of greater variety of cultural features of which language is a key, apart from inclusion of at least two communities (Brahui and Veddah) who are not Indians". The effort of ISDL has been regarded as "complementary" to the work of the Anthropological Survey of India in its "People of India" project. In this context it may be proper to avoid any discussion of "Aryans vs. Dravidians" as the question is haunted by ghosts of, shall I say, discredited 19th century racial theories.

One field in which the research opportunities have begun to be realised, is that of social anthropology. The village studies carried out by social anthropologists after Independence have provided much useful information about village social structure and its relation to religion, political and economic organisations, social mobility, etc. Such information is indispensable for all practical programmes aiming at village development and change. But these studies, and related social anthropological studies of towns and cities, are also extending our understanding of the social structure of a civilisation, and of its relations to the processes of cultural growth and unification. In that way, the application of social anthropological methods to the study of Indian civilisation is building "a bridge between the microscopic perspective of the little community and the telescopic perspective of the great civilisation". And in that way, too, a new science — a comprehensive anthropology of civilisations — is being created.

Finally, it has to be stressed that anthropological studies cannot be complete without our universities taking greater interest in them. All Indian universities, which at present have no separate Departments of Anthropology and Sociology should start such departments, and encourage studies and research. At one stage, foreign researchers at work among Indian tribal people were far more in number than Indian research scholars and students. India cannot and should not ignore the importance of anthropology as the composite science of human progress and welfare.

L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER

Scholar who Pioneered Field Research in Cochin & Mysore

By

Ajit K. Danda & Satybrada Chakrabarti

AMONG THE PIONEERS, to whom goes the credit of shaping up the nature of ethnographic studies in contemporary India, L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is one of the foremost. His oft-quoted two volumes on the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* (1909—1912) are considered as the major trend-setters in this respect. In fact, among various contributions made by the Indian scholars, his two sumptuous volumes stand out distinctly and are, by and large, considered as classics in Indian Ethnography. It may not be out of place to put on record here that the personal career of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer was in no way less attractive than his accounts on various aspects of life and tradition in South India.

Born in an orthodox Tamil Brahmin family of Lakshminarayanapuram village in the Palghat District of Kerala in 1861, Ananthakrishna had an early exposure to the Sanskrit tradition. His father, Krishna Iyer, was a well-known scholar in Sanskrit. Ananthakrishna's love for and dedication to serious academic exercise was, therefore, natural to him.

After successfully completing his Matriculation Examination from the Palghat High School in 1878, Ananthakrishna joined the Kerala Vidyasala, which later came to be known as the Zamorin's College. Immediately after his graduation in Natural Science at Madras University in 1883, he joined the Land Settlement Department of the Madras Government at Wyanad. In 1890 he gave up that job to join the Victoria College of Palghat as Science Teacher. Later, he became the Headmaster of a missionary school at Changanacherry in the then State of Travancore. Ananthakrishna also had the experience of working as a Science Teacher in the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam. It was during this assignment that, in 1902, Ananthakrishna started his ethnographic work of Cochin State that culminated into the celebrated volumes of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*.

Ananthakrishna had a brief tenure as the Deputy Inspector of Schools in Cochin State. This, in turn, was followed by entirely different kind of assignments like Curator of the Cochin State Museum and Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens. In fact, it was his dedication and devotion to work, that attracted the attention of the then Dewan of Cochin State, Sir Albion Banerjee, who asked him to organise the Zoological Gardens and the Museum. Ananthakrishna's capacity for acquisition of fresh knowledge and his capability and power of successfully utilising them thus led to the development of two very exceedingly interesting institutions. The museum developed by Ananthakrishna at Trichur in particular, still stands out distinctly among the small museums of India.

Monumental Contributions

Ananthakrishna's reputation as a scholar *par excellence* spread all over. His extraordinary capability, background, and devotion to work attracted the attention of

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, who in 1920 invited Ananthakrishna to join as a Lecturer in Anthropology and Ancient Indian History and Culture —, a position that he had held till 1932-33. It was during his lectureship in the University of Calcutta that Ananthakrishna completed his four-volume publication on the *Mysore Tribes and Castes* published during 1928 - 35. These four volumes are considered as monumental contributions to the descriptive ethnography of what is now Karnataka.

The outstanding contributions made by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer earned him many rare distinctions. He presided over the Section of Ethnography of the Indian Science Congress Association in its very first session in 1914. He was a Foundation Fellow of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore, and of the National Institute of Sciences, Calcutta. He was also elected the Vice-President of the Indian Institute of Anthropology. Ananthakrishna became the Corresponding Member of a number of scientific bodies in the United States of America and Europe.

In connection with his academic lectures Ananthakrishna visited London, Cambridge, Rome, Florence, Paris, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, Breslau, Konigsberg, Halle, Bonn, Cologne, and several other academic centres of Europe. Everywhere he could make a lasting impression of his scholarship.

As a mark of recognition of his valuable contributions Ananthakrishna was conferred Rao Bahadur in 1921, and Dewan Bahadur in 1935. He was also appointed Officier d'Academie, Paris, by the President of France. He received an Honorary Doctorate Degree from the University of Breslau. The University of Florence decorated him with a medal. The last two rulers of the Cochin State also awarded two medals to Ananthakrishna for the valuable services rendered by him to the State.

L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer passed away on 26th February, 1937. With him, came the end of the tradition of ethnographic research in contemporary India. In the Obituary of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer published in the *Current Science* of March 1937, Dr. B.S. Guha had observed:

“... By his death India has lost a distinguished Indian who made important contributions to our knowledge of the habits and customs of the primitive tribes of India and on some of which he was the acknowledged authority...”

Professors A. C. Haddon and F. J. Richards while paying their homage to L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer wrote in *Man* in June 1937:

“...His learned work on the tribes and castes of Cochin with its wealth of detail, earned for him a well-deserved reputation among British, European, and American ethnologists, which was enhanced on the publication of the equally valuable record of the tribes and castes of Mysore. His book on the *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*... is of great interest and broke new ground...”

Ananthakrishna has five books and 11 published research articles to his credit. Among them, as already indicated, the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* is in two volumes, and the *Mysore Tribes and Castes* is in four volumes. Besides, he was a regular contributor to the Indian Science Congress Association meetings. They amply demonstrate the extraordinary range of academic interest that Ananthakrishna had. Details of bibliographic information of his publications are added here.

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IDLE WOMANPOWER

That three million educated women in India remain idle in their homes is a startling revelation. What is more revealing and perplexing is the increasing rate of under-employment among educated women. It is impossible to believe that as many as 20,000 women M. Sc.s are among the unemployed fraternity in India. A national register of unemployed educated women should be prepared and help extended to, the State Governments by providing them with the required unutilised talent. — from *Mail*.

ALL ABOUT ANANTHAKRISHNA'S FOREIGN TOUR

Visits to Museums, & Meetings with Celebrated Anthropologists

L. K. ANATHAKRISHNA IYER had a large number of friends amongst the leading anthropologists in England and other European countries. He knew them through correspondence over many years, and often had felt like meeting them to get to know more about their work in the different fields of anthropology. The finest hour for that did come after his retirement from the University of Calcutta in 1933. A programme of lectures was arranged for him by his friends in England and Europe, and Ananthakrishna, though he was then 73, promptly responded to the invitations.

Leaving Bombay on April 23, 1934, by *Conte Rosso*, the Italian Lloyd Triestino Steamer, Ananthakrishna arrived in Brindisi on the evening of May 4, and stopping there for a night, he continued the journey by train to Naples. An extract from his Diary reads thus —

"...The train is more of the Shoranur-Ernakulam type, but faster. The scenery on both sides is one of hills and dales covered with olive, fig, and other fruit trees with vineyards and rice fields. Wheat is also cultivated..."

Arriving in Naples on May 5, he saw Gioachino Sera of Ordinario di Anthropologia Nella R. Universita. On the following day, he went to see the ruins of Pompeii and "the wonders of the life of the people of 2,000 years ago". Leaving Naples on May 7, he arrived in Rome where he met Gueseppe Tucci of the Royal University of Rome, and also Sergi, Director of the University Institute of Anthropology. He was impressed by the large and splendid cranial collections and the instruments devised by Sergi for measurements, the rich collection of the Prehistoric Gallery, and the Ethnographic Gallery containing specimens from Africa, America, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Australia. Prof. Tucci had sent out 800 invitations in connection with Ananthakrishna's lecture on "Black Magic in India" on May 14. Many distinguished scholars and students of the university attended the programme. What Ananthakrishna saw in Rome and its environs left a deep impression on him, especially the old ruins, the catacombs of the early Christian era, the Tivoli, "the springs which beggar description", the new reclamation schemes at Littoria and Sabaudia, and the cathedrals of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Meeting with Cipriani

At Florence, on May 16, before a learned audience at the Institute of Anthropology Ananthakrishna delivered a lecture on "Primitive Culture in Southern India". The Vice-President of the Institute conferred on him the Honorary Membership of the Institute. The Rector of the Florence University awarded him on the following day, the Special University Medal in Bronze. Ananthakrishna enjoyed seeing the principal places of interest

in Florence, particularly the Cathedral and Cupola, and the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries. It was here that he made friends with B. R. Biasutti of the Department of Geography, and Lidio Cipriani of the National Museum of Anthropology, Rome University. Prof. Cipriani who on retirement from the Chair of Anthropology in Florence University joined the Anthropological Survey of India on a foreign fellowship, and worked on the Onges of the Andamans, had collaborated with Ananthakrishna in the latter's investigations in Coorg in 1935-36. The great Italian anthropologist, who was all admiration for Ananthakrishna, passed away in Florence on October 8, 1962.

Stay in Paris

Ananthakrishna arrived in Paris in the afternoon of May 19, and though he expected to meet his old friend, Sylvain Levi, the celebrated Indologist, at Sorbonne, he could not. It was the Whitsun holidays, and the city seemed deserted as most people had gone to the countryside. An entry dated May 22, in Ananthakrishna's Diary reads thus—

"...The last three days were very dull. There is no knowing how long we have to stay here...No acquaintance with anybody. The last three days were holidays..."

When the holidays were over, and Prof. Levi and other friends had returned, he had a busy time. He met Marcel Mauss, of the Anthropological Institute, and enjoyed his dry humour and caustic comment on men and events. Also, he met P. Rivet, Professor au Museum, in Rue de Buffon, Georges Henri Riviere, Sous-Director du Musee d' Ethnographie, at the National Museum at Palais de Trocadere, M. Bougle at the Sorbonne, and A. Foucher, Member of the Institute. He was impressed by the specimens arranged in the Museum of Palaeontology, and particularly in the Prehistoric Archaeology and Anatomical Galleries. His remarks on the collections in the museum have a special interest by virtue of the fact that he himself had to build up a museum at Trichur from scratch. He writes in his Diary as of May 26 —

"...Went to Palais de Trocadere Museo d' Ethnographie at 10 o'clock and saw Dr. P. Rivet, who took me through various galleries. There are special galleries for the specimens of each of their collections. We observed the specimens of the Sahara especially of the Turegs. Rock paintings of animals of the Bushmen and the others are very interesting, Mexican and Peruvian architecture, the images are also of interest. Head dress, masks, dress, bracelets, armbands, anklets, etc., are valuable. African specimens of the French Colonies, Tibetan collections, as also of the galleries and library containing a large collection of books afford ample scope for research to students of anthropology. The specimens everywhere are well arranged. Photographic collections are many and creditable..."

Ananthakrishna gave two lectures — one at the School of Indology at Sorbonne, on May 28, on "Caste in the Melting Pot", and another at the Institute of Ethnology, on the next day, on "Some Aspects of Primitive Culture."

Arrival in London

Leaving Paris on May 31, Ananthakrishna arrived in London on June 1. The Indian Students Hostel at 112 Grover Street was recommended for stay because of the prospect of good South Indian food, which more than made up for the modesty of other conveniences. Here, he met Denison Ross, of the School of Oriental Studies, Sir Albion Banerjee with whom he had worked when he was the Dewan of Cochin and later of Mysore, Mr. F. J. Richards and his wife, his old friends who had retired from India, A. M. Hocart,

and W. J. Perry, author of a famous book *Children of the Sun*. At Oxford, he was quite excited to meet another old friend by correspondence, R. R. Marett, of Exeter College, on June 7. He joined the Exeter College dinner in the Hall with the Rector, the Professors of the university, and the undergraduates. Thereafter he gave a lecture at the Pitt-Rivers Museum.

In view of the engagements to give lectures at a number of European universities from about mid-June to mid-July, Ananthakrishna had to interrupt his stay in England and proceed to Europe. He left London on June 10 for Vienna, covering the distance up to Ostend by boat and thence by train. The entry in his Diary runs thus —

...The sea was calm and the weather chill. Remained inside. Landed at Ostend at 8-30 p. m. Got into the train after the Custom House examination. The harbour seems to be an old one but has safe anchorage for ships. The land on both sides of the railroad is grassy. Grass is grown for hay to a large extent. The night was cooler, and rugs were necessary. Germany was reached in the morning and the scenery full of hills and valleys was more delightful. Many large towns were passed through while travelling in the train. After Germany we passed through Czechoslovakia and reached the Austrian border. The scenery on the way was equally fascinating. Finally, we reached Vienna where we were met by Baron Heine - Geldern,

Lectures in Vienna

In Vienna, the programme of activities was arranged by William Koppers, W. R. Schmidt, and Baron Heine-Geldern. They all regarded Ananthakrishna with the greatest esteem and respect, both for his achievements in anthropology and for the power of exposition. Heine-Geldern, who took him to the galleries of the Museum of Ethnology, drew his attention to some illuminated panels exhibiting several scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, and containing the likenesses of the gods and goddesses and kings and queens cut out in leather pieces and animated by strings and small sticks. The art must have been imported from India, but the Baron could get no confirmation of the survival of these in India. Ananthakrishna assured him that the art was indeed prevalent in India.

There was at that time in Vienna an interesting exhibition of folk dances. These were performed by people who, apart from those from Austria, had come from Alpine regions, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland. Ananthakrishna found these dances "interesting and delightful".

On June 12, Ananthakrishna read a paper before the Asiatic Society. The attendance was full, and included Subhas Chandra Bose. On the following day, he gave another lecture at the Institute of Ethnology. The visit to Vienna provided a unique opportunity for him to get to know about a number of institutions connected with anthropological work. He went to the Museums at St. Gabriel, and also saw the magnificent collections in the Museums of Prehistoric Archaeology and Natural History. Prof. Koppers presented Ananthakrishna a substantial volume in German, which was a translation of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, and went on to add that the work was so valuable that they had taken the liberty of translating and printing it, and years later he was now requesting the author for his permission!

With the Eickstedts

Leaving Vienna on June 15, Ananthakrishna arrived at Breslau (modern Wroclaw), where Baroness von Eickstedt had gone to the station to receive him. Baron von Eickstedt was Ananthakrishna's particular friend commencing from the time the former had come to India in 1925 and done a great deal of pioneering work in anthropology, studying about 80 castes and tribes and taking thousands of photographs, and measurements during a four-year stay. On return, the Baron had developed the famous Institute of Anthropology, and the Museum attached to it contained a rich collection of exhibits. Ananthakrishna gave a lecture at the Breslau University where the audience filled the hall. The University of Breslau awarded him the Honorary Doctorate of Medicine and Surgery (the Faculty of Medicine had then controlled the Department of Anthropology and Ethnology in the Continental Universities).

The Baron and the Baroness took him to visit the surrounding country and the agricultural farms. The drive to the Giant Mountains was particularly enjoyed by him because of the picturesque countryside, the cathedrals, the small towns, all connected by the magnificent autobahn. Ananthakrishna was indeed touched by the warmth of friendship shown by the Baron and the Baroness. The Baron was due to visit London for the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in July. So, they could meet once again in about five weeks.

At Berlin University

After leaving Breslau, Ananthakrishna went to Berlin where he had been invited to stay as a distinguished guest of the Berlin University in Harnack House. Here, in the same suite, Rabindranath Tagore and other eminent persons from several countries had stayed. Eugen Fisher, who was in charge of the Institute of Anthropology, was also the Rector of the university. Ananthakrishna gave a lecture at the Institute on the evening of June 22.

In view of an engagement at Koingsberg, Ananthakrishna decided to fulfil on his return the other engagements in Berlin, and left for Konigsberg on June 25, reaching the place in the evening. He had two lectures to deliver, one of which was in the Konigsberg University in the forenoon, and the other in the evening at the Institute of Indology. Both the lectures were very well attended by the professors, students, and research workers of the university. For the week-end, a visit to Rauchen on the Baltic Coast was arranged after which he left Konigsberg, and went to Halle-on-Saale where Lora Liebenam had arranged for his lecture. The Institute, of which she was President, had a remarkable collection of books relating to most of the Asian countries. At the Town Hall he was formally received by the Lord Mayor who showed him the various rooms of special interest, and gave him a souvenir. In the evening, Ananthakrishna delivered his lecture which was illustrated with lantern slides. Liebenam also arranged for him a motor trip to Leipzig after which Ananthakrishna returned to Berlin.

Visits to Museums

The next six days were spent in Berlin seeing the rich galleries of the museums, and visiting Potsdam. The second lecture at Berlin was delivered on July 4. He met Walt Schmidt at the Anthropological Museum. The Indian Students invited him for a party in the

evening, and he addressed them on "Indian Culture". At Munich, he met Tier Felder of the Indian Institute, T. Mollison who was handling Anthropology, Sherman who was handling Ethnology, and Oetl, the great Indologist. He greatly enjoyed the visit to the Science Museum. From Munich he travelled by train through the industrial towns to Heidelberg where Heinrich Zimmer, the great Indologist, took him round the university and the Institute of Indology, and the famous Schools. He also saw the magnificent scenery presented by the valley of the Neckar. The train journey from Heidelberg left an indelible impression of the river on one side, teeming with boats, and of the hills and dales on the other side of the railway track.

Arriving in Bonn on July 11, he met Pohle, Director of the Institute of Oriental Research, who was his host. He delivered a lecture at the Institute. There was one more engagement in Europe — at Cologne, where he had to give a lecture at the Institute of Anthropology in Cologne University.

Meetings with Scholars

The continental tour over, Ananthakrishna returned to London via Ostend and Dover. He mentions in his Diary the kindness and unmeasured hospitality which he received during his German tour —

"...The German tour was very encouraging. Lectured in seven universities. The University Professors were courteous and hospitable. Got some of their publications. Returned with good impressions of the country and the people. Met also some students in some of them..."

The stay in London enabled him to meet several celebrated anthropologists, besides again his old friend, F. J. Richards. Those whom he met included Sir James Frazar, Havelock Ellis, and Mollison.

Ananthakrishna, who also visited Cambridge, was delighted to walk down the road seeing the various colleges, particularly the famous Cambridge Backs. After tea with the Haddons, he went along with them to the Christ Church College, joined the dinner in the Hall as a distinguished guest, and was introduced to the Professors of Cambridge University. The South Kensington Museum with its rich collections, engaged his attention for a while, and he spent some time discussing certain questions of common interest with K. de B. Codrington of the Victoria and Albert Museum. On July 27 he went to Toot Baldon, Oxford, and spent a day with C. D. Seligman and his wife, who was in her own right a distinguished anthropologist, and had lunch with them. The Horniman Museum was another institution he visited.

Back in London, again, he was able to see some of the sights and institutions there. He was intrigued by the diversities of oratorical talent in Hyde Park. John Kellas of the Scottish Churches Colleges, Calcutta, had also come to London with his mother for a holiday. Along with them Ananthakrishna went round to see Parliament. John Wilmot, M. P., was taking a group of young persons round Westminster House, and Ananthakrishna and his party joined the group and listened to interesting details of that great Mother of Parliaments. He enjoyed visiting the famous Madam Tussaud's Museum on Baker Street, and St. Paul's Cathedral.

London Congress

Ananthakrishna was looking forward to the meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which opened on July 30. At the Congress,

he found himself in the company of many outstanding anthropologists. His name was proposed to the Comite d' Honneur which comprised some of the most outstanding anthropologists like James Frazer, A. C. Haddon, Arthur Keith, R. R. Marett, and G. Elliot-Smith. Apart from this, he was also elected as Vice-President of two sections namely Section d' Ethnographie Generale, and Sociology. The paper he had prepared for the Congress was titled the "Agricultural Basis of Religion in South India".

The Congress opened at 10 a.m. on July 30. After the inaugural speeches, there was an interval during which he was glad to see, among others, most of the European anthropologists and indologists whom he had met earlier during the European tour. Ananthakrishna participated in most of the activities and functions arranged in connection with the Congress which ended on August 4.

The next few days were also devoted to seeing some places of interest such as Croydon, the Crystal Palace, the British Museum, and the Kew Gardens, and the inevitable bookshops.

Leaving London on August 9, he travelled through Dover and Calais reaching Paris the same evening. Changing over to the Orient Express train, France and Switzerland were crossed in quick succession. The glimpses of scenic beauties of the French Alps and of Switzerland that could be seen from the train as they flit across the window were unforgettable. Ananthakrishna notes in his Diary —

"...The scenery is grand. Every inch of ground is under cultivation. Saw the magnificent lakes on the way. Passed the Swiss border. Reached Italy and passed through various towns on the way and reached Venice at 5 p.m. The journey was pleasant throughout, but it was very warm during the day. Became very uncomfortable on account of the warm dress. Went in a steam launch seeing the streets. Very delightful. Saw the ancient Palace of the Doge and the Church of St. Mark..."

Departure to India

Venice enabled him to see something of the great historic city and to take the boat to India. Amongst the passengers travelling in the same boat was S. Radhakrishna, who was then his colleague in the University of Calcutta and a particular friend, and who later became India's President. Journey over the Mediterranean was quite comfortable, though it was hot over the Red Sea. As the boat approached Aden, the sea began to get rough. It was monsoon in the Arabian Sea. Because the sea was rough, there was some pitching and rolling. On one of the worst days Ananthakrishna went to the dining saloon for breakfast and remarked on coming back that there were hardly four or five persons having breakfast. Many had been confined to their rooms from sea-sickness. Radhakrishnan, who was also resting, expressed surprise that Ananthakrishna had been unaffected.

The boat touched Bombay on August 22, Ananthakrishna was back in India after a four-month-long foreign tour in which he was able to visit London, Cambridge, Rome, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Breslau, and several other academic centres of eminence. Wherever he went, he spoke freely on the topics of his lectures, drawing on the experience of a long and distinguished career, and, most important, he could make a "lasting impression of his scholarship". — *Compiled by L. K. Bala Ratnam and Others.*

AN EXAMPLE OF DEDICATED SERVICE TO ANTHROPOLOGY

Tributes to Ananthakrishna from Scholars, & Scientific Bodies

By

L. K. Bala Ratnam & Kalyani Raj

IN INDIA, we owe our knowledge of the life and culture of the Tribes and Castes to a select band of anthropologists who made their work a mission. Three names dominate the anthropological scene, — the names of Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer in Kerala; of Rao Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in Bihar; and of Dr. Verrier Elwin in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and the North-Eastern Region.

In Kerala, none knew the tribes and castes better than Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, and, no wonder, for many years Anthropology in this country came to be known as "Iyer's science", and as "Ananthropology". He accomplished so much that even in his lifetime he came to be hailed as the "Father of Indian Anthropology and Ethnology", a point which was reiterated by the Director-General of the Anthropological Survey of India, Dr. K. S. Singh, when he delivered the Third L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer Memorial Lecture under the auspices of the L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer International Centre for Anthropological Studies on "Anthropology, Planning & Administration", at Palghat, in May 1986.

Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was born of an orthodox Hindu family in Palghat (Kerala), and he received his early education in the local schools, completed his undergraduate course in Calicut, and later studied in the Madras Christian College where he came under the influence of Dr. William Miller, a missionary Principal, "whose contributions to the spread of higher education in India could hardly be surpassed".

Professional Career

L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer joined the Madras Government Service in the Revenue Settlement Office (1888 - 89), moved as Science Teacher in the Victoria College, Palghat (1890 - 97), and then joined the Cochin Education Service as Science Teacher at the Ernakulam College (later, the Maharaja's College) (1897 - 1908). In 1908, he was appointed as Deputy Inspector of Schools, though six years earlier, in 1902, he was made Superintendent of Ethnography of the Cochin State, in addition to his regular duties. During the period he was in charge of ethnographic research (1902 - 1920), the Government directed him to organise and develop a State Museum, Zoological Gardens, and an Industrial Bureau, and he was also appointed as Curator/Superintendent of these institutions. During 1915 - 1916, he was Special University Reader in Indian Ethnology, in the University of Madras, and he delivered a course of 10 Lectures. In 1919, he delivered Readership Lectures in Anthropology in the University of Calcutta, and in between he delivered a few lectures in the Baroda University.

Call from Calcutta .

While academic recognition was given to anthropology in England in 1883 when a Department was set up at Oxford, with E. B. Tylor as the first Professor, it took about four more decades for such a Department to get established in India. Even around 1900, Cambridge gave only circumspect recognition to the "new" science by having Dr. A. C. Haddon appointed to a Lectureship in Ethnology at £ 50 a year! It is interesting to recall that Haddon turned into an anthropologist in the last decade of the 19th century, and that while he (Haddon), W. H. R. Rivers, and Franz Boas had their training respectively in zoology, psychology, and physiological optics, they became anthropologists in the course of doing anthropology. They were also the teachers of those first anthropologists who became such in universities. Likewise, in India, L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer a zoologist (like Haddon) turned into an anthropologist..., and after sustained field work among the tribes and castes of Cochin for about two decades, had the honour of being invited in 1920 to organise the first Post-graduate Department of Anthropology in the first Indian University to establish a course in the subject, viz., the Calcutta University. Even though the University of Madras had organised a number of Readership Lectures on Anthropology by Prof. Iyer in 1915 - 1916, it however, lost its initiative to Calcutta, and the credit for giving academic recognition to Anthropology went to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh had the ability to spot talent, and he had invited three "masterminds" from the South, — Dr Iyer for Anthropology, Dr C. V. Raman for Physics, and Dr S. Radhakrishnan for Philosophy. It has been observed that in the field of anthropology Dr. Iyer ranks along with Sir James Frazer, Dr. Haddon, and others as "one of the most notable of our founding ancestors".

Teaching generations of students..., Dr. Iyer realised early (to quote Dr. A. K. Mitra, formerly of the Anthropological Survey of India) "that the different branches of anthropology were to work in special fields, after which notes could be compared. Hence (Dr Iyer's) cooperation with men like Eickstedt and Cipriani which led to brilliant results..."

"First-rate Genius"

A Note about Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer in the *Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences* (Volume, V, No. 6, Section B, 1937, pages 341-356) had stated—

"After a distinguished career as Science Teacher at the Ernakulam College, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer in whom the Government of Cochin had recognised some of the lineaments of the future anthropologist appointed him to investigate the cultural and racial problems of the different communities inhabiting that small but extremely interesting State. Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer immediately found himself in his element and addressed himself to his task with his characteristic energy and enthusiasm. Though he was not provided with all the equipments necessary for his investigation, still this deficiency was amply supplied by his insight and his perseverance, and the results that he has accomplished under such circumstances have received great approbation from his European colleagues and friends. In 1908, his first contribution on the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* was issued by the Government, and later it was followed by a second volume. The publication of these two sumptuous volumes elicited the warmest encomiums from Dr. John Beddoe and M. Bougle who were impressed at once by the painstaking industry of the author, and the care with which a great mass of facts had been sifted and recorded in true scientific spirit.

Eminent scholars abroad, Edward Westermarck, Roland Dixon of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, E. B. Tylor, W. H. R. Rivers, J. Deniker, Sir William Crooke, A. C. Haddon, Father Schmidt, and A. H. Keane, among others, characterised the publication as a most excellent piece of work, and everyone wrote enthusiastically to him and to his Government. Scientific Journals, including *Man*,

Nature, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *American Anthropologist*, and the *Review of Reviews* and the daily Press in India and abroad were equally high in their praise. The *American Anthropologist* declared that the work indicated "first-rate genius", and remarked that it was "free from flaws which are found in other books of similar nature...", and that the information is well digested and presented in an agreeable form". The journal maintained that the "superiority of Ananthakrishna's work is partly due to the fact that he is a native of Southern India and partly due to his greater performance and the patience he has shown in the volume..." Sir Herbert Risley, the architect of the nationwide ethnographic survey, admired Ananthakrishna's resource and capacity for describing the different customs and manners of the people whom he studied.

On the conclusion of his anthropological studies, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was deputed to organise a Zoological Garden and Museum for the Cochin State, and although he was entirely new to this branch of knowledge, still his capacity for acquisition of fresh knowledge and his power of utilising it were responsible for the creation of an exceedingly interesting Institute in Trichur, whose popularity and educational value in the collection and arrangement of the exhibits attracted the notice of the Government as well as of the foreign visitors to the State. By 1913, the reputation of Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer as a first-rate anthropologist was established and his place among the leaders of science was secured. The University of Madras appointed Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer as Reader to deliver a series of lectures in Ethnology (and this was followed by Special Lectures in the Universities of Calcutta and Baroda).

During the eight years from 1912–20, Dr. Iyer was engaged in further studies on the people of Cochin. The original plan was to complete the Cochin Survey in three volumes, the last one being devoted to an Anthropometric enquiry. This was interrupted by an independent investigation on the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The monograph bearing the same name was published by the Cochin Government Press in 1926 after Dr. Iyer's retirement from the State.

Field Work with Students

In 1920–21, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was invited by the University of Calcutta to accept the post of Lecturer in Ethnology to conduct Postgraduate work in the subject, and also to organise the Anthropological and Ethnological Department. It is worthy of mention that the Calcutta University at that time had developed a remarkable atmosphere for research activities, and the men who headed its different departments were great names, such as B. C. Ray for Chemistry, Ganesh Parasad for Mathematics, D. R. Bhandarkar for Ancient Indian History and Culture, C. V. Raman for Physics, and S. Radhakrishnan for Philosophy. Dr. Iyer remained Head of the Department and the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Anthropology till his retirement in 1932–33. Even here his activities were never confined to one place or locality; after the lectures of the usual sessions he took the students to backward tracts to train them in field-work and practical investigations.

In 1924, the Government of Mysore appointed him Officer-in-charge of Ethnographic Survey, which he used to carry on during his long vacation. His work in Mysore comprehended a critical survey of 104 tribes and castes published in four superb volumes, most beautifully written and illustrated. These four volumes to which prefaces and introductions were contributed by European savants, Dr Baron Egon von Eiseckstedt, Dr. R. R. Marett, and others, will always remain a monumental contribution to the descriptive science of South Indian Anthropology, and should provide the basis for future anthropologists for further investigations. In the first volume, which was curiously published last, he adopted a more extended canvas and discussed in great detail the ethnology of Mysore in the South Indian setting. It might be regarded as one of the finest and most exhaustive treatises on South Indian Ethnology".

State Govt's Tribute

The State of Cochin had paid a handsome tribute to Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, and a *Gazette Extraordinary*, in 1920, had referred to his valuable services appreciatively thus —

"...The Government desires to place on record their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, during his 23 years' service. His work in the field of Indian

Ethnology is known throughout India and Europe and has brought honour not only to himself, but also to the State under which he was employed..." (quoted from *Biographical Memorials of Fellows*, Volume III, Page 19, Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi),

During the period of his association with the Calcutta University (1920 - 1933), Dr. Iyer was at the pinnacle of his career, and he strove hard to make anthropology popular in the country. Referring to this, Dr. Haddon and Mr. F. C. Richards, I. C. S., (Mr. Richards was greatly interested in the study of South Indian Prehistory), wrote in *Man*, the monthly journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (June 1937) —

"...No Account of Dr. Ananthakrishna's work would be complete without a reference to his activities as a pioneer in the cause of anthropological teaching and research in India. Apart from his college and university duties, on all appropriate occasions of scientific gatherings, and when visiting the principal colleges of any new place or town he never missed an opportunity to talk on the value of anthropology to those interested in social matters... He also wrote a large number of papers on various anthropological subjects in scientific journals, in popular magazines, and in the daily Press..."

Dr. Haddon wrote that he had proposed Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer's name for the Membership of the Royal Society, and was grieved that he had passed away before this could come about. Among others who had proposed his name were C. V. Raman, G. Eliot Smith, C. D. Seligman, and Arthur Keith, Dr. B. S. Guha, the first Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, observed in the *Current Science*, Bangalore, (March 1937) —

"...During his (Iyer's) tenure in Calcutta University he successfully conducted several field trips with advanced students of anthropology, and published many important papers on the social and religious institutions of the peoples of India .. He made important contributions to our knowledge of the habits and customs of the primitive tribes of India and on some of which he was the acknowledged authority..."

As a teacher, Dr. Iyer was quite popular, highly respected, and in a communication to him (dated September 23, 1930), Dr. Eickstedt had observed —

"...Your admirable assiduity, your useful activity, your sound judgement and extensive knowledge are rendering you an ornament to every university, which may be so lucky as to have you in the ranks of her professors..." (Quoted in *Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences*, Bangalore, Volume V, No. 6, Section B, Pages 341 - 356).

The *Proceedings* had also referred to the "vast output of his scientific investigations and reports", and observed : "So great a capacity and zeal for a type of work which necessitated frequent travel mostly in out of the way places and dislocation of his ordinary habits of life is not easily matched".

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I. C. S., Chief Secretary of the Government of the then Bombay Presidency, writing a Note on Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer in *Nature*, London (No. 3525, Volume 139, May 22, 1937, Pages 871 - 872), had stated —

"... While preparing his final effort, in relation to Mysore, Ananthakrishna Iyer attempted a survey of the small State of Coorg on parallel lines ... As a founder member of the Indian Science Congress, Ananthakrishna Iyer endeavoured to popularise the study of anthropology ... In July 1934, he was present at the International Anthropological Congress in London when he read a paper on the "Agricultural Basis of Religion in Southern India" and directed attention to the somewhat inadequate provision made on the occasion for the consideration of the results of Indian ethnographical research. In January 1937, he presided for the last time over the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress Association held at Secunderabad when he dealt in his presidential address with his work in the Coorg State..."

European Assessment

It is difficult adequately to sum up within the limits of this Note Dr. Ananthakrishna

Iyer's contributions to Indian Anthropology. The influence of his writing on European Anthropologists has been profound, and on this aspect the Director of the Anthropological Institute and Ethnographical Museum of Breslau, Baron Egon von Eiekstedt, expressed the general opinion of the European Anthropologists on Dr. Iyer's works thus —

"All are unanimous in that India possesses in him one of the most careful, active, and assiduous scholars which ethnology can boast of in any culture or country. Accordingly one finds his name mentioned with appreciation in English, German, Austrian and Italian works. The great text-book of Father W. Schmidt — who first started the connections between the Mundari and Monkhmer peoples — is full of the results of his research work, and full of his instructive pictures from Southern India. This is the recognition of the fact that since long his works are considered to be a real storehouse of cultural and historical knowledge and are highly appreciated. We, therefore, not only honour him, but venerate him as the Father of Indian Anthropology and Ethnology ... Should there be any scholar really interested in civilization, history and cultural future of his country, who should not know and respect his name, the name of the Father of Indian Anthropology and Ethnology ?..."

Beyond question, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has an established position in anthropology. In the early decades of this century when the country depended on Western scholars for systematic studies of subjects such as anthropology, his own works showed the world that India was not lacking in talent in this field. Briefly put, here indeed was a self-made and dedicated scholar of Kerala, nay of India as a whole, who, despite the many handicaps of the era in which he lived that would have broken many a man, had persisted in collecting and collating a mass of ethnographic data with meticulous care. Though this in itself would be an imposing monument to his labours, what pertinently came to be acknowledged about him was the fact that his work "contributed substantially to the building up of a scientific tradition in modern India". His work opened a way to an understanding of social institutions, and his straightforward manner of presenting ideas, and great concern for fidelity to facts raised the status of anthropological research in the country. He put Kerala and Mysore on the anthropological map of the world, and this had resulted in attracting a large number of eminent foreign anthropologists to these States, in pursuing further research — an important development which had enormously contributed to the enrichment of anthropological literature in India. His volumes on Kerala and Mysore came to be regarded as classics, and, in the last 25 years, these have been republished in the U. S. A., and elsewhere in the "Classics in Anthropology" series.

It is a fact that in the last nearly six decades, many anthropologists and sociologists have drawn heavily on the data accumulated by him. Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has been regarded as the founder of field studies in anthropology in India, and it has been acknowledged the world over that his contribution to the growth and development of social and cultural anthropology had been the most outstanding.

BIRTH CENTENARY : A UNIQUE EVENT

In July 1962, the Social Sciences Association, Madras, organised the Birth Centenary of Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer jointly with the Government of India, the State Governments of Kerala, Tamilnad, Karnataka, West Bengal, and several leading universities and scientific organisations in India and abroad, including the UNESCO, and the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The Celebration Committee included eminent personalities and it was headed by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar,

Vice - Chancellor of the University of Madras. Those in the Committee included Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. S. C. Dube, Dr. M. N. Srinivas, Prof. K. P. Kapadia, Dr. (Mrs) Irawati Karve, Dr. P. Parija, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Prof. N. A. Nikam, and Prof. D. S. Reddi, besides Prof. Louis Dumont, of Paris. Prof. M. B. Emeneau and Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum, both of California University, Dr. Milton Singer of Chicago University, Dr. Ralph Piddington of Auckland University, and Dr. C. von Furer Haimendorf, and Dr. Verrier Elwin. The centennial function at the Museum Theatre, Madras, was presided over by Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and the Anthropology Exhibition which was part of the centennial programme, at the Government Museum, was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Tamilnad, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam. The proceedings of the celebration and the papers contributed by eminent anthropologists in India and abroad were embodied in a volume titled *Anthropology on the March* (ed. L. K. Bala Ratnam pages xiv+391, Illustrated, Manshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi - 55, 1963). It needs to be mentioned that the celebration of the Birth Centenary was a unique event, and tributes to Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer came from many institutions, and scholars, in India and abroad. A few excerpts :

UNESCO's Tribute

THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (UNESCO), Paris. — "UNESCO welcomes the opportunity of joining...in commemorating the centenary of the birth of Professor Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. On this occasion India pays a well - deserved tribute to a man who has been a pioneer in a science which has grown steadily from his time and has contributed a great deal to a better understanding of Indian culture. Your country owes much to Professor Iyer who has not only been a great scientist on his own, but who has left a tradition of high scholarship and of scientific integrity. In introducing the subject of anthropology in Indian universities, Dr. Iyer has been a precursor of a trend which UNESCO favours. If anthropology has played such an important part in creating a greater sense of tolerance and of human sympathy, it has found its inspiration in the achievements of men like Dr. Iyer, whose memory UNESCO wishes to honour with you". — Dr. M. S. ADISESHIAH, Acting Director - General.

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, London. — "The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is glad of this opportunity to be associated with the centennial celebration of the birth of Professor Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. The past sixty years have seen the growth of the systematic study of anthropology in India. From the time of his appointment, by the State of Cochin, as Superintendent of Ethnology, the late Professor Iyer's contribution to this growth was both scientific in quality and substantial in quantity. His work on the tribes and castes of Cochin and on the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore marked a major step in the scientific study by Indian Scholars of their own peoples. This development was most properly recognised by the University of

Calcutta when, in 1920, it appointed Iyer as Head of its newly constituted Department of Anthropology, the first in India. His long tenure of office was marked not only by the four-volume ethnographic survey of Mysore, but also by a great number of thoughtful papers on Indian anthropological topics. His outstanding position in the field of Indian studies was recognised by many governments and institutions, including the Royal Anthropological Institute which elected him a Corresponding Member. The centenary of his birth is an appropriate moment to renew this recognition, not only of his research but also of the scientific spirit with which he imbued his many students. Their work is the best tribute to his memory." — I. SCHAPER, President.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS ASSOCIATION, Calcutta. — "Professor Iyer was a pioneer in researches in social anthropology in India, and his own contribution to the development of this branch of science has been the most outstanding. As the President of the Indian Science Congress Association, which stands for advancement of sciences including social anthropology, it is a pleasure to recall that Prof. Iyer had been actively associated with this organisation for a long time since its very inception, and the honour of presiding over the Section of Ethnology (now known as the Section of Anthropology and Archaeology) at the First Science Congress held in Calcutta in January 1914, went to him. He also presided over this section on several other occasions. To follow the example of this great anthropologist would perhaps be the most fitting tribute to him. We would send the most hearty good wishes from this Association on this great occasion". — Prof. D. S. KOTHARI, President.

THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE, Calcutta.— "I cannot omit to convey to you my deepest satisfaction that the pioneer and monumental services rendered by Dr. Iyer are still remembered with veneration. My late father, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, had collected masterminds from different Provinces of India to constitute the first teaching university of modern India. Dr. Iyer was one of that noble band..." — RAMPRASAD MUKHERJEE, President.

An Inspiring Teacher

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC AND FOLK - CULTURE SOCIETY, University of Lucknow, Lucknow. — "Although modern anthropological studies were introduced into India in the late nineteenth century, anthropology received recognition as an academic discipline only in the early 1920s when the University of Calcutta created the first University Department of Anthropology in India. One of the pioneers in the field of academic anthropology was L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. He was a research worker of the front rank, and an inspiring teacher. He was, in fact, one of the first teachers of anthropology in India. Among his many students was the late Professor D. N. Majumdar, Founder - Secretary of this society..." — D. K. SEN, General Secretary.

PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, DIRECTOR, ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Calcutta. — "Professor L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer was the Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University of Calcutta when I was a student

there in the postgraduate class in 1923. Even before I joined the university there was an occasion to meet Sir Asutosh Mukherjee who was then Vice - Chancellor. I was one of those who had suspended studies on account of the Non - cooperation Movement. Sir Asutosh told us with some amount of enthusiasm, how he had been trying to build up the Department of Anthropology in Calcutta by recruiting all the available best men in India. He had already secured the services of Prof. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and of B. A. Gupte, who had been a collaborator of Sir Herbert Risley, besides Ramaprasad Chanda.., so that there was already a galaxy of brilliant men under whose charge the Department of Anthropology had been taking shape. Prof. Iyer used to take classes in Durkheim's concept of society and religion, and thus rightly introduced us to one of the most fascinating thinkers in the field of modern anthropology. I can only recall the days of my study at the University of Calcutta with gratefulness, because of the presence of teachers of the stamp of Prof. Iyer, B. A. Gupte, P. Mitra, Haran Chandra Chakladar, and Bijay Chandra Majumdar, the philologist".

Dr. M N. SRINIVAS, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, DELHI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI, Delhi. — "During the course of my professional life I have had to study most of the writings of Ananthakrishna Iyer and I have derived much benefit and stimulus from them, My first book *Marriage and Family in Mysore* drew heavily on the data to be found in the four monumental volumes of the *Mysore Tribes and Castes*. When Ananthakrishna Iyer entered the field of anthropology in the first decade of this century, anthropology was undeveloped in India, and the facilities, resources and prospects which exist for anthropologists nowadays were non-existent then. It must have required singular courage and devotion to have started on a career of anthropologists in those days. That is why Ananthakrishna Iyer became a legend to subsequent generations of anthropologists. In fact, anthropology was jokingly referred to as "Ananthropology". It can be said with justice that the work and example of Ananthakrishna Iyer contributed substantially to the building up of a scientific tradition in modern India".

Indefatigable Labour

Dr A. K. MITRA, FORMERLY DEPUTY DIRECTOR, ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Calcutta. — "Indian anthropology, for which Professor Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer abandoned his career as a teacher at Ernakulam, is not a growth of Indian soil... Anthropology was introduced to this country by men like Risley, Nesfield, Ibbetson, Crooke, Russell, and Thurston in order to meet the needs of the British administration, and also owing to their scientific interest in the Indian people over whom they had to rule ... This created opportunities for men like Ananthakrishna. The subject created general interest, and men like Sarat Chandra Roy and Ramaprasad Chanda approached it from different points of view .. Ananthakrishna's work on the Cochin and Mysore castes and tribes bear witness to his indefatigable labour and attention to detail in his ethnological studies. Called to the University of Calcutta in 1920, and teaching generations of students as the Head of Department of Anthropology, he realised early that the different branches of anthropology were to work in special fields, after which notes could be compared. Hence his cooperation with men like Eickstedt and Cipriani which led to brilliant results ... "

DR. VERRIER ELWIN, ADVISER FOR TRIBAL AFFAIRS, NEFA, and FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR, ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Calcutta. — “Dr. Iyer was a fine scholar and a good generous-hearted man. Indeed one of the things that has always struck me about the great Professor and his family is the generosity with which they have always treated their colleagues. This spirit of kindness and cooperation has, for some time past, been rather lacking in Indian anthropology, but it has been a very prominent characteristic of the Professor and his descendants. The name of Ananthakrishna is a famous one in Indian anthropology and is regarded with respect and affectionate remembrance not only in India but in other countries. I count it a great honour to be associated in any humble way of this tribute to his memory”.

SIR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, VICE - CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, Madras. — “I am glad to associate myself with the celebration of the Birth Centenary of Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, to whom goes the credit of having been a pioneer in anthropological studies which he did a great deal to develop during his long period of service to anthropology. He has written a number of books and monographs on the subject with particular reference to castes and tribes of South India, notably in Kerala and Mysore. It is to the credit of the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee that Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was given an opportunity to continue his researches at Calcutta University. A distinguished alumnus of this University, his services in the field of anthropological study and research were recognised by anthropologists all over the world. I am glad that his Birth Centenary is being observed as a fitting tribute to the memory of a pioneer, and that a permanent memorial in the shape of an endowment will be instituted”.

Meticulous Guidance

PROF. SATKARI MITRA, Retd. PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY, BANGABASI COLLEGE, Calcutta. — “Iyer Saheb was an orthodox Brahman with the marks of his sect on his forehead and *Khandua* (cotton wrapper) on his shoulder. A lovable man with smiling face, speaking all the time English with distinctive South Indian accent, Iyer inspired the students with timely encouragement and meticulous guidance. He also invited the students to his Tollygunge residence, — the entire reading room seemed to be a big library and indicated how voracious a reader he was. He used to take classes on ethnography, sometimes on ‘Race’, specially Races of Africa with typical reference to Seligman. As an administrator, he used to encourage his colleagues to have extensive field trips with post-graduate students at distant places where the tribal groups lived in pristine conditions. Expeditions into Chotanagpur areas, North-East India, specially Manipur, were undertaken by the teachers as well as students of the Department. *Purum Kuki* (1945) of T. C. Das is a glowing example. This book has been appreciated by Needham (1962) and many other scholars of recent times. Some more tribes of North-East India were studied by Dr. J. K. Bose who in course of time was considered an Applied Anthropologist as he undertook the study of matriarchal Garos in respect of the law of inheritance, when Mr. Bell, the then Settlement Officer, was confronted with the settlement problem among the Garos. These works were, to a great extent, the product of guidance and encouragement from Iyer. He had many Bengali friends and

admirers (many of them were High Court Judges) who used to visit his house regularly or walked early in the morning together by the side of the river Ganga ...”

PROFESSOR L. P. VIDYARTHI, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, RANCHI UNIVERSITY, AND GENERAL SECRETARY, COUNCIL OF SOCIAL & CULTURAL RESEARCH, Ranchi, Bihar. — “As regards Dr. Iyer’s method of field investigation, he believed in staying in the field continuously for months, and he had an unusual knack of eliciting information from people belonging to any class of society, or profession. The friendly manner in which he used to talk about the domestic, family, or community affairs was an expression of his understanding and sympathy, and he could enter into the motivations and emotions of the persons in regard to their attitudes, views, and reactions. It was mainly because of his field rigours, his penetrating observations and sympathetic undertaking, that he could collect such rich and vast data in the three volumes on Cochin, and the four volumes on Mysore...”

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR, MINISTER FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS, GOVT. OF INDIA, New Delhi. — “...Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer’s name ranks high among the pioneers of anthropological studies in India, and many would recognise him as the first Indian who made a significant contribution to what is today becoming perhaps the most important human science. The passage of time has proved that his work is still of great interest to scholars throughout the world, and perhaps he himself would have wished for no better memorial than a study of *Anthropology on the March* (Ed. Bala Ratnam) by anthropologists from all parts of the world”.

Mr. V. V. GIRI. GOVERNOR OF KERALA, Trivandrum. — “... When the study of anthropology as a science was in its infancy, Dr. Iyer contributed greatly to its being laid on sound scientific lines and had indeed set the pace to many modern anthropologists. His outstanding and original work about the tribes and castes in Kerala is even today considered to be the “source book”..., in this field. The University of Calcutta rightly recognised his scholarship and had the honour of appointing him as the first Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University. By celebrating the Birth Anniversary of such an eminent anthropologist, we are not merely honouring an individual but the entire progress and development of the science itself. I wholeheartedly associate myself with the celebration and wish it all success”.

Dr. P. SUBBAROYAN, GOVERNOR OF MAHARASHTRA, Bombay. — “...Dr. Iyer was rightly described as the Father of Indian Ethnology, and it should give joy and satisfaction particularly to those who work in this field, that we recall with gratitude on this occasion the notable contribution made by Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer to an important branch of knowledge. I am sure Dr. Iyer will continue to be a source of inspiration to all who tread this path”.

Prophet & Pioneer

Mr. M. D. RAGHAVAN, ETHNOLOGIST EMERITUS, COLOMBO MUSEUM, Ceylon. — “...As I look back... I recall a day in my life, the memory of which has ever remained fresh in my mind. That was my meeting Dewan Bahadur

Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. It was the 1930 Madras session of the Indian Science Congress. Prominent as his name was, as the only anthropologist Kerala had then produced, I have not had an opportunity of meeting him earlier. At the Science Congress I had a paper to read on the Jain Kurumbars of the Wyanad Hills. The morning session over, Ananthakrishna came straight to me, with a genial smile, and expressed warm appreciation of my paper. That was my first paper, and I felt thrilled and gratified. On his asking me when and where I had carried out the study, I revealed to him that it was while on a tour of the Wyanad Hills with the German State Anthropological Expedition, under the leadership of Baron von Eickstedt...

"...Ananthakrishna was indeed a prophet honoured in his own country. To Anthropology in India, he was both a prophet and a pioneer... Indeed, it was Ananthakrishna's work that had led the way to all subsequent work in the anthropology of Kerala...An example of devoted and dedicated services to the cause of anthropology, he shone as a leading light to generations of younger anthropologists..."

Dr. M. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN, READER IN ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, Madras. — "... Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer made enormous contribution to South Indian anthropology during his 40 years of ethnographic work. His books have been the very primary sources to which anthropologists working on South Indian communities ever look for guidance and basis for further intensive researches. Dr. Iyer himself saw, while recording facts about tribal customs and institutions, that many changes were happening then in their ways of life. In his works not only did he describe the practices of some communities, but also brought out some of the physical characteristics of the groups he had studied. These writings helped to speculate on the problem of race in India among some scholars ... "

"... Indian Anthropology today has taken a new turn as a result of fresh innovations in techniques of research as well as developments of theory in this field. Still the vast storehouse of knowledge of the customs and manners of the various peoples and communities that has been so well built up by Ananthakrishna remains to this day the very foundations on which fresh approaches and advances are made in the sphere of social and cultural anthropology ... "

Establishment of AICAS

The public of Palghat, in 1978, decided to honour Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer ... and established a centre named after him — the L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer International Centre for Anthropological Studies (AICAS, for short) — to promote studies and research in all branches of anthropology. It is a non - profit Training - cum - Research Centre which was registered on 30-6-1979 under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. The AICAS has carried out a number of programmes during the last one decade including field studies on the declining folk - crafts of a few communities. In 1986-88, it took up a project on the Cultural Artefacts of Palghat District on behalf of the Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya, Bhopal.

The 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer came off on December 17, 1986. The AICAS had worked out a detailed celebration programme, in consultation

with the Government of Kerala. It also wrote to the Government of India in the HRD Ministry. The Department of Culture in the Ministry directed the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) to undertake commemorative programmes on its own, to mark the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. Iyer, and to have programmes organised separately in the University of Calcutta. It is a fact that, on GOI's advice, a few of the programmes envisaged by AICAS got deferred mid-way, owing to the then "drought situation", "paucity of funds", etc. The ASI was able to bring out a Special Number of its Journal, *Human Science*, devoted to Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer and his contributions to Anthropology. The *Man in India*, Ranchi, India's oldest anthropological journal, also brought out a Special Number with contributions from a few anthropologists. The University of Madras, on its own, organised a National Seminar in March 1988 to honour Prof. Iyer. The Seminar was devoted to the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Tribal Folk affected by Developmental Projects/Irrigation Dams, etc.

The AICAS and a few other institutions in Kerala had passed Resolutions/proposed that the GOI should bring out a postal stamp to honour the memory of Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, and these were transmitted to the Central Government. It is pertinent to refer to a communication dated September 6, 1986, of the Government of Kerala addressed to the Minister of Communications in the Government of India. The communication, signed by the then Chief Minister, read —

"...Ananthakrishna Iyer dominated the anthropological scene for nearly four decades from 1900, and accomplished so much that even in his life-time he came to be hailed as the Father of Indian Anthropology. From small beginnings, starting life as a Clerk in the Revenue Department, he rose to be Superintendent of Ethnography, Cochin State, and later was elevated to be Head of the new Department of Anthropology in the University of Calcutta at the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. He was the first Indian to head the first Department of Anthropology established for the first time in any Indian University. He had lectured in the Universities and anthropological institutions extensively in Britain, France, Germany, and Austria. During the closing years of his life, honours came in succession from the French Academy of Science and the University of Breslau. The Government of India conferred on him the title of "Dewan Bahadur". Many monumental publications stand to his credit. Several State Governments, Universities, and scientific organisations in India and abroad, including UNESCO, had co-sponsored the celebration of his Birth Centenary at Madras in 1962. It will be a fitting tribute to such an eminent son of India if a Special/Commemorative Postage Stamp is issued on the occasion of his 125th Birth Anniversary ..."

The then Vice - President, Shri. R. Venkataraman, and several others from Kerala had also written to the Minister. In 1987-88, the GOI brought out a philatelic series on the "Freedom Fighters" to mark the 40th year of Independence. It is to be hoped that a "Scientists Series" will emerge, and the proposal of the Government of Kerala in regard to honouring Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer will not go in vain, and may get done in 1991 synchronising with the 130th Birth Anniversary of the Father of Indian Anthropology.

RECOLLECTIONS & REMINISCENCES — I

By A. Ayyappan

ABOUT SIX DECADES AGO, when I began my apprenticeship to anthropology there were only three anthropological posts in India. Anthropology which began modestly in the museums of India, over a century ago, made rapid strides, so that it is now time to think of an anthropological tradition in India, for tradition is a sign of respectability.

Among the pioneers who built up an anthropological tradition in India — one of the leaders whom South Indians remember with gratitude — was Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who had the distinction of being the first full-time teacher of anthropology in the first Indian University to have a post-graduate teaching department. The late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, had the rare foresight to recognise the potentialities of anthropology, and to locate the best teacher then available in the field; and thanks to his acumen, Calcutta University led the rest of India in broadening the academic base of higher teaching and research. Conservative Madras which had a lead in anthropology at the beginning of the present century, under the enthusiastic Superintendent of the Madras Museum, Dr. Edgar Thurston, lost it to Calcutta.

Reckoned as Classics

The official recognition of anthropological research by the Government of India was largely due to the efforts of Sir Herbert Risley who inaugurated the Ethnographic Survey of India in 1901. In response to the directives from the Government of India most of the provinces and princely States appointed Superintendents of Ethnography, most of whom were members of the Indian Civil Service. In Madras, Dr. Edgar Thurston conducted the survey, assisted by Dewan Bahadur K. Rangachari. In the erstwhile State of Cochin, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who had a distinguished career as science teacher at the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, and in whom the Government had recognised some of the lineaments of the future anthropologist, was appointed Superintendent of Ethnography to investigate the cultural and racial problems of the different communities inhabiting that small but extremely interesting State. He immediately found himself in his element, and addressed himself to the task with his characteristic energy and enthusiasm. Though he was not provided with all the equipment necessary for his investigation, still this deficiency was amply made good by his insight and perseverance, and the results that he achieved under such circumstances have received great approbation from his European colleagues and friends. In 1909, his first volume on the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* was issued by the Government, and this was followed by a second volume in 1912. The publication of these two sumptuous volumes, reckoned as classics of Indian anthropology, elicited the warmest encomium from Dr. John Beddoe and Dr. M. Bougle who were impressed at once by the painstaking industry of the author and the care with which a great mass of facts had been sifted and recorded in true scientific spirit. These were followed in 1926 by a thorough study of the Syrian Christians.

Museum & Zoo

Even while he was in the midst of his anthropological studies, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was deputed by the then Dewan, Sir Albion Banerjee, to organise a Zoological Garden and Museum for the Cochin State, and although he was entirely new to this branch of knowledge, still his capacity for acquisition of fresh knowledge and his power of utilising it were responsible for the creation of an exceedingly interesting institute in Trichur, whose popularity and educational value in the collection and arrangement of the exhibits attracted the notice of the Government as well as of the foreign visitors to the State. This museum is even today one of the best among the small museums of India, and stands as a lasting memorial to its first Superintendent. When I first visited it in 1916, little did I dream that I would follow its organiser, enter the fascinating vistas of anthropology — the science of man — through its museological portals and turn myself into a teacher of anthropology, and have the privilege of associating myself with the organisation of his birth centenary celebrations in July 1962!

It was in 1920 that, on his retirement from Cochin Service, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was invited by the University of Calcutta to organise the Department of Anthropology. He remained the Head of the Department and the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Anthropology till his retirement in 1932-33. Even here his activities were never confined to one place or locality; after the usual lectures of the seasons he took the students to backward tracts to train them in field-work.

While engaged in his teaching assignment, Dr. Iyer was simultaneously occupied with the ethnographic survey of Mysore. His work in Mysore comprehended a critical survey of about 100 tribes and castes published in four superb volumes, most beautifully edited and illustrated. These four volumes will always remain a monumental contribution to the descriptive science of South Indian anthropology.

Unique Services

Early in 1934, Dr. Iyer visited Europe, and lectured at a number of universities. He was honoured wherever he went. On his return, he was invited by the Chief Commissioner of Coorg to conduct an ethnographic survey of that interesting area which he did in collaboration with Dr. Lidio Cipriani of Italy.

Dr. Iyer passed away peacefully on February 26, 1937, at his village in Lakshminarayanapuram, Palghat. When I met him for the third and last time a few months before his death, he told me that he was keeping himself busy renovating his village temple. And from his grandchildren I knew that the old veteran was trying always to inculcate the discipline of systematic hard work which was the secret of his success.

I met Dr. Iyer first at Bangalore at the meeting of the Indian Science Congress where I was to read my first paper, and Iyer was the Chairman of the Section of Anthropology. He was as through with the rules of the Science Congress Association as with the problems in anthropology. There was no fuss, hurry, temper, or intolerance in anything he said or did, or in his gait. His concern for youngsters like me was a source of great encouragement to them. Academic squabbles were not absent then, too, but like the elephant he was calm and majestic.

Dr. Iyer had the widest possible international contacts with the leading anthropologists of Europe and America, and was an honorary or corresponding member of several learned bodies. His book *Lectures on Ethnography* is his main theoretical work. His own views on theoretical problems are scattered throughout his volumes on ethnography. It is, however, not as a theorist but as a sound ethnographer that Dr. Iyer will be remembered by posterity ... Future generations of anthropologists will be grateful to Dr. Iyer for the authentic, basic data which he gathered with meticulous care, and analysed and recorded without prejudice, and with the greatest objectivity. Kerala and Mysore are better known anthropologically than most other regions of India, thanks to his labours. We salute him for his unique services to anthropology.

The Joy in Working Together

The Community Projects are pilot-plants of the bigger idea of *gram kalyan* (rural welfare) ... Work is the essential gospel of the plan. The gospel of work was taught by Sri. Krishna in the *Gita*. It was the theme of all Gandhiji's teachings through the spoken word and in writing. ... When work is done by a few for the good of all, the task becomes a joy in itself. The water, the food and the roads are not all the fruits of toil. Above all, there is the joy that comes from association in a common task; it is like the *amrit* that issued from the ocean, when the Gods churned it. This joy can be felt only when men actually work together. The weavers weave each for himself; but when they all meet in the 'pavadi' (warping place) and each works for all, there is a fastive atmosphere and a joy, which even outsiders can feel. ... Success will depend on the spirit in which the people work and the officers guide and assist them. It is not a gift from the Government to the people. It is a plane of work for all the people including the officers of the Government and the members of the legislature, a plan of work for happiness wherein there is much joy — a joy which inspired men in olden days but which, in recent times, has almost been forgotten. The revival of this joy in working together and for the community's sake is indeed a revival of life. — C. R. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

RECOLLECTIONS & REMINISCENCES — II

By U. R. Ehrenfels

WHENEVER I HEAR the famous name of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, the Father of Indian Anthropology (after whom anthropology in India has even been nicknamed "An-anthropology"), I see the panorama of Vienna spreading out at the feet of St. Stephan's steeple with the densely forested Wiener Wald Hills closing in the western horizon. Conversely, when I was in Satara, towards the end of World War II, and read in an Indian newspaper that the Nazis had bombarded the capital of Austria, damaging St. Stephan's Cathedral, — the name and visual picture of the great anthropologist came to my mind ... This association of thoughts for a person who, like myself, has quoted L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer many dozens of times, is perhaps unexpected enough to warrant a word of explanation.

After my first trip to India in 1932-33, I had decided to study systematically the matrilineal social systems. I had come to think that the marked ambivalence in the attitude of people towards the "feeble sex" and the actual position of women in India called for an analytical evaluation which went deeper than the chains of causes and effects started in the Mughal period or thereabouts. I was conducting this study at the Institute of Anthropology in Vienna when a lecture by Dr. Iyer was announced one day. Before the lecture, and unaware of the fact that the Dr. Iyer was the very author of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, I volunteered to show the Indian guest around Vienna. I thought that by doing so I would, in a way, repay a bit of the debt of gratefulness I had contracted towards so many hospitable famous Indians who had gone out of their way to make my stay in their beautiful country enjoyable.

Fast Strides ...

Planning over what to show to our visitor, I included in the tour a climb to the top of St. Stephan's steeple; though not all Austrians are ever going up there, the couple of hundred steps, every one is proud of the view over Vienna which, he knows, awaits the courageous climber to reward him for his pains. In fact, I myself have many a time stopped under the high arches of the cathedral, but had never climbed the huge tower. When I saw the robust build of our guest, but also the signs of advanced, if vigorous, age, I wondered whether this object of my planned sight-seeing was at all suitable. But the unflinching energy of his fast strides almost took me, the much younger man, by surprise. I still did not know that he was the same Dr. Iyer who must have climbed so many steep mountains of the Western Ghats which I was to climb myself, later on in my life, and which I came to consider as my second, chosen homeland... Had I known of this identity already when we were looking around from the tower, I could have suggested a certain similarity between the setting of the scenery to that of South India: the flat, hazy plains towards Hungary in the East, like those of Tamilnad, and the wooded, mountainous horizons in the West, like the Ghats.

It was only during the learned lecture on "Magic and Superstitions in Malabar" that I equated the visitor with "my" much quoted and respected author. Thus I received valuable encouragement for my studies of mother-right in India and of the Western Ghats Highlanders. Little could I guess at that time how my fate was to bring me again, and again, in contact with the great Iyer and his family.

In 1938, my country was over-run and occupied by the Nazis. As an anti fascist I became an exile, but managed, under trying circumstances, to continue my work first in Greece, then in the Aegian Islands. I found there further indications for my hypothesis of a connexion between the Indus Civilisation and the western and southern countries. I discussed the matter in correspondence with J. H. Hutton, and he gave me the name of Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, the State Anthropologist of Travancore, to whom I addressed myself from Athens without suspecting in the least that he was the son of our reputed host in Vienna. Much later, in 1949, after my first intensive field-research among the Kadar, I was to take over the Department of Anthropology at the University of Madras² from the same Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, due to retire. Only then did I come to make the link between father and son. Still, life had one more Iyer - encounter in store for me, — this time with the third generation...

Whilst teaching in Madras, I noticed one year a particularly bright student whose eyes seemed somehow familiar to me. Upon inquiries the young man turned out to be Mr. Bala Ratnam, grandson of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer: true to the family's anthropological tradition, though in his case, the family title "Iyer" had been dropped and the name identification thus made more difficult.

Years of common anthropological interests followed for both of us when we served the Social Sciences Association together. We used to exchange views, sitting in the evenings on the cool lawns of "Chesney Hall" in Egmore, Madras. We talked of the society's business, discussed purely theoretical questions, but we rarely touched upon personal recollections of the past. In between such animated chats, I sometimes glanced towards the enormous panorama of imperceptibly moving stars above us. It was in such moments that I felt wondering at the queer affinity of things — or souls — which is there, quite apart from our ability to recognise or to know their connexions...

References

1. Dr. U. R. Baron von Ehrenfels, former Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, is a scholar of eminence..., and after retiring from the Madras University he joined the South-East Asia Department in the Heidelberg University as a Professor.

2. It is on record that the Madras University had recognised anthropology as a subject for the M. A. Degree Examination even before academic recognition was first given to anthropology by Sir Asutosh Mukherjee at Calcutta by the appointment of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer as Lecturer in Anthropology in 1920. He himself had given Readership Lectures in the Madras University in 1915-1916 and 1920..., and Edgar Thurston's lectures, too, used to be very popular.

ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY, & OBJECTIVES OF AICAS

By C. M. Sundaram

SINCE INDEPENDENCE, Anthropology has been making several significant advances in practically all of its branches, despite the lukewarm attitude of both the Central and State Governments to organisations established for the promotion of studies and interpretation of our social history and social structure.

Why do we consider anthropological information as important, and valuable? Firstly, the most important data for India's social history is provided by ethnography. From material which an anthropological investigator is able to collect, we are able to get insights into our social evolution, as also the social processes of the past. Secondly, anthropology is also useful as "a solvent of group ethnocentrism", and it has been rightly claimed that of all the professional groups in the country anthropologists "suffer the least from ethnocentrism".

It was in the early 'fifties, when I got involved in the problems of resettlement of tribes thrown out as a result of the establishment of the Malampuzha Dam in Palghat, that I became aware of the pitiable plight of these tribal folk. I got interested in the work of Mahatma Gandhi for the downtrodden, and also of Thakkar Bapa, and of several others. True, the Central Government over the years has evolved certain tribal policies, and attempted to implement them with the help of the State Governments, but, often, I have wondered whether the right frame of mind had existed, if we take into account what had happened in subsequent years at Malampuzha and at several places elsewhere in the country.

There are about 40 million tribal people in the country, and what is needed in dealing with their problems is hard realism based on genuine sympathy, as our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, often used to say. In the course of my welfare work among the Malampuzha tribals, I came to know of the valuable work of Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer among the different tribes and castes since the early years of this century, and of how he had espoused the cause of the downtrodden tribes and castes of Cochin and Mysore, and written about them. His encyclopaedic works on the tribes and castes, brought out by the State Governments concerned, are regarded today as reference books of value, and his Cochin Volumes have been republished in the U.S.A. and elsewhere.

Formation of AICAS

Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, an eminent ethnographer, belonged to Palghat, and in 1962, the Social Sciences Association, Madras, jointly with a number of leading Universities, the Central and State Governments, UNESCO and other international bodies, had organised the celebration of his Birth Centenary —, an occasion when scholars and

scientists from different parts of the world lauded his contributions to the Science of Man. Shortly thereafter, it had occurred to me, and to a few of my friends, that Kerala, where Dr. Iyer had toiled on a small salary, had not played its part in honouring this great scholar who had come to be hailed even in his life time as the Father of Indian Anthropology. The matter did come up for discussion several times among groups of people in Palghat ..., but it was only in 1978 that a decision was taken that an institution to perpetuate his memory should be established —, an institution which would popularise the discipline of anthropology and the other basic social sciences, and take up research and training projects of immediate relevance to Kerala and other States. No statue or monument was envisaged; it was felt that his publications alone would remain for all times to come as a standing monument to his industry and labours. In June 1979, the decision (to establish an Institution) came to be implemented after a thanksgiving visit to Dr. Iyer's ancestral house in the Lakshminarayanapuram Village..., and on the 30th of the month the institution named after him — the L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES (AICAS, for short) — formally came into existence. A training-cum-research centre, it was registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860, at Palghat, the birth place of Dr. Iyer. Initially for two years, AICAS was located in the Minerva Buildings at Chathapuram, and later it was shifted to a rented building opposite the Cooperative College in Olavakot. Since early 1990, it is located in Jyothi Nagar. AICAS has an elected Executive Committee of which I had been the Chairman during 1979-1988. In January 1982, I had nominated as Vice-Chairman Mr. L. K. Bala Ratnam, an anthropologist who has several publications to his credit. We were succeeded by Shri T. Madhava Menon, I. A. S. (Retd.), as Chairman (December 1988), and Dr. P. S. Sreenivasan, Senior Scientist, as Vice-Chairman (December 1989).

Objectives

It is important to mention that a number of foreign and Indian anthropologists have extended their support and cooperation to AICAS whose Aims and Objectives are —

- i) "To promote/propagate knowledge of, and foster interest in, Anthropology and allied sciences;
- ii) To revive interest in, and pursue/organise research on, the contributions of Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, the Father of Indian Anthropology;
- iii) To undertake and promote research in all branches of Anthropology, with special reference to environmental and societal changes on different communities;
- iv) To ensure the conservation of abiding values in different cultures by —
 - a) Training programmes;
 - b) Assisting/sponsoring students to undertake Graduate/Post-graduate studies in Anthropology and allied sciences; and
 - c) Undertaking Consulting work on behalf of Government Departments; Public/Private Sector institutions and Learned Bodies (like Universities); etc., in their interaction with specific communities;

- v) To investigate the scope for the introduction of Productivity techniques, like Quantitative/Mathematical Modelling, in relation to the administration of programmes aimed at the welfare specifically of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
- vi) To undertake Monitoring and Evaluation Services, if so requested by Governments or other agencies, or *suo moto* as a research project;
- vii) To establish Libraries, Museums, Laboratories, and Audiovisual Units, etc ;
- viii) To bring out Newsletters, Journals, and other publications as may be relevant to the above".

In the last nearly 12 years of its existence, AICAS has undertaken a number of programmes/activities, in the fields of training and research, and organised jointly with the Government of Kerala a National Seminar on "Anthropology, Tribal Development and Administration" in which a number of eminent anthropologists and others had taken part. In the field of Research, studies were undertaken of the declining folkcrafts among the Panans, Parayas, and the Kavaras, besides a study of the *Musaris* (Bellmetal artisans). With the help of Guest Faculty, training courses were organised in Sociology.

Demonstration of Craft Skills

During 1980-83, AICAS had sent selected craftsmen from Kerala to Delhi to demonstrate their skills in the manufacture of several traditional craft items. While the Panans and the Kavaras had gone in the first two years, in 1982, on the request of GOI, AICAS had selected and sent 30 Musaris who demonstrated their professional skills in the manufacture of a big-size (about 6 feet in diameter) *Charakku* (cauldron) at the Crafts Museum set up by the Government of India at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi. The then Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, and the Chairman of the All-India Handicrafts Board, Mrs. Pupul Jayakar, were among the distinguished visitors to witness these artisans at work. A film depicting the entire work was shot by GOI, and screened at the Festival of India held in the United Kingdom in 1984-85. In 1986-88, AICAS took up a project on the Cultural Artefacts of Palghat District on behalf of the Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya, Bhopal. The AICAS has also organised four L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer Memorial Lectures, — the subjects covered being Tribal Education by Prof. M. J. Rice, of the Department of Social Science Education, University of Georgia; Religion and Society among the Brahmins by Dr. B. N. Saraswati, Senior Fellow, ICSSR, New Delhi; Role of Anthropology in Planning and Development by Dr. K. S. Singh, I. A. S., Director-General, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi; and Development of Tribal people in the North-East Region and a few Lessons for Kerala by Mr. Murkot Ramunny, I. A. S. (Retd.), formerly Advisor to the Governor of Nagaland. More important, however, has been the establishment of an Anthropology Library.

In the background of the activities undertaken so far, and those envisaged for, the future, AICAS had requested the Government of Kerala, in March 1982, for allotment of land free of cost, for the construction of the AICAS Building Complex for accommodating a full-fledged Anthropology Library, Museum, Documentation Centre, etc. We are looking forward, hopefully, for an early favourable decision by the Government.

Finally, I would like to stress that the AICAS has plans to take up new lines of researches in the study of Man —, studies which are of immediate relevance to Kerala, and its neighbouring States. A knowledge of Anthropology is important for officials entrusted with the implementation of welfare projects, under the provisions of the Constitution, and a few training programmes to cater to them are expected to be taken up early.

Let me also stress that the popularisation of the science of anthropology in all spheres of human activities, as envisaged by AICAS, may contribute significantly to the improvement of group relations in Kerala and its neighbouring States.

On Punctuality, Loyalty...

Why are we unpunctual? Even those who have good watches are unpunctual. May be it is a personality factor.

Cleanliness and orderliness are not something that developed, for example, in England. London during the 15th and 16th centuries was very filthy and dirty. There were filthy streets and open drains then.

The pattern of life is changing, and with it our personality structure. The older among us have known *Sashtanga-namaskaram*, before teachers and elders. There are now new attitudes, and new roles. We have to look closely at contemporary history of our society. There are tensions, maladjustments, etc. There is lack of discipline in schools, etc. There is absence of cooperativeness. There is lack of loyalty among Government servants. We have to find remedies. — From *B. R.'s Scrapbook*.

THE KHUTTIA KONDHS

Verrier Elwin, like Ananthakrishna Iyer, was an inveterate traveller. In August-September of 1944, he visited the wild and exciting country of the Khuttia Kondhs in Orissa, and wrote — “We could never have done this by ourselves, but we were taken there by Mr. H. V. Blackburn who has been working timber in the area for a long time and knows the country well. Kondh villages are fascinating and these descendants of the tribe, once notorious for human sacrifice, are now most charming and gentle folk. The country was terrorised by man-eating tigers when we were there, and we had to move about in great convoys of about a hundred people at a time ... One day an unfortunate runner who was taking my letters to the post was caught by one of these tigers and devoured. There appear to be two main problems of Kondh administration, — how to protect them from economic exploitation by the parasitic Doms, and how to regulate shifting cultivation so that both Kondhs and forests may prosper ... ” — From *Bhumijan Seva Mandal Bulletin*.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF ANANTHAKRISHNA AND ITS RELEVANCE

By K. S. Singh

PROF. L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER alongside Sarat Chandra Roy shared the distinction of being the Father of Indian Anthropology. Unlike Roy whose ethnography centred on the monographs on tribes, Iyer conducted wide-ranging surveys among castes and tribes, besides producing a first-rate monographic account of the Syrian Christians (1926). In fact, he started as an ethnographic surveyor in Cochin and ended up with his survey of the Mysore tribes and castes. Thus he was an ethnographer *par excellence* in the survey tradition. It should be noted that L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer was followed by his son, L. A. Krishna Iyer. The Iyer Jr. conducted an ethnographic survey of the primitive hill tribes and different "low country castes" as an Officer-in-charge of the Ethnographic Survey of Travancore. Three volumes were published by him in 1937, 1939, and 1941. This was a unique instance of a father-son continuum in the field of ethnographic research. Such a massive output would have immortalised any ethnographer. Iyer was more than an ethnographer. He was deeply aware of the macro historical processes of change. Therefore, he devoted one full volume on Mysore to describing the context in which the communities lived. He was also a master of a simple and lucid style which makes his books still a pleasure to read. His works have remained a solid benchmark for all subsequent studies of the communities he had surveyed. Unfortunately, Iyer does not tell us about the methodology he adopted for the study. All that he says is rather much too cryptic :

"Investigations on the various tribes and castes herein dealt with were made by myself first hand, but in handling of such a large number of facts, errors both of omission and commission, can scarcely be avoided. Accuracy in the statement of facts, as far as possible, has all along been my aim, so that the errors, I hope, will be found to be neither numerous nor serious" (Iyer, Cochin, 1909, p ix).

Iyer's advantage as the first Indian "official" ethnographer were duly noted thus by John Beddoe in his Introduction to Volume I of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*.

"...Mr. Iyer's labours have been in the main ethnological and sociological, rather than from the physical or somatic side. He has had several great advantages. Thus in the first place, he belongs to India by race and nativity; and had he not been so, it is hardly conceivable that he could have acquired such a vast mass of information on subjects which natives are usually very unwilling to discuss with Europeans. At the same time he is a fluent and accurate English scholar, able to convey his ideas and observations clearly and unequivocally in that language. In the collection of facts, his official position under the Cochin Government must have been of the greatest service to him..." (Iyer, 1909, pp. vi-vii).

"A Model..."

About authenticity of the highest order of the material he produced, there are no two opinions. As R. R. Marett says in his Introduction to the Mysore Volumes —

"The present work then, may, in my opinion, be regarded as a model of such sociological research as an Indian student can undertake for the lasting benefit and renown of India. Limiting itself severely to the level of description, it puts on record the characteristic habits of the very various units composing the population of an entire State, and affords a remarkably clear view of its social stratigraphy from top to bottom... The author has been most careful to collect all available information concerning the origins of each ingredient in the mixture, giving likewise for what they may be worth, the legends wherein such antecedents are set forth with the aid of the popular imagination eked out, it may be, with some genuine folk-memory",

"It is further to be noted that thoroughness of treatment is attained not only by detailing the customs of each social group in turn, but likewise by submitting each set of customs to analysis under a series of identical categories. The prime object, no doubt, is to secure that nothing shall be overlooked in a particular context, even if in similar contexts much the same has to be said over again... The book is full of admirable photographs of typical groups but in a figurative sense of the term its whole purpose might be said to be photographic. With the cold precision of a mechanical eye, it registers everything brought within its shifting focus; so that science can have no doubt about the evidential value of its data". (Iyer; 1935 : pp. li-liv).

Iyer was an inveterate traveller. He knew the language of the people in Cochin. He visited villages to interview people. The methodology that he followed for his Mysore survey was a little different. The basic work here had already been done by H. V. Nanjudayya as Superintendent of Ethnography in the usual administrative way. He must have sent around administrative circulars to Tehsildars to collect information. These Tehsildars and other local functionaries were steeped in rural life and could be depended upon to send a reasonably authentic account of the communities they were called upon to report on, but Iyer carefully revised and edited the 34 booklets published between 1903 and 1918 in the light of the fresh additional material added by him. He found the notes on 50 other tribes and castes mostly fragmentary. As he says, "But most of them were mere field notes in pencil on a few topics out of which nothing could be done. If these tribes and castes were to be dealt with, it was clear that a fresh investigation into manners and customs of all these tribes was imperative." (Iyer, *ibid*, p. iv) That Iyer had meticulously surveyed the ethnography terrain is borne out by the fact that under the People of India Project launched in 1985 we found a good majority of the communities living in the erstwhile Mysore State, substantially covered by him.

Conceptual Framework

The second important aspect of his ethnographic investigation was the conceptual framework. It is not our objective here to go into various ethnographic theories advanced by the learned ethnographers of those days who wrote the introductions to his volumes. Most of their theories about the Kolarian and the Dravidian are not taken seriously today. Iyer adhered to the 27-point format drawn up in 1885 by H. H. Risley and two others for the ethnographic survey of India. Iyer simplified this format into a 14 - point one which covered the origin and tradition of a community, internal structure, marriage custom, inheritance, religion, occupation, life-cycle ceremonies, dress, ornaments, etc. Iyer also like others borrowed the conceptual framework of Nesfield on the occupational categories of the people of India, but he stuck to the ethnographic format.

Some other points about the conceptual framework of the ethnographic survey undertaken in his times may be mentioned. There was no clear distinction between tribe

and caste, even though a distinction was attempted for the first time in the Census of 1901. True to the ethnography tradition Iyer gave a greater weightage to the description of life-cycle ceremonies. Ethnography is still strong on this aspect. Like other ethnographers of his time he treated a caste or a tribe as an isolate, and did not describe its interaction and linkages with other groups. Internal structure of a caste was also described in some detail. The differences among various sub-groups in terms of myths of origin, ritual performances, etc., were not touched upon. No account was given of change and development. Ethnography in those days was synchronic rather than diachronic, as of today.

Ethnography — Then and Now

Ethnography has made tremendous progress since Iyer's days. It has branched off into such areas as symbology or semiotic anthropology. Even so descriptive ethnography continues to be practised in terms of both old and new parameters as attested by the encyclopaedias of peoples and cultures produced all over the world today.

It will be useful at this stage to compare the framework and content of the ethnography surveys undertaken then and now. The Anthropological Survey of India, as mentioned earlier, launched its "People of India" Project in October 1985. Its objective is to generate an anthropological profile of about 5,000 communities in India in terms of the structure of a community, its linkages with others, its attitude to development and so on. It is the first ethnographic survey of the country as a whole. The ethnography of the colonial period was primarily confined to British India, and it was Indian ethnographers like Iyer who had conducted ethnographic surveys of the princely States. Only three princely States were surveyed. Others were not. It will, therefore, be instructive to compare and contrast the two phases of the ethnographic surveys, the colonial and the post-colonial ones.

As mentioned earlier a basic difference between the two Surveys lies in the conceptual framework. The new nation-states in developing countries are concerned with the processes of national reconstruction and nation-building. Many of them are plural societies in which the role of ethnicity is recognised. Rapid transformation has taken place in their society and economy. The context, therefore, is radically different today. The primary objective of the ethnographic survey is no longer to study a community in isolation. It is to study a community in dynamic interaction with others. Therefore, a study of linkages and of the impact of change and development becomes important.

New Conceptual Category

Secondly, the new situation requires a new conceptual category to explain the far-reaching development and the structural changes they have brought about. Caste and tribe were "alien" concepts which were adopted by our ethnographers and social and political leaders. Caste in the traditional sense is breaking down and acquiring a new political role. There are also semi-caste and non-caste like structures. Therefore, after a great deal of discussion a new conceptual category called community was adopted by us to denote all formations. Iyer treated a religious group, as a homogeneous whole, as a unit of his survey. He did not identify the various groups within the religious community

or within a community in terms of its territorial and "ethnic" categories. He almost ignored the category of the immigrants, who according to us, are very interesting from the ethnographic point of view. They have made Mysore and Cochin their home. They have imbibed the cultural traits of their new homeland. They have also contributed to their culture and economy. For instance, in Karnataka, to Kannada literature which is the third oldest and richest language of the country, non-Kannadigas like the late Dr. D. V. Bendra, late Dr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, and the late Dr. D. V. Gundappa made an outstanding contribution. But these giants apart, there was an interaction between immigrants and the indigenous people, which could be seen in many fields such as language, economy, and trade.

Ethnography was a leisurely vocation in the expansive days of Prof. Iyer. The Mysore volumes took nearly 35 years to be published. Today, Ethnography has the speed of the jet-set age. Our project on the People of India, for instance, took nearly four years of field work to complete, and the material is likely to be published within three to four years.

As mentioned earlier, Iyer covered a substantial number of castes and tribes in Cochin and Mysore. For instance, in the latter, he and his predecessor dealt with 102 communities. We have covered, fifty years later, the same number in addition to about 34 communities in nine districts of old Mysore. One reason for this is that 15 "Hindu" communities were left out by Iyer, which included such important ones as the Hakki-Pikki, Gowdalu, etc. At places he has mentioned some of them as subgroups, but they had an identity and should have been described separately. The Muslims were treated as one whole and the "territorial", ethnic categories among the Christians were ignored. The Parsis were left out, as were the immigrants mentioned earlier.

Cultural Change

We should now mention the pattern of cultural change highlighted by the two ethnographic surveys then and now. That Iyer, as mentioned earlier, was far too pre-occupied with Nesfield's occupational theory of caste is remarkably illustrated by his study of the communities of Cochin. However, occupation, unlike endogamy, is not a constant category. It is prone to change. Most of the communities studied by Iyer have moved away from their traditional occupation. Iyer reported that "low caste communities" depended on their masters. Now this is no longer so. There is a marked shift in economic pursuits particularly in the case of tribal and "low caste" communities. For example, Iyer Jr. described the Mala Arayans, Paliyans, and Uralis as "nomadic agriculturists" "shifting cultivators who generally cultivated paddy and ragi in shifts, food gatherers and hunters". Now they are settled agriculturists who cultivate cash crops like pepper, cardamom, ginger, and turmeric, and they have adopted agricultural innovations such as the use of improved varieties of seeds, chemical fertilisers, and pesticides. As regards the institution of marriage in Cochin, Iyer reported two marriage rituals for a female, *Thalikettu kalyanam*, i. e., *thali* tying (which used to take place before the female attained puberty) and *sambandham* (contract/actual marriage). Today, *Thalikettu kalyanam*, does not exist, and only *kalyanam* takes place. Even the Mala Arayans are not performing *Thalikettu kalyanam*, which they did on the ninth day of the first menstruation. According to Iyer, among the Uralis "no man can have a wife

unless he has a sister whom he can give in exchange", by a custom which is non-existent now. Marriage by service or marriage by elopement, once prevalent, is no longer practised by the tribals as elsewhere. Pre-puberty marriages have now given way to post-puberty marriages. In olden times hypergamous marriages among high caste people and community endogamy among the low castes was the rule; now almost all communities are endogamous. The joint family system is breaking up, giving way to nuclear families. In the good old days again, both *Marumakkathayam* (matrilineal inheritance) (among the Nayars, Ambalavasis, Adikal, Chakkyar, Nambiar, Wariyar, etc.) and *makkathayam* (patrilineal inheritance) (among Nambudiris) existed. Among the Muslims, both types (Muslims of Cochin follow inheritance in the male line, whereas in the taluks of Malabar north of Calicut inheritance among Mappilas was in the female line) were practised. At present *marumakkathayam* has been given up, and the *tarwad* (matrilineal exogamous unit) is under stress. The *Karnavan* (mother's eldest brother or a senior male member of the family), an all-powerful person, responsible for the management of the family, lost out to the father who manages and controls the family property and exercises day-to-day authority over his wife and children. The traditional pattern of matrilineal residence has given way to patrilineal residence. Commenting on the State of isolation of the primitive people, Iyer had reported that the extreme conservatism of their masters and bigoted adherence to caste, coupled with the primitive customs of the people and the physical configuration of the soil prevented them from having any intercourse with the outside world and caused their utter degradation. Now as a result of interaction with other advanced communities, opening up of economic opportunities, and the spread of education, the status of some of them is improved. The well-to-do Mala Arayans live in well-built multi-roomed dwelling, well furnished, where bamboo and earthenware utensils have been replaced by stainless steel and aluminium vessels. Many of the life-cycle ceremonies have been discarded or abbreviated, such as the *tirandukalyanam* (puberty rites for female), feeding of rice, piercing of ear, and the naming ceremony. The incidence of untouchability and its ugly manifestation, unseeability, has abated.

Re-creation of Myths

In Karnataka, we could see significant changes in the world view and status of communities. Myths are beings re-created to reflect their aspirations. While many myths of origin recorded by Iyer are still prevalent among the different communities, some communities such as the Uppara and Devanga have added new myths of origin to their existing repertoire. In the case of one or two communities, like the Hasala, the myth of origin recorded by Iyer has been all but forgotten. Some of the communities, like the Kuruhinashetty, Idiga, Kuruba, Uppara, Devanga, Ganiga, and Pattegar have, published their myths of origin in their Jatipurana to project a new image. Another corresponding process is that some of the communities, like the Jinger, Pattegar, Besta, Holey, Madiga, and Uppalinga, have adopted new names, to enhance their social status. Yet another development has been towards homogenisation of subgroups following their political mobilisation for seeking benefits. At the time when Iyer conducted his survey, the process of the crystalization of a community into a number of well delineated endogamous subgroups was complete. Now the trend has been reversed, and the merger of sub-groups is taking place among communities like the Vokkaliga, Kuruba, Lingayat, and Brahmins. Marriages take place between different sub-groups. A number of communities have formed

their association, uniting sub-groups, at the regional and State levels in order to claim the benefits of development programme. Iyer listed meticulously various clans and gotras even at the sub-groups level, which have been forgotten by some communities; in other cases like Goniga and Bilimagga, the lists of clans have been published in the souvenirs; in still other cases of the Devanga, Sanskritic gotras have been adopted in place of the original local clans.

Marriage Rituals

Marriage rituals described in depth by Iyer have been curtailed drastically; the ceremony is over in one day. There is also a measure of secularisation with marriages taking place at public *mandapams*, community halls, especially in urban and semi-urban areas. In villages the practice of performing marriage ceremony at the house of bride or bridegroom (as may be the case according to local custom) is continuing. Then again, in the olden days, while marriages were held at an early age, the girls being married before they attained puberty (especially among Brahmins, Nagarathas, Komati, etc.), the consummation took place after they attained puberty. Things are different today. There were elaborate rituals connected with puberty, which are no longer practised in the urban situation, and are prevalent on a much reduced scale in the countryside. Adult marriages are preferred. The system of brideprice continues, but the system of dowry has been adopted by many advanced communities. Polygyny is rare. A good number of communities studied by Iyer did not allow for divorce and remarriage, the proceedings of which were arbitrated by the traditional caste councils, — now they do so. Cases of desertions are still reported. The custom of remarriage, called *sire udi* in case of women, continues. Widow remarriage, especially when a widow is young, is reported among the Brahmins and other communities which traditionally did not practise it. Iyer's description of pre-delivery rituals, naming ceremony, *mundan*, *diksha*, and thread-wearing ceremony stands out as a classic, but they are performed on a reduced scale now. Most of the communities studied by Iyer followed the rule of male equigeniture in the matter of inheritance which continues. Although the law of the land allows equal share for women, it is rarely claimed by them.

Festivals

The festivals centered around village deities, and other local deities, continue to be held in more or less the same manner, but animal sacrifice is rarely performed. The deities of Vaishnava and Shaiva sects continue to be worshipped. Regional deities like Manjunatha of Dharmasthala and Swami Ayyappan have become more popular among the people. Economically well-off people among the traditionally middle and lower communities now avail themselves of the services of Brahmin priests for performing the life-cycle rituals, an unmistakable evidence of the swelling the tide of "brahminisation" or sanskritization indeed! The role of the traditional caste council has declined, as mentioned earlier, and the role of the traditional headman consists only in receiving double betel leaves during the observance of the life-cycle rituals. At the time of Iyer's study, different communities followed specific traditional occupations, which a good number of them still do. But there is marked diversification, with members taking up new occupations while continuing with the traditional ones. White collar jobs are favoured; new modes of cultivation have been adopted by most of the communities involved in cultivation; sheep rearing, which was the traditional

occupation of the Kuruba, has been taken up by several other communities. Others have found pig rearing and poultry farming a remunerative occupation which was not allowed traditionally.

Adoption of Sanskritic Norms

Some of the semi-nomadic groups, like the Helava, Hakki-Pikki, Budbudki, Sudugadu, Sidda, etc., have been settling down as agriculturists and wage labourers. Ranking was an important aspect of caste hierarchy in the past, and each caste occupied a specific place in the regional hierarchy. Today, the middle level communities such as the Idiga, Uppara, and Devanga have moved up economically and educationally, enhancing their social status by adopting sanskritic norms. Owing to greater intermixing, commensal norms among different sub-groups of a community as also among different communities have weakened a great deal. With prosperity *idli*, *vada*, *dosa* have been accepted as food items for breakfast replacing the traditional ragi ball. Consumption of ragi has declined with the increase in intake of rice which has become a status symbol. Consumption of alcoholic drinks and non-vegetarian food items has increased among some of the members of those communities which traditionally avoided them. There is also a corresponding sartorial change. In the case of men's dress, there is a perceptible change from *lungi* and shirt to pant and shirt among the younger generation. Wearing of caste marks is not observed. Saree and blouse have become popular even among the Banjara women who traditionally wore colourful skirts.

Thus the two ethnographic surveys show both continuity and change. The current survey highlights the leaps that have occurred in the identity perception of a community from the local to the regional and to the national level, as members of an "ethnic", local community and those of a political, secular, national community. These levels of identity, are not mutually exclusive. Ethnography thus performs a useful role in nation-building in studying such changes, and projecting the image of a community, as a dynamic one, responding to the challenge of change and development, and seeking adjustment to the socio-political situation. Iyer's contribution as a pioneering ethnographer has stood the test of time.

Acknowledgements

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Forty Years Ago...

When the Backward Classes Commission was hearing evidence at Madras, the Washermen's Association had represented that members of the Association found it difficult to get on rent "portions" in houses on account of the opposition of other tenants. The question of Harijans getting a flat or portion in houses occupied by "superior" castes was out of the question.

When in cases of some men of status belonging to the backward classes who shared houses with others, the women of the "higher" castes found it difficult to make the adjustments regarding water. "Don't touch the tap", said a lady to the Deputy Director of Telegraphs.

L. M. Srikant's 1953 *Report* (Page 79) mentions of case of disability regarding water in the court of the Resident Magistrate, New Delhi. The Clerk of the Court and the constable there punished Harijans for taking water from the public *piao*. The Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, and the Travancore-Cochin Governments denied the existence of drinking water disability in their areas.

The problem for us: Why do Governments deny this? — *From B. R. 's Scrapbook.*

FATHER - SON CONTINUUM IN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Contribution of L. A. Krishna Iyer to Human Science

By P. Thankappan Nair

ANTHROPOLOGY IN SOUTH INDIA is largely 'Ananthropology' (i. e. the work of Ananthakrishna Iyer). And a joke is current among anthropologists that it is "Iyer's Science" as far as South India is concerned. It is not only a joke, but is also a truth. The Iyer family of Lakshminarayanapuram (Palghat) has produced three generations of anthropologists. This selfless work has paid them rich dividends.

Both Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Mr. Krishna Iyer have proved to the world that anthropology is not only the study of man as an animal, but is also something more than that. When anthropologists the world over were devoting their energies for the study of primitive people, the Iyers did not confine themselves to studies of tribes like the Kadars, who have no aim other than to live upon the day's collection of tubers, but enlarged their vision to the study of Nairs and Nambudiris, who occupy the highest rung of the social ladder of Kerala. In fact, they gave a new dimension to anthropology in India.

With the passing away in 1937 of his father, Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who was acknowledged as the Father of Indian Ethnology, it devolved upon young Krishna Iyer to continue the family profession. Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer breathed his last taking pride in his son that the young man had already surpassed him in fame and name by picking up the thread left by him.

Moreover, Dr. Ananthakrishna Iyer was glad to note that young Krishna Iyer was not only endowed with the necessary mental detachment but had also discarded the local loyalties which is detrimental for impartiality in scientific research. He combined the traditional orthodoxy of the Palghat Brahmins with the missionary zeal of scientists in conducting research on the primitive people of Travancore.

C. P. 's Help

Dr. Iyer's pioneering study, the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* (2 volumes) — a treasure-house of knowledge, so minute in detail regarding the habits, customs and ideas of leading Dravidian and non-Dravidian people — needed supplementary data to present an anthropological conspectus of Kerala. His son's *Travancore Tribes and Castes* (3 volumes) filled the gap. The father had the good fortune of seeing the first volume before he passed away in 1937.

Mr. Krishna Iyer's indebtedness to the late Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, who was the then Dewan of Travancore, in getting the publication out on time to coincide with the All-India Oriental Conference held in Trivandrum, used to be gratefully acknowledged by him.

It was largely due to the vision of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer that a comprehensive survey of the various castes and tribes of Travancore was undertaken.

The second and third volumes of the *Travancore Tribes and castes* were published in 1939 and 1942 respectively. The first two volumes analyse the distinctive physical characteristics of the tribes, their social structure, marriage institutions, etc. The three volumes together have been hailed as the "classics of Indian anthropology" by Grigson; and Haddon, Hutton, Eickstedt, Marett and other international figures in anthropology have joined Grigson in appreciating the scientific value of the work. The data for giving a comprehensive treatment of the 16 tribes in the *Travancore Tribes and Castes* were collected by Mr. Krishna Iyer during the course of his investigations as Special Ethnographer to the Census Commissioner, during 1931-32. and as Officer-in Charge of the Ethnographic Survey of Travancore, during 1935-42.

Mr. Krishna Iyer was not satisfied with giving a social and cultural account of the tribes. He took Physical Anthropology as his tool, and probably he was the first anthropologist to study their racial affinities by measuring the stature, cephalic and nasal indices, chest and other vital statistics. Anthropometric study of 1,000 men and women was undertaken for the purpose of bloodgrouping. This was the first large-scale contribution to physical anthropology of Kerala.

Mr. Krishna Iyer's main pre-occupation till Independence was the consolidation of the anthropological research of South India. His father's *Mysore Tribes and Castes* presented the cultural panorama of Mysore, but the Coorg area remained unrepresented. This gap in the cultural landscape was bridged by his *Coorg Tribes and Castes* before he embarked upon new ventures.

Model Monograph

The integration of Cochin with Travancore and the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis gave birth to Kerala. A brief survey of the development of the community and culture in Kerala from the earliest times to the present was called for to help people in other parts of India to understand this palm-fringed land and its aborigines better. Mr. Krishna Iyer presented a bird's-eyeview of Kerala in his *Kerala and Her People*, published in 1961.

"The main body of the book which deals with social structure, marriage institutions, inheritance, etc., may justly be called authoritative, and presents an authentic picture of Kerala, past and present", wrote the late Sardar K. M. Panikkar in his Introduction. Dr. Verrier Elwin called it a "model monograph".

Anthropology in India, hailed as one of the best of such surveys that has been made for many years past, is a general introduction to anthropology with special reference to Indian anthropology. This work was undertaken in collaboration with his son, L. K. Bala Ratnam. In 19 chapters, various facets of the anthropological discipline have been covered, — the scope of anthropology, the evolution of man evidenced by fossils, racial history, the power of caste, taboos and totems, sex and marriage, matriarchy and patriarchy, primitive religion, and mythology, primitive arts, and the impact of modernism on traditional cultures. "Pleasantly and enthusiastically written", wrote Prof. A. Aiyappan while reviewing the book in *The Hindu*.

Megalithic Culture

Who are the megalithic builders who harnessed the energy to put up gigantic monuments like dolmens and menhirs in the valley of the Krishna, on both sides of the Ghats in Coimbatore, the Anjanad Valley and the Cardamom Hills? How did they come into existence? Who were the carriers of the megalithic culture? These and a number of other allied questions with special reference to Kerala have been dealt with by Mr. Krishna Iyer in his *Kerala Megaliths and Their Builders* (Madras University, 1967). Megalithism is a living institution among the pre-Dravidians of Kerala and the author's thesis is that the culture spread from east to west. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, in his Foreword, says: "Megaliths, both inside and outside India, have been bedevilled by conjecture. But it is to be hoped that the author, or some one after him, may in due course (and before too long) carry through detailed regional surveys with all manner of illustration".

As Special Ethnographer to the Census Commission, Mr. Krishna Iyer was asked by the Imperial Census Commissioner to conduct researches on the impact of acculturation among the aborigines of Travancore. The findings of his study have been printed in the 1931 Travancore Census Report, and later incorporated in the All-India Census Report. Baron von Eickstedt's opinion on this work is worth quoting: "I was glad to see the results of your studies among the hill tribes. It is most valuable that you took over this troublesome work, for the material you saved is most important. Your style and arrangement are clear and good. The illustrations deserve special mention".

Mr. Krishna Iyer was elected Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and soon after a Corresponding Member of the Italian Society of Anthropology and Ethnology.

Reference Work

In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, he planned a series of volumes on the *Social History of Kerala*. He revisited the tribal areas, and several other places, in Kerala. There have been changes of a far-reaching nature during the past about 25 years and his aim was to present a comprehensive reference work. The first volume in the series dealt with the comparative institutions of the pre-Dravidians whose population is now well over two lakhs. There are 27 pre-Dravidian tribes in Kerala. *The Pre-Dravidians* (1968) in the series, deals with the distinguishing culture traits of the aboriginal population of Kerala in a well-arranged sequence of tribal survivals, traditions of origin, physical characteristics with reference to ecology, racial affinities, social conditions, economic and social life, primitive culture, clan and exogamy, marriage institutions, taboo, matriarchy and patriarchy social organisation, disposal of the dead, religion, dancing, mythology, acculturation and tribal welfare.

Aspects of Dravidian culture were treated elaborately in the second volume in the series. The third volume in the series, yet to be published, deals with the Aryan Element in Kerala. Mr. E. M. S. Nambudiripad says: "While highly subjective and exaggerated accounts of the glories of the Aryan and Dravidian civilisation have been given by the champions of the two, and have roused passions on both sides, Mr. Krishna Iyer brings to the problem an attitude of sobriety devoid of passions".

A self-made man, Mr. Krishna Iyer, had no funds to prosecute higher studies, as his father had family debts and other obligations to discharge. He had to stop studies after passing the Intermediate Examination in Arts. However, he took the B. A. Degree from the Madras Christian College in 1912 with the help of a grant given by the Government of Cochin. He also took his M. A. Degree in Anthropology from the Calcutta University in 1929 after serving for 12 years in the Forest Department of Travancore.

Mr. Krishna Iyer is the friend, philosopher and guide of the aborigines of Kerala. He is welcome to their thatched and treetop houses. They do not call him Saheb, but 'Ayya'. He knows the names of most of the Malavetans, Malankuravans, Kanikkars, Muthuvans, Ullatans, Uralis, Malapulayans, Malayarayans, Malankudis, Malapantarams, Nayadis, Kadars, and Paniyans. In fact, they know him from 1914 onwards in different capacities ranging from the humble Forest Officer to the exalted Assistant Conservator of Forests. His deep sympathy for the Adivasis stemmed from his long years of service in the Forest Department.

Segregation

His two years' training at the Madras Forest College, Coimbatore, where he specialised in silviculture, forest utilisation, working plan, engineering survey. etc., under H. C. Bennet, Crowther, C. E. C. Fischer, Dawson and others, stood him in good stead in understanding the tribal habits, movements and requirements.

The Adivasis resent being treated as tribals, and their segregation as "museum specimens" for observation, measurements and 'scientific' investigation. Segregation has bred in them an inferiority complex. They do not welcome reforms aiming at converting them into carbon copies of their so-called civilised brethren in the plains. Mr. Krishna Iyer's philosophy for the tribals is pragmatic. He believes that their economic uplift is best achieved by helping the growth of voluntary organisations, economical, social and political. He thinks that the formation of their own co-operative housing, labour, marketing and distribution societies with capital provided by the Government can help restore and foster aboriginal self-respect. All developmental activities in the tribal areas must come from them and meddling with their sentiments, customs, habits and socio-cultural usages is to be avoided scrupulously.

The Adivasis of Kerala have a rich tradition of culture, but under the sledge-hammer blows of Western civilisation, they are enervated. Large-scale deforestation for planting of teak cashew and rubber plantations and consequent dislocation of the habitats of important tribes such as the Kadars, are going on. One often wonders the wisdom of such short-sighted measures.

Around the mid-'forties, on his retirement from the Travancore Government Service, Mr. Krishna Iyer was appointed the Head of the Department of Anthropology by the University, of Madras. He had to start the Department literally from the scratch and put it on a firm footing. He developed a museum for the Department by obtaining models of pre-historic fossil crania from England to teach prehistoric archaeology and also managed to get together exhibits for teaching physical anthropology. In 1949-50, he left the Department, and later was attached to the University on a grant from the University Grants Commission.

Lack of Funds

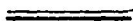
The Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University commissioned Mr. Krishna Iyer in 1950 to start a Department of Anthropology with himself as its Head. He submitted a scheme for

the purpose, but the Department did not see the light of day due to financial and other stringencies. A five-year scheme for the anthropological survey of Orissa was submitted at the request of the Orissa Government in 1952 and the Utkal University had it included in its plan. Shortage of funds caused the scheme to fall through. He was attached to the University of Kerala as anthropologist for some time on a grant from the Government of India.

Padma Bushan Award

It is to be noted that the tradition of ethnographic research in contemporary India did not end with Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. The tradition was continued by his son, L. A. Krishna Iyer, and in a reference to this Dr. K. S. Singh, Director-General of the Anthropological Survey of India, had observed that L. A. Krishna Iyer's work as an ethnographer in Travancore represented "a unique instance of a father-son continuum in the field of ethnographic research", and added, "Such a massive output would have immortalised any ethnographer". Honours came to L. A. Krishna Iyer rather very late. In 1972, he was awarded "Padma Bushan" by the Government of India, the first anthropologist in the country to get such an honour. But Kerala, where the father and son toiled in writing about the different communities during the period 1890-1974 has not paid due attention to the role and relevance of anthropology. It was only in 1987-88 that a Department of Anthropology came to be established in the Calicut University's Tellicherry centre.

When I think of L. A. Krishna Iyer I am reminded of an incident that took place in 1936. The Indian Science Congress was holding its annual session in Hyderabad. The Secretary, who was in search of a Sectional President for Anthropology for 1937 sent a wire to Dr. J. H. Hutton to suggest the name of an eminent anthropologist to grace the chair. Dr. Hutton recommended the name of Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer for the honour, but the authorities of the Science Congress mistook him for his father, Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and elected Dr. Iyer for the sectional presidentship. Mr. Krishna Iyer was hardly 46 then.



Happiness in Marriage

The Greek Philosopher, Aristippus said in regard to Marriage, "I cannot recommend any sort, for if she is fair, she will deceive you; if plain, you will dislike her; if she is poor, she will ruin you; if rich, you will be her slave. If she is clever, she will despise you; if ignorant, she will bore you; and if she is spiteful, she will torment you". — From "Wives of the Great from Aristotle to Byron and Browning", by B. Seshadri. This has to be taken with a grain of salt. Happiness in marriage is a matter of chance (or, is it adjustment?). *Editor*

A MANY - SIDED GENIUS WHO EXCELLED IN ANTHROPOLOGY

A. Aiyappan Infused Interest in Students for Study of Man

By L. K. Bala Ratnam

IN ONE OF MY PAPERS, written in the late 'fifties, "Anthropology through the Ages" (1959), I had referred to Anthropology as the "Queen of Sciences", and subsequently when I had shared with my father, L. A. Krishna Iyer, the task of writing a popular book, *Anthropology in India* (Bhavan, 1961) I had also used this expression, — an expression which attracted, too, the scholar-statesman Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, who wrote in his Introduction: "Not long ago, L. K. Bala Ratnam...called anthropology 'the Queen of Sciences', and insisted that it does not seek to moralise, but to see life steadily and see it whole. It is true that, by the aid of this science, man can realise his own physical and cultural variety, and benefit by such an experience." (Introduction, *ibid*, page 5). A lot has been said and written on the role, relevance, and usefulness of anthropology in modern life. According to Evans-Pritchard, "Anthropology helps us to understand better, and in whatever place or time we meet him, that wonderful creature, MAN".

I must say that I became a votary of anthropology early in my life... My father's library, in Trivandrum, had many books on anthropology..., and several journals used to come to our house. The year 1937 witnessed the publication of Volume One of his *Travancore Tribes and Castes*, and it was reviewed in *The Hindu* in December. The review ran to about two columns, and it was done by A. Aiyappan. That was the first time I had seen the name of A. Aiyappan..., and since the review carried a few criticisms his name stuck in my mind, and I must say that during the last five decades I have read most of his reviews/papers/books devoted to anthropology. In 1952, he had reviewed a book titled *Anthropology — The Study of Man* written by S. C. Dube who was then in the Osmania University. Here are a few excerpts —

"...Anthropology has been developing so rapidly that the archaeological and biological partners in anthropology may at any time declare their independence. It is not humanly possible for any single individual to remain uptodate in all the main branches of a rapidly growing subject, and the writing of a book covering all those branches must be difficult unless a team of 'specialists venture to do the job... The author says the book is intended for the general reader and the university student, but I am afraid the treatment of the whole subject matter is too summary, curt, and banal to be of much use to anyone in particular. This criticism... is applicable with greater force to the three chapters dealing with "Man in the Ancient World", "The Story in Stones", and "Races of Man", which the author has no real competence to write on..."

When I read this review, and later had ordered for a copy..., I thought within myself that the author may reply to the points, instead of assuming a fit of taciturnity! I myself had been a reviewer of books devoted to anthropology since 1946..., and whenever I had come across carping criticisms in any review, I used to wonder about the role of a reviewer, and the criteria to be followed in the art of book-reviewing... So long as an author has clearly spelt out his objectives/purpose in writing a book, the assessment should be on that basis, and the reviewer must say if he (author) had succeeded in his task. *The Times Literary Supplement* had a couple of articles on this subject..., and the British attitude to reviewing was on the lines earlier mentioned. Professional jealousy should never come to the fore...

I came to know Prof. Ayinipalli Aiyappan (1905-1988) personally in September 1948, when my professional work had taken me to Madras, and from then onwards we had moved very closely... and the last I met him was a few months before his demise in June 1988. When I did my two-year course in anthropology, he and U. R. Ehrenfels, besides A. Ananthanarayana Iyer of the Stanley Medical College were among my teachers, and each had his independent approach to teaching the Science of Man. Aiyappan's book on the *Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis* was prescribed for study, and I must have read it several times. I had developed a liking for his way of presentation, and, above all, his lucid style,

A Unique Conference

Time and opportunity had helped me to work closely with Aiyappan particularly from the early 'fifties. We were founders of the Social Sciences Association (SSA) in Madras...; he was its President, and myself the General Secretary for a period of 12 years till 1965. I remember particularly the efforts we had to put in to organise the First All-India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists at Madras which was attended by leading professional anthropologists and sociologists from both within and outside the country. We had among participants Mrs Iravati Karve, Nirmal Kumar Bose, M. N. Srinivas, L. A. Krishna Iyer, I. P. Desai, Narbadeswar Prasad, Sachchidananda, R. N. Saxena, L. P. Vidyarthi, and Indera Paul Singh, besides Robert Redfield, Edward Harper, Clarence E. Glick, Grace Langeley, U. R. Ehrenfels, and several others. Over a dozen topics came up for discussion, — Primitive and Peasant — Simple and Compound Societies; Sanskritisation and Westernisation; Social Effects of Urbanisation on Industrial Workers; Divorce; Suicide; Changing Position of Women; Dynamics of Change; Inter-relation of Social Sciences; and, most important, Problems of Teaching Anthropology and Sociology, a subject which was handled well by Aiyappan. This 3-day Conference, in November 1955, was a unique event, and had helped in bringing clarity in thinking on several related matters, and, at the end of it all, everyone felt that "this type of meeting can be continued, from time to time, with fruitful results. Aiyappan was generous in his praise of me...at the concluding session, and I felt that here indeed was a scholar who had a soft corner for youngsters.

Both anthropology and sociology were young disciplines in India then, and everyone was agreed that a study of these subjects would be helpful to 'integrate' their knowledge of social relationships, and also to deepen understanding of the nature and working of human societies. In this paper, my objective is to present briefly some of the thoughts and

ideas expressed by Aiyappan during discussions on a variety of subjects since the early 'fifties. We used to meet at least 3 or 4 times every month, excluding the lecture and committee meetings of the Social Sciences Association (SSA) held most often in the Centenary Hall of the Government Museum, Madras.

Role of Museums

Aiyappan took an Honours Degree in Zoology, and one of my personal questions to him had related to his giving up Zoology and taking to Anthropology, and joining the Madras Museum as Anthropology Assistant and later as Curator of the Anthropology Section. He had then narrated to me an incident which has remained almost indelible in my mind. We were talking about museums in general, and, in a reminiscential mood, he had referred to the Trichur Museum, and observed that he had visited it in 1916, and found its collections exceedingly interesting, and praised my grandfather, L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer, who was its first Superintendent. Writing about this visit in later years, Aiyappan had stated—

“...The Trichur Museum is even today one of the best among the small museums of India, and stands as a lasting memorial to its first Superintendent, L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer. When I first visited it in 1916, little did I dream that I would follow its organiser, enter the fascinating vistas of anthropology — the science of man — through its museological portals, and turn myself into a teacher of anthropology...”

On another occasion, at the Centenary of the Government Museum, when I referred to the role of museums, and the poor public relations..., he turned round and said that museums had an important role in conserving art treasures, historical documents, and presenting synoptically the arts and crafts, and the flora, fauna, geology, etc., of the areas included in their scope. He admitted that public relations were poor, and museums did not “advertise” their accessions. The situation, however, had changed for the better since the 'sixties. We have a good Press, and Museum activities are being communicated to the interested public through handouts periodically, and by inviting the Pressmen...The Madras Museum had added an Art Gallery, and its art collections had been augmented and its educational activities have increased... Aiyappan mentioned that teachers and the Museum were being brought together in several ways, e. g., through the annual Summer Course in Museum Technique, through conducted tours, etc.

Aiyappan was Chairman of the Board of Studies in Anthropology in the University of Madras since the mid - 'forties, and on his retirement from the Madras Museum in 1958 he went to Orissa to join the Utkal University where he established a Department of Anthropology and presided over it for about a decade. Earlier, during 1953-54, he was a Visiting Professor of Social Anthropology in the Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, and later (after the Utkal University tenure) UGC Professor of Social Anthropology in the Andhra University, Waltair, for two years.

Area Studies

Soon after return from the Cornell University, Aiyappan wanted to take up a few programmes/activities under the auspices of the SSA. One such programme related to studies

in gerontology, and another related to Area Studies. The latter was something novel, and I agreed with Aiyappan that SSA should try to organise the latter on a modest scale to begin with. While we got fairly good political coverage in newspapers, when it came to the question of social conditions, family relations, child-rearing practices, women's roles in public life, etc., none of the Indian cities had any academic or non-academic organisation/group possessing specialised knowledge of the various areas. He referred to the development of a U. S. Project on Area Studies based in the Yale University Department of Sociology and Anthropology. What they did, he said, was to gather, classify, and index information from all areas and peoples of the world, and from all possible sources. The Area File Project was duplicated in six or seven universities, and it was invaluable for reference purposes. In the U. S. State Department, there were area desks specialists, and Aiyappan said he had known the expert, a woman in charge of the Indonesia Desk. Diplomats who had anything to do with this area went to her to be briefed. Area information is also valuable for others, and Aiyappan felt that "we ought to have in Madras a corpus of men and women who would render the service of area desks to our cities". He felt that the SSA may try to bring together gentlemen and ladies who had specialist knowledge of sociological and cultural conditions of Burma, Indonesia, China, Ceylon, Nepal, Tibet, Middle East, Europe and the Americas and the USSR. The SSA Executive Committee discussed the proposals a couple of times, but financial constraints had prevented a useful project from being implemented. Aiyappan felt sad that his proposal could not be implemented.

Anthropology & Sociology

On a few occasions, our discussions centered round the roles of anthropology and sociology, and the attitudes prevalent in India. Anthropology had somehow come to mean "the study of apes and primitives", and Sociology "the study of more advanced communities". G. S. Ghurye, in the De Bie Report, was reported to have said that the social situation in India, "with its social groups living at very different levels of evolution, does not lend itself to hard-and-fast distinction between sociology and social anthropology, and these branches interpenetrate English social anthropology which is tending to be more and more sociological." With anthropologists taking up from the mid-'fifties the study of rural communities, in addition to tribes, the distinction of anthropology as "primitive sociology" was no longer true in India. Redfield's approach had provided a new bridge between the 'simple' and 'complex' communities. M. N. Srinivas had also brought a breath of fresh air through his presentations...

It may not be out of place to mention here that the European Sociologist, as explained by Levi-Strauss, "views his own society from his position of privilege and interprets other societies in terms of his. The anthropologist looks at other societies more objectively; he tries to see the *total social fact* and *pattern*. He deals with more "authentic" societies". Aiyappan felt that the "good sociologist will try to get over ethno-centrism and be objective, and will try to get at the total social fact; if he does not, his sociology is likely to be poor sociology".

The "Integration" Question

On the questions of integrating university courses in anthropology and sociology, there was opposition in certain circles, and Aiyappan said he would remind those who opposed such an integration, that the distinction between civilised and uncivilised communities which

European scholars had made in the 19th century was no longer held valid even by their present-day descendants. He insisted that "we are not a party to this division", and went on to point out that an anthropologist was likely to find more resistance to his investigation among the so-called civilised groups than a sociologist who, with philosophical associations, commanded a higher status in the eyes of the lay public.

In continuing the discussion, on a later occasion, I had sought Aiyappan's views on another question, if sociology and anthropology were integrated by agreement, should we call the discipline "Anthropology" or "Sociology"? I mentioned that Levi-Strauss, in the De Bie Report, appeared to suggest that anthropology would be the appropriate name to include both sociology and anthropology which would also include Physical Anthropology. Aiyappan's preference was for the term Sociology for the combined subject. He said: "Where 'Anthropology' has become established, I would suggest that the Physical Anthropology part has to be simplified a great deal, besides renaming of the department as 'Department of Anthropology (with Sociology)' as they do in a good number of American Universities, while new Departments could name themselves 'Departments of Sociology'. In fact, the tendency not to make any hair-splitting difference between anthropology and sociology was apparent in several of the advertisements from the 'sixties for anthropological jobs. Even in some of the older Departments of Sociology, men with anthropological training had become Professors of Sociology, and Sociologists had been professing anthropology.

Physical Anthropology

According to Aiyappan, Physical Anthropology (for which some favour the name Human Biology) was of interest to Sociology, and elements of this had rightly to be included in anthropological and sociological courses. The subject had developed so much in recent years that we did not have any university department outside perhaps Calcutta, where justice was done to this branch of anthropology. While there should be more research done in this subject, Aiyappan wondered if men who were not specially trained in biology, human anatomy, physiology, and genetics could make useful contributions.

With reference to Madras, Aiyappan had this to say: The saddling of general anthropology courses with heavy syllabus in Physical Anthropology had made it difficult to introduce the subject in the affiliated colleges in Madras. If elementary courses in Anthropology were to gain popularity, or the reason that their need today was for more research, then Aiyappan said he would like to see that the small units of sociologists and anthropologists "are not saddled with too many hours of teaching, but are given more freedom and facilities for research". While the temptation to gather more students was natural in most teachers, he felt that in the background of the then job position the "temptation" should be resisted.

Training & Research

While on a visit to Madras in 1970, I had asked Aiyappan how he found his tenure in the Utkal University. He remarked that organising the Department of Anthropology from the scratch was hard-going in the first two years, and that teaching took a considerable amount of time, but he could not pay less attention to other demands on his time as a research guide, and as Hony. Director of the Tribal Research Bureau, etc., in Orissa. With his

characteristic smile, he went on: "While in England or the U. S. A., a teacher need teach only what he knows — the Departments there have a number of Professors / Associate Professors / Asst. Professors / Instructors / Assistants for each course, — in India, however, he has to teach not only what he himself knows, but also a great deal of what he does not know." On another occasion, Aiyappan mentioned that while an American teacher was not expected by his students to be "omniscient", in India, the case was different — the students expected "near omniscience" from their teachers. Highlighting another fact that, in the U. S. A., teaching and learning in English were "cooperative enterprises", and that teachers and senior students learnt together, he felt that the university structure/examination system, etc., were such that "teaching throws a great burden on the teacher, and learning and examination on the students".

"We do research...with very inadequate knowledge," he once told me. I admired the frankness in him to refer to his own research on blood-groups in the late 'thirties. "It was an early study among the pre-Dravidian groups... I quoted strange results... and even now I don't know enough of serology", he confessed.

Tribal Welfare

In respect of tribal welfare, Aiyappan has tried to do his bit. In 1947, he was made Member-Secretary of a Committee set up by the then Madras Government to inquire into the conditions of the tribes. Thakkar Bapa once said: "It is no exaggeration that the adivasis are the poorest section of the Indian population." Aiyappan, too, felt that our adivasis represented the challenge of hunger, poverty, ignorance. The position is changing somewhat, thanks to the policies of the Central and State Governments, but he is of the view that we should think and rethink on problems of tribal people. There was much shouting on tribal welfare, I once mentioned to him, and had added that the right frame of mind to handle and deal with the problem properly was lacking. He reacted by saying that the Christians were doing something for the tribals, and asked whether the Hindu brethren had any right to criticise them (Christian missionaries). Aiyappan was appreciative of what little I could do for the Todas by highlighting attention to their problems through a series of reports which were published in *The Mail* in the early 'fifties, and which helped the Government to sort out their problems.

Faithful to Facts

As an ethnographer, Aiyappan was faithful to facts, and hence most of his writings have the seal of reliability. His books on the *Nayadis* and *Iravas* could be regarded as classics in anthropology. He had his doctoral training in the London School of Economics under Bronislaw Malinowski, and Raymond Firth was his research guide. He made a refreshing study of a Kerala village which he called Mayur (like RK Narayan's Malgudi). In fact, it was a restudy of Iravas after a lapse of about 25 years. The book was titled *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village — A Study in Cultural Change*. This book had a very good reception both within India and abroad, and, in a relaxed mood, he once mentioned to me that Kathleen Gough had regarded it as "one of the best studies of modern Kerala". Aiyappan often would refer to his work on the Kurichiyas of Wynaad which he had commenced in the mid-'forties..., and on one occasion,

said the manuscript was about 300 pages, and he would like to get it published. Possibly, it was an abridged edition that was brought out recently by one of his students K. Mahadevan, under the title *Ecology, Economy, Matriliney, and Fertility of Kurichiyas*. What happened to the entire manuscript is not known, and Aiyappan's daughter, Dr. Shanta Ramachandran, could not enlighten me on this point.

Aiyappan took a lot of interest in my family...Once, when travelling by car in 1961, he insisted that the SSA should organise a celebration to mark the Birth Centenary of L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. The suggestion was carried out, and it was a major event in Madras in which the UNESCO and several other scientific bodies, and universities had participated.

Humility & Affection...

I must say that Aiyappan had often struck me as a modest person, with a lot of humility in him. He could infuse interest in anthropology in the youngsters. He had a pleasing personality, and had lot of affection for others. His language was always precise; he wrote and rewrote.., and both his diction and delivery had impressed me much. He made contributions to anthropology all through his career. He knew several leading anthropologists of the world, and anyone coming to India would definitely make it a point to visit Madras to meet Aiyappan.

All though his life Aiyappan had set the ideal of hard work which was followed earlier by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and his successors. Aiyappan was a many-sided genius, and let us salute him for his life-long work in the cause of anthropology, and particularly for his contribution in popularising the Science of Man.



"HARD WORK HAS NO HISTORY ..."

Nearly 50 years ago, Verrier Elwin was working in Dindori Tahsil of Mandla District and in other places in the old Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh). Referring to Village Life, he wrote in October 1944: "... The truth is that there is not really very much to say about life in Village India. Hard work has no history, and a village, which is a place of hard toil and small gain, has no history either. Our own life in the village is on the whole quiet and even monotonous. The study of anthropology, like war, is one of weeks of boredom broken by moments of intense excitement ..." — From *Bhumijan Seva Mandal Bulletin*.

PART TWO

Anthropology & Museums

1. Anthropology Museums : Their Role & Relevance.
2. Anthropology in Museums Abroad.
3. The Macleay Collections in Sydney University.
4. Anthropological Collections in Government Museum, Madras.
5. Anthropological Collections in Kerala Museums.
6. A Museum in the Making: The Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya.

ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUMS : THEIR ROLE AND RELEVANCE

By R. S. Negi

HUMANKIND inhabiting various parts of the globe presents an immensely bewildering variety in the sphere of biocultural variations. It is almost impossible to comprehend that variety simply by means of written, or spoken, word. No amount of good description of the Eskimo and their life-style, written, or oral, can render it completely intelligible to, say, an Australian aborigine or, a Hottentot of South Africa. The situation is slightly improved if the written, or spoken, word is accompanied by illustrations, photographs, etc. But again the two dimensional representations have their own limitations...

Let us briefly survey the Indian scene...Being a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multi-religious nation, with immense variety in the physical types of its population, having varied life-styles, food habits, habitational pattern, subsistence pattern and so forth, an Indian, say, from the high altitude areas of the Himalaya, in his traditional attire would immediately draw attention and probably would be an object of curiosity and often ridicule in a plains town. For that matter an Indian from the Abuj-marh hills of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh would be a strange phenomenon in the capital city of that State itself. Such examples can be unending, but the burden of these is that the element of strangeness, or curiosity, is due to the lack of proper understanding, and the element of ridicule, or non-appreciation, is due to the lack of respect for the 'other culture', or life-style, which is the obvious outcome of the former. These lack of understanding and lack of respect for 'other culture' are present not only at the national but even the regional and sub-regional levels, despite the fact that a great deal is being written in the text books for school-going children and other popular reading material for the general public about the bio-cultural variations present in our country. The media is also doing its best to spotlight the cultural variety for the general appreciation and mutual understanding.

The written, or spoken, word through books, journals and media, however, has not been able to achieve the objectives of promoting mutual understanding, respect and appreciation of biocultural variations to a sufficient degree, because of the inherent difficulties in the mechanism of dissemination of information and knowledge through these means. In this respect the impact of visual experience of the 'real thing', that is the object, aided by the precise depiction of the 'process' that has gone into the making of the object can only achieve the maximum results. This kind of experience is the best possible substitute for viewing the object *in situ*. And this is where lies the significance of the role of museum, ethnography, or anthropology in particular.

Ethnography, as understood today, is that part of social/cultural anthropological inquiry that is responsible for the collection of field data/information, by means of

fieldwork, which are later analysed and processed for developing ethnological generalisations, to explain social and cultural phenomenon. Similarly, the collection of material cultural objects from field during ethnographic field research, or other operations, is unprocessed and relatively undocumented assemblage, which does not qualify readily to form part of a museum. It is only after the collection has been documented in detail, catalogued, restored and prepared for exhibition, can it qualify to become part of a museum. Therefore, it may be more correct to call such museums, hitherto known as Ethnographic Museums, as Ethnological, or Ethnology Museums.

Even so, the Ethnology Museums are only partially opened windows on the panorama of human biological and cultural evolution. Ethnology Museums, being the product of colonial anthropology, have the inherent weakness, besides disciplinary limitation and, therefore, cannot fully deal with the story of human biological and cultural evolution. For this reason the term Anthropology Museum has been used in this paper. The holistic approach of modern anthropology alone can present the complete story of humankind in its proper perspective.

Functions of Anthropology Museums

In the third world countries, and specially in a country like India, the importance of Anthropology museums in the promotion of mutual understanding, between different segments of population, respect for other culture, language, religion, the way of life in general and sense of national oneness of integration cannot be over-emphasised. Therefore, the present paper, with this basic premise, attempts to define the role, and outline the functions of Anthropology Museums with special reference to the Indian situation.

One of the major functions of the Anthropology Museum is to create an awareness among the viewer that he or she is the end product of a scientifically definable process, which is human bio-cultural evolution. Another important function is to highlight, on the one hand, the diversification of the life-styles under different cultural milieu, and on the other, demonstrate the processes of diversification...The diversity can be seen as radiating from the underlying unity of thought process in material culture. This is specially important in a country like India with its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious populations.

The present paper attempts to show that in the Indian situation, particularly the observable diversity (specially in the domain of material cultural aspect of life-style) of the Indian people is the isotopic manifestation of the unified nucleus of the pan-Indian culture and the underlying thought process. It is further shown that new Anthropological Museums are relevant in creating the awareness of the innate awareness and bringing about emotional integration among the different segments of the population.

The modern museums throughout the world no longer consider themselves merely as the storehouses, or agents, to preserve the cultural and natural heritage of countries, but see themselves as powerful instruments of education, and more so of informal education, in making the general public aware of the cultural and natural environment of man. In many countries the museums regard themselves as the 'Cultural Centres'. These trends make it difficult even to adhere to the 1971 definition of ICOM which had to be rebuilt. According

to the statutes adopted at the 10th General Assembly of the ICOM in 1974, a museum is "a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for the purpose of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment."

The above definition is largely accepted even though there cannot be cent per cent agreement for the simple reason that the concept of museum is constantly changing according to the socio-cultural, as well as some time political, needs of a people of a country, or nation. However, from the broadly agreed definition the functions of a museum can conveniently be delineated as :

1. Socio-cultural role;
2. Service to community;
3. Educational role;
4. Instrument of mutual understanding, mutual appreciation and

integrative force.

As for the first three roles, they are well known to the museologists and museographs. I shall, therefore, briefly dwell upon the fourth role, especially in view of the bio-cultural variations present in our country.

The Indian sub-continent has a continuous history of human habitation, right through from the lower palaeolithic to modern times, as documented by the archaeological findings. Even before that the earliest hominid, Ramapithecus, was inhabitant of the Indian Sivaliks, some eight to twelve million years ago. Although very little human skeletal remains have been found, the evidence of human habitation in the form of tools are in abundance, from different parts of the sub-continent. During historical times many waves of migration have come and got assimilated in the melting pot of Indian population, as well as assorted and segregated to give rise to different population groups. The result is that, in the contemporary setting, India is a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious nation, with immense variety in the physical types of its population groups, with varied lifestyle. Thus "India has been a land where cultures have mingled after flowing in from both the West and East. But what is original is that new combinations have taken place here, and some times even new inventions" (Bose, 1961).

Variety of Life-styles

Again, the rich variety of the life-styles of the people in contemporary India can best be portrayed through the spectrum of material culture, since material cultural aspects of life style is tangible and possesses a three-dimensional perspective. It is precisely here that the anthropology museums become relevant. It is impossible to comprehend the rich variety in the life-style of the people of India simply by means of written, or spoken, words, or even by illustrations, photographs, etc. The three-dimensional approach of the museum by presenting the 'real thing' aided by the depiction of the 'process' makes the comprehension easy and possible. In a multi-ethnic situation with a variety of life-styles, Anthropology Museums in India will also prove to be the most effective agent to promote mutual understanding, appreciation and respect for each other, among the different segments of the population. The visual experience of the 'real thing' and the 'living process' through the medium of Anthropology Museums, can assist the viewer to 'discover' the continuity of cultural traditions

on the one hand, and the underlying 'unity in India's variety' on the other, despite the observable variations at the level of material culture, and ethnic, linguistic and religious boundaries. That sense of oneness or unity can be achieved by the comprehension and realisation promoted by Anthropology Museums, as "if one rises to high reaches of life confined to ideals of faiths or art, the differences which one has noticed at the material level of life gradually become feebler and feebler" (*ibid*).

Bose (1961) has made a significant observation which can serve as a theoretical basis for a model of organisation of Anthropological Museums. He states —

"The structure of Indian unity can, therefore, be compared to a pyramid. There is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less as one mounts higher and higher. It is needless to say that the implication is not that village people are more different from one another than city people or sophisticated and propertied classes: but that, whether it is a villager or a dweller of Indian towns, there is more variety in regard to some aspects of life and less in relation to others".

The most important function of Anthropology Museums in India is, therefore, to present an integrated history of the evolution of man and culture with special reference to the richness and diversity of the cultural patterns in the country. In this manner they can help to bring about the sense of mutual understanding and integration, among various sections of the people. Such museums will also be able to educate the Indian citizens, non-formally, and make them realise that they are part of nature, and / or product of the Indian history and traditions.

Immense Potentialities

Anthropology Museums have immense potentialities to accomplish the above task by reconstructing close to real life picture of the culture and life-style of the people, provided the museums are organised in a manner so that the collection of objects, information and knowledge pertaining to the various segments of people is sufficiently wide based, on the one hand, and well-defined channels of dissemination of information exist on the other.

The decentralisation and diversification can be achieved by setting up as many regional level museums as possible as well as local or 'neighbourhood museums'. These museums would present the regional life-style and serve the local community, which by and large have been neglected so far. The Regional Museums, on the other hand, will also play the role of 'feeder museums' to the national level, central museum.

The model of the organisation of Anthropology Museums proposed here is one where a national level museum is at the apex of the pyramid having at the base the village level or neighbourhood museums. In between there may be district or locality and regional museums. The diagrammatical representation of the model is given in Figure 1.

All the museums at various levels should have close links in a manner depicted in Figure 1, The national museum being the apex museum, will depict the integrated national picture. But, for doing so, it may also draw upon the regional museums for 'feeding' with objects and information, besides its own resources. Similarly, a regional museum may draw upon the district or locality museum which, in turn, may be so fed

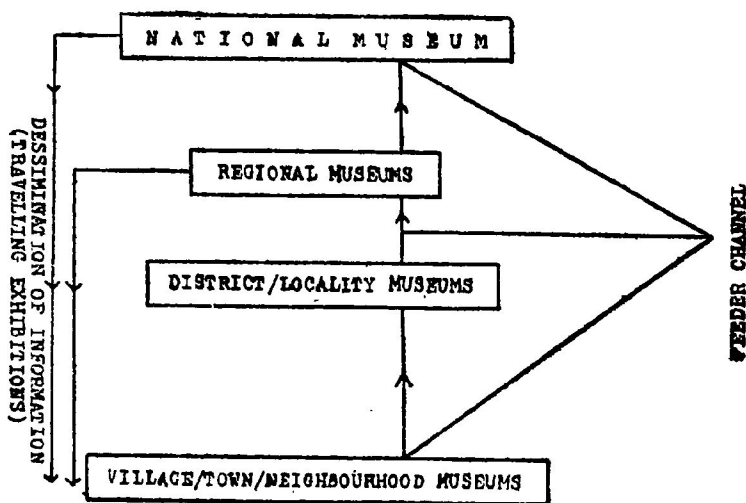


Fig. 1

on a reduced scale, for obvious reasons. The Anthropology Museum thus can play the vital role of integrative force by bringing about a sense of mutual understanding and appreciation among the various sections of population, by presenting a synthesized overview of regional bio-cultural variation, on the one hand, and the complex cultural mosaic, on the other. Such museums can provide the proper perspective to overcome the narrow sectarian and regional prejudices, towards fulfillment of the human aspiration for better and cohesive life.

REFERENCE

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Slavery in India

The English stopped slavery by law in India. Till they did it, our slaves were worse off than the old Babylonian slaves who had greater chances of securing freedom. For example, if a slave owner had a slave woman as his concubine, she and her children became free on his death. A slave then could marry a free woman with his master's consent, and her children would be free. A slave who became rich — he could do business — could purchase his freedom. The Indian slave had no such hopes of liberation. — From *B. R.'s Notes based on G. Contenan's "Everyday Life in Babylonia."*

TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON HUMAN MINDS

By N. Harinarayana

ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTORY OF MUSEUMS edited by Kenneth Hudson and Ann Nichols in 1975, there were 1,497 museums at that time either solely devoted to anthropology or having anthropological collections and galleries in them. Ethnographical collections were also counted among them. Even in the 19th century, especially in the later part of it, anthropological collections began taking shape in museums. Edgar Thurston, author of the monumental *Castes and Tribes of South India* and Superintendent (as the head was called then) of the Government Museum at Madras realised the importance of the nascent science of anthropology so well as to set up an Ethnology Gallery in the Museum in the 'eighties of the last century. Since then the Anthropology Galleries of the museum have been so well developed that they have their own attraction for visitors.

When the Museum of Man (Musée de l'Homme) was set up in Paris in the 1930s as a museum mainly devoted to objects of anthropological interest, its impact was immediate and far-reaching. It contained objects from a number of countries, objects which were not like those in the Louvre made with specific artistic intentions, objects which were connected with the day-to-day life of the people who made them and used them. But these objects had their own artistic qualities which, because of their strangeness to the European sensibility, had, at first, not made any great impression. When a sensitive mind like Picasso chanced upon them and grasped their unique aesthetic, he was influenced by it and he evolved an artistic idiom that startled and revolutionised modern art. This recognition of the possibility of a different artistic sensibility that is no less inspired than that of our own sensibility is one of the important fall-outs of the Museum of Man.

Another fall-out which has been no less important for the growth of modernity is the recognition that men everywhere have evolved sociologically almost on similar lines, that they have ceremonies and rituals which have their parallels everywhere else, and that they have devised tools and artefacts and utensils which have similar purposes, but are widely apart in design and form. This variation in form and design springs from the variation in environment to which the people belong and the variation in lifestyles based on the materials available in the environment.

Instinctive Innovativeness

What is striking about many of these artefacts and tools is that they reveal impressive levels of inventiveness and technological ingenuity based on sound scientific principles. Quite often such technology sprang from the instinctive innovativeness of the more intelligent of the members of the group and was possibly honed to a level of perfection by generations of use and gradual modification. What happened in most cases was that the people who

made these tools and artefacts were content with their efforts to perfect them, but did not think of going beyond it to explore the scientific principles behind that perfection and finish.

It is not that these ideas stated above had not been realised earlier in anthropology. But the display of the cultural artefacts of different peoples in the galleries of a museum projects these ideas in a persuasive manner as only visual means could achieve. Picasso's appreciation of the abstraction implicit in African art objects had an impact beyond influencing his own art. Similarly, the realisation of the similarity of human impulses everywhere led to the strengthening of humanism and the consequent empathy, at least among intellectuals, with other peoples whose cultures were earlier deemed to be primitive or at best antiquated.

Concept of Open-air Museums

Another notable result of anthropology in museums, especially of exhibits in which the lifestyles of people of other cultures were realistically recreated, was the growth of interest in preserving completely and *in situ* structures reminiscent of a period or a place, for example, a farmhouse with a windmill in the Netherlands or an inn in England or a colonial settlement in the 18th century United States. This idea caught up with the museum professionals, and led to the concept of the open-air museum. Almost all countries have adopted this concept and established open-air museums to reflect the lifestyle of the people of a place or period. In India, the National Museum of Man at Bhopal is setting up a museum complex there, in which the dwellings of various tribal groups are being recreated realistically. The Crafts Museum in Pragati Maidan at New Delhi has already set up an Indian village complex on similar lines.

Undoubtedly, anthropology in museums has had a tremendous impact on our minds. No longer do we look at a traditional artefact or weapon or tool of less developed groups as something strange. We grasp the ingenuity implicit in its fabrication and the beauty conferred upon it in making it. We understand that there is an aesthetic different from our own and perhaps not less sensible. So important has this realization become that Mexico established a spectacular National Museum of Anthropology with a lavishness of design and display that is breathtaking. Our own National Museum of Man at Bhopal is ambitious in its scope and conception. Many museums are coming up now to preserve artefacts, tools, and utensils of another time that are fast vanishing before the onslaught of industrial products. The older and bigger anthropological collections, like those of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Government Museum, Madras, are source material for new designs based on traditional forms. There is no doubt that the figure of 1,497 anthropology museums in 1975 would have grown to a larger one now, as anthropology has come to stay as a vital museum discipline like art, archaeology, and natural history.

ANTHROPOLOGY AT SCHOOL LEVEL

.....In spite of poor public relations, anthropology is somewhat known in Northern and Eastern India. Unless we campaign collectively as well as individually, the subject and profession may not get the necessary recognition. Introduction of anthropological material into school curricula should produce a firm base of interest for the future.....

— A. Aiyappan in *Selected Papers*.

THE MACLEAY COLLECTIONS IN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

Story of Museum's Origin, Growth, and Development

By Kalyani Raj, Sydney

A VISIT TO A MUSEUM often awakens the interest in the fascinating study of man, his history, tools and weapons, clothing, domestic arts and crafts, etc. There are Museums the world over, and each country tries to make the collections in them as representative as possible. There are State-owned museums, there are private museums, too. There are museums attached to universities, and in this paper I shall deal with the Macleay Museum of Natural History at Sydney University which is over a hundred years old. The details of how it came to be established, its early origins, growth and development over the years, and, above all, how collections of specimens, zoological, anthropological, etc., were made, the problems encountered by the Museum during the First and Second World Wars, etc., are referred to briefly to enlighten those interested in Museums.

Three personalities dominate the scene, Alexander Macleay (1767-1848), his son William Sharp Macleay (1792-1865), and his nephew William John Macleay (1820-1891). Their efforts over a period of nearly 90 years from around 1800 had resulted in a splendid collection of insect specimens, etc., and William John Macleay had handed over the entire collections to the Sydney University in 1890, a year after he was knighted. The Museum today has over 6,00,000 insect specimens dating back to the mid-1700s; 5,000 artefacts; 40,000 historic photographic images; and some scientific instruments. Its zoological collections comprise 3,000 species and 9,000 foreign birds, 4,000 fish, 2,000 snakes, and 2,000 mammals from Australia.

The Beginnings

Alexander Macleay, born in Wick, North Scotland, came to Sydney in 1826 as the Colonial Secretary of the New South Wales, and used his position to encourage exploration. He set up the Australian Museum in Sydney, and was its first President. He used to collect insects by buying from auctions in London, trading with other collectors, and funding and joining exploration parties. His prime concern / interest was not to study, but to build up the number of species and genera. Both William Sharp Macleay and his cousin William John Macleay came 13 years later in 1839. Earlier, William Sharp worked for the British Government in Paris. He inherited his father's insect collection on his death in 1848, and, on his own, he had made collections mainly from Cuba and America.

'Chevert' Expedition

William John had a different approach. He started collecting insects on his own, but had a network of collectors working for him in Australia, and in the Pacific Islands. In 1875, he organised the 'Chevert' Expedition, the first scientific exploration to Queensland and Papua New Guinea, And it was during this expedition that he acquired many of the items belonging to the Museum's anthropological collections.

In 1865, William Sharp passed away, and his insect collections were inherited by his cousin who had served as a politician in NSW during 1855-1874, and still earlier in 1846 as a Magistrate. William John, in 1874, amalgamated all the collections. As he was getting old, he wanted to bequeath all the collections to the Sydney University, but insisted during discussions in 1873, that the University should construct a "fire proof" brick and iron building to house the entire collections. When the condition was met by the University — it took 15 years to erect the building—, he handed over the collections and completed the transfer in 1890. George Master, one of the collectors of William John, was appointed as the first Curator of the Museum, and he held the post for 22 years till 1912. Thefts in museums are not an occurrence only of modern times. They existed in the early years of this century too. It is on record that there was a considerable loss of specimens through theft and research loans during George Master's time. Two more floors were added to the building during this period.

Public Outcry

When War comes, Museums face lots of problems. In the case of the Macleay Museum of Natural History, the collections had to be stored in the attic of the Museum building. The storing conditions somewhat damaged the material. The "appalling conditions" of the collections came to the notice of the public through coverage in the Sydney newspapers in 1921, but the public outcry had little effect. When World War II came, the collections came to be dispersed throughout Sydney due to bomb scare. It has been mentioned that this was the "worst" point/time in the Museum's history. The Curators who followed George Masters had several problems to contend with. After the war, during 1945-48, the then Curator had the responsibility of returning the collections to the Museum. Elizabeth Hahn, who became Curator in 1958, devoted considerable time and attention in restoring the collections during her five-year stint in the Museum. The University began to feel the burden of the Museum, and there were discussions to demolish the building and close the Museum, but Jenny Anderson, who was the Curator during 1963-66, had the wisdom in him to point out to the University the "legal responsibilities". In 1967, the present Curator and Director, Dr. Peter Stanbury, took charge.

Anthropological Collections

Earlier, we had made a mention of William John Macleay acquiring anthropological specimens. These were mostly from Australia and overseas. The artefacts from the 'Chevert' expedition at the Museum include cassowary-feather dance ornaments, bunches of arrows with delicately carved foreshafts, wooden carvings, carefully painted masks and ritual objects, turtle shell mask, etc. A collector for Macleay, J. Archibald Boyd, supplied anthropological and zoological specimens from Fiji in 1865, and Queensland in 1882.

The ethnographic collections in the Museum belong to two periods, viz., 1858-1925, and to later years. Most of the 2,000 artefacts were obtained during Macleay's voyage to

the Torres Straits and New Guinea in 1875, and were added by his collector in Australia and South Pacific Islands. Since 1980, about 2,500 objects were acquired from Australia and the South Pacific. However, Robert Milton was responsible for the largest collection of 500 objects, which came from Irian Jaya.

Aboriginal Paintings

The Museum is the proud possessor of aboriginal paintings in bark. There are two groups of them: one group consisting of 10 paintings collected between 1838 and 1879 by Alex Morton from Port Essington, Northern Territory, and the other group of 112 paintings on not only bark but also on masonite, and plywood, which were collected between 1946 and 1947 by R. Berndt from Arnhem Land, Northern Territory (Australia). The Museum has a Mummy brought to Sydney from Peru in 1851. The practice of human preservation (through one of many drying processes) ceased in the 1880s. There is also in the Museum a collection of Human Skulls from Oceania and Australia, and pottery from New Guinea. N. N. Miklouho-Macleay (1846-1888) was interested in physical anthropology, he was a Russian explorer who came to Australia, and was a colleague of William John Macleay. He had visited New Guinea six times, and written 30 papers concerning Australian science. He was the first white man to reside there, and had married the daughter of the NSW Premier. His concern for natives, and his human treatment of them, resulted in the area, Astrolabe Bay, being called Macleay Coast. Also, he was the founder of the Marine Biology Station in Sydney. His widow gave most of his anthropological specimens, including human skulls and pottery, to the Museum in 1889.

Among the other anthropological collections in the Museum are spear throwers, wooden containers (to carry baby, grain), boomerangs and axes, shields and clubs, all from Australia. From the Pacific Islands, it has paddles and clubs; and pottery from New Guinea. There are drums, woven mats, arrows, spears, pearl-shaped breast plates, breast ornaments, feathered ornaments, string bags, stone implements from Australia and other places in the world besides grass skirts, masks, shell armlets, wood carvings, shell money, fishing nets, and pearl/shell ornaments.

Historic Photograph Collection

An important section in the Museum is devoted to the historic photograph collections. This section, which was started in 1980, has over 40,000 images belonging to the period 1850-1950. Most of them, in Black and White, and donated by members of the community and University departments, were taken in Sydney, or elsewhere in the New South Wales. A large number of photographs are those of the Australian Aborigines, and on the South Pacific regions. There are also a few photographs on India. Let me quote from an official document titled "Historic Photograph Collection — Macleay Museum" —

"The Collection was begun in 1980 as the result of the work of two Industrial Archaeology students, Barry Groom and Warren Wickman. They recognized that many family photographs were being destroyed or thrown away because relatives to whom the images passed neither recognised the subjects nor understood their significance. As the first professional Curator of the Collection, Catherine Snowden has pointed out that all photographs contain information, both about the subject, and about the era in which the image was made.

Today the Collection contains family albums and images of both professional and amateur photographers and provide an overview of the history of photographic practice in Australia. It is

also a source of historical information showing significantly different aspects of people's lives to that documented in the usual sources...."

What is pertinent to mention here is that these images provide visual evidence and are used by students of history, fine arts, archaeology and anthropology, for researching families, and local suburban histories. Using these collections, exhibitions are mounted, and one such exhibition, named "The Same, But Different" was on Indian and Australian photographs belonging to the period 1850-1925. In a sense, this exhibition represented how photographers saw and depicted the two countries. Some of the photographs have been placed on "lasser disks", and more are likely to be included, so that, when any particular image is needed, it can be selected from the computer catalogue and viewed on a video monitor. The historic photograph collection contains lantern slides, daguerreotypes, glass plate negatives - collodion wet plate and geletin dry plate.

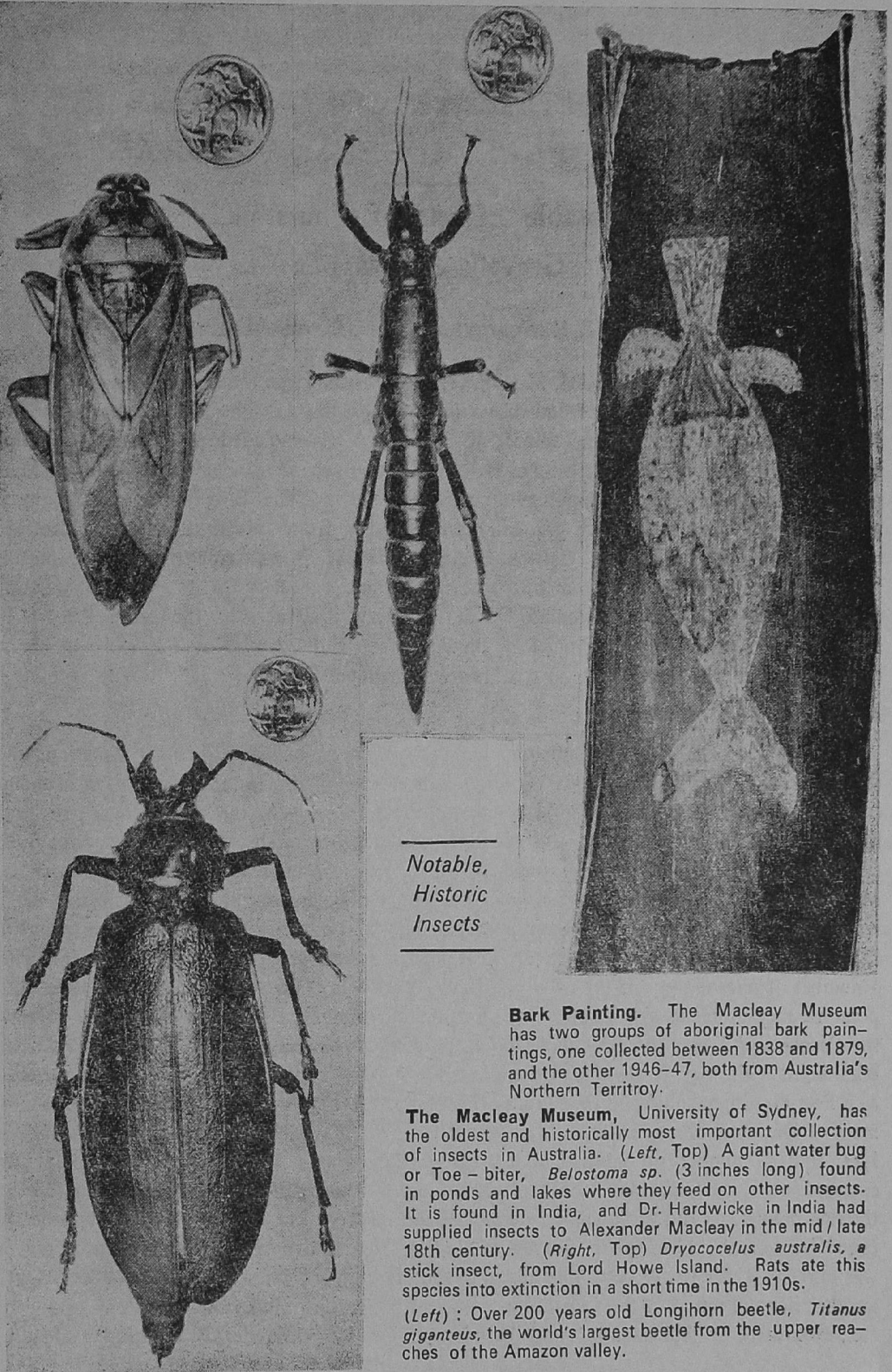
Insect Collection

Earlier, I had mentioned that the Museum has a few lakhs of insect specimens some of them dating back to mid - 1700s. The oldest insect is the whistle cricket which is 237 years old. and is from Santa Cruz, off the West African Coast. It has to be noted that the basic function of the insect collection is to serve as data bank for taxonomic research on Australian and exotic insects. According to Dr. Woody Horning, Entomologist appointed in 1982 "to curate insect collection", it has been possible to identify 20 per cent of the collection to species. The aim, he maintains. "is to maintain the historic collection making them available to workers, and build up the collection particularly with foreign insects, The insect "Toe biter" is found in India. From India Dr. Hardwicke used to supply insects to Alexander Macleay during mid/late 18th century.

In the last few years, the Macleay Museum has organised several exhibitions, but a noteworthy one was the Exhibition "Toys to Remember", and it had many from the museum's anthropological collections.

Study of Culture Change

Early in the 'fifties, there was a Research Team working at the Rankhandi Field Station. Eight Field Research investigators, Rudra Singh and Morris Opler constituted the personnel of the Indian Branch of the Cornell University Programme of Studies in culture and applied social science. The proposal which led to the financial support at Rankhandi had promised "to carry on intensive research at Community Development Projects... to reveal the impact of the programme on the communities which they serve, to determine the areas of acceptance and resistance, to provide material useful for the evaluation of the programme, for predictions concerning its future, and for the formulation of any plans necessary to meet changing conditions." Study of Culture Change was the principal focus of their endeavours. — From B. R.'s *Scrapbook* (based on Opler's circular to the members of the Research Team).



*Notable,
Historic
Insects*

Bark Painting. The Macleay Museum has two groups of aboriginal bark paintings, one collected between 1838 and 1879, and the other 1946-47, both from Australia's Northern Territory.

The Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, has the oldest and historically most important collection of insects in Australia. (Left, Top) A giant water bug or Toe-biter, *Belostoma* sp. (3 inches long) found in ponds and lakes where they feed on other insects. It is found in India, and Dr. Hardwicke in India had supplied insects to Alexander Macleay in the mid/late 18th century. (Right, Top) *Dryococelus australis*, a stick insect, from Lord Howe Island. Rats ate this species into extinction in a short time in the 1910s.

(Left) : Over 200 years old Longhorn beetle, *Titanus giganteus*, the world's largest beetle from the upper reaches of the Amazon valley.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS IN GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS

Notable Efforts of Thurston,
Gravelly, & Aiyappan

By N. Harinarayana & N. Devasahayam

THE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS, is one of the largest multi-purpose State Museums in India, and stands second from the point of its age. Dr. Balfour, in fact, organised it in 1851. Subsequently, in 1872, the subject of Ethnology was included as one of its disciplines by Dr. George Bidie who succeeded Dr. Balfour in the capacity of a Corresponding Member of the Italian Society of Anthropology and Ethnography. The Ethnological collections have a long history, and they grew gradually and steadily from this time onwards through the untiring efforts of the District Collectors. By 1878 the Brecks collection of the megalithic burial potteries from the Nilgiris district and the Stoney collection of the megalithic potteries from Coimbatore district were secured by the Museum. Earlier, in 1863, Dr. Robert Bruce Foote, the Father of Indian Prehistory, made his first discoveries of the early man's stone tools in the valley of the Cortelaiyar river in the Chingleput District.

Anthropometric Laboratory

From 1885, the Museum was lucky to have as its head Dr. Edgar Thurston, who, as the first professional museologist, and an expert ethnologist, established an anthropometric laboratory for the first time in the Museum, and the visitors were measured, thus switching on to anthropological investigation and research. Credit goes to Thurston for the several Bulletins and Monographs based on the study of the objects from 1893 onwards, and thus the Museum became a research centre on its own. In the collection of field material, he had received assistance from L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and others. In 1901, as Superintendent of Ethnological Survey, and assisted by Mr. K. Rangachari, he covered the tribal pockets, and collected a number of photographs of the tribals and their day-to-day objects and added numerous anthropometric measurements as a result of which came into existence the seven monumental volumes of the *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, projecting the image of Dr. Thurston as the earliest ethnologist. Further, it was due to the initiative of Dr. Thurston, Anthropology was adopted as a Post-Graduate subject in the Madras University. Again, it was as a result of the encouragement of Dr. Thurston, apart from Mr. Rangachari, Mr. Fawcett, and Mr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, that a number of South Indians were inducted into the field of Anthropology which emerged as a new discipline only in recent times. During the tenure of Dr. Thurston itself, the rich prehistoric and protohistoric stone tool and pottery pieces gathered by Robert Bruce Foote (an Officer of the Geological Survey of India) from all over India, numbering about 4,000 was purchased for Rs. 48,000/- and added to the Museum collection during 1904-1905. Similarly, another rich collection of the megalithic objects of pottery, iron tools and artefacts, gold diadems, etc., excavated at Adichanallur and Perumbair sites by Alexander Rea were also added to the

Museum collection during the time of Dr. Thurston. And these two massive prehistoric collections were catalogued and the extensions to the Front building were made to accommodate some of these noteworthy collections at the suggestion of Dr. Henderson in 1910.

Stress on Research

A new Chapter in the history of the Museum commenced with the advent of Dr. F. H. Gravely as the Superintendent of the Museum, in 1920, so that the Museum, especially the Anthropology Section, strove in all directions towards development and progress. Early in 1926, the post of a part-time Ethnological Assistant was sanctioned for the first time (later changed to that of Curator for Anthropology) and Mr. Rangachary with his wide experience in field anthropology was appointed. Thus, with reasonable staff, more research articles and papers on the collections were published, signifying that research work by its staff is an essential function of the Museum. In fact, in their report on Indian Museums (1935-1936), Markham and Hargreaves mentioned that "Research is well to the fore at the Madras Government Museum and its lengthy list of publications deals with Archaeology, Ethnology, and Zoology". Further Dr. Gravely made efforts to improve documentation — a recent discipline in Museology and another essential function of the Museum — with proper and scientific methods of registration and accessioning of the collection, and thus the treasure trove registers were introduced for bronzes, coins, and jewellery acquired in treasure troves.

Trial digging for the first time at Arikamedu in Pondicherry — an Indo-Roman trading station — was undertaken in 1940 Dr. Aiyappan, and the result was encouraging and fruitful. This paved the way for the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, to conduct proper and extensive excavations at a later date under the guidance of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler.

During Dr. Gravely's period, his Personal Assistant Mr. M. D. Raghavan had collected notable megalithic antiquities from three different sites, significantly the one from the Madras City, on Halls Road in Kilpauk, another from the rock-cut cave tombs of Panunda and Punnol in North Malabar, and lastly the famous Ram Sarcophagus and associated finds from Sankavaram in Cuddappah district in Andhra Pradesh, thus establishing cultural sequences of early man in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Andhra respectively.

At the suggestion of Sir George Grierson, Officer-in-Charge of the Linguistic Survey of India, about four dozen gramophone records of the languages of rural folk and of the tribals of Southern India were recorded during the time of Dr. Gravely, and the text of passages which form a basic source material for linguistic research, were published in a bulletin of the Museum by the efforts of Mr. M. D. Raghavan. It is also gratifying to note that when the Department of Anthropology was established in the Madras University in 1945, Mr. Raghavan was appointed to the post, but he took up another post at the Colombo Museum.

Stone Tool Collections

Dr. Aiyappan, the first Indian to head the institution, had carried out a large number of research projects on individual communities, such as the Iravas, and the Nayadis. He also conducted several explorations/excavations on the prehistoric and proto-historic sites in Tamil Nadu. He headed the first Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Commission in 1946-1947,

and published the report on the socio-economic conditions of the tribes of the Madras Presidency. His microlithic stone tool collections from Sawyerpuram area, and the megalithic pottery collections from the Kodaikanal Hill area form a valuable source material for the researchers in the field of prehistory.

Mr. C. J. Jayadev, who succeeded Dr. V. R. Reddy as the Curator for Anthropology, contributed much to the material culture of the tribes of Attapady Valley in Kerala, and the Kolli Hills in Salem district in Tamil Nadu. He also conducted a sample survey of suicides in five districts of Tamilnadu in 1954. He also brought out, in Tamil and English, a Guide to the Anthropological Galleries in the Museum. His monograph on "Tali Rites" has been published posthumously. It is a meticulous study on the tali-tying ceremony prevalent among the rural and tribal folk in South India. Mr. A. V. N. Sharma, who succeeded Mr. Jayadev, surveyed the material culture of the Adivasis of Kodikkarai in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. He reorganised on modern lines the ethnological galleries. An indepth study of the human remains from Adichanallur (excavated by Rea during 1889-94) was undertaken by the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, in 1956 and a report on its research findings was published, making use of the earlier studies done by Dr. Zuckerman and Professor Elliot Smith in 1930. Among the outstanding research works in the field of prehistory sponsored by the Museum, mention may be made of the contributions of Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami on the Palaeoliths of Madras in the valley of the Corteliyar (1935) and on the team of the Yale - Cambridge expedition to the Soan Valley in Punjab (1935-36), and of Dr. F. P. Manley on the palaeoliths of Nellore, besides of Dr. Aiyappan (1942).

Ethnological Collections

The Ethnological collections include about 270 treasure trove hoards of gold and silver jewellery, the Madras Museum being first among the Indian Museums in this regard. In fact, the acquiring of these collections was started even from 1935 from all over the Madras Presidency under the Treasure Trove Act of 1873. Apart from their wide range in shape, variety, design, style and pattern they extend from the Sangam period to the present day. The most notable piece of gold jewellery is the one received from Vellalore village, in Coimbatore district, in 1939, representing Roman influence to a marked extent. Apart from their archaeological and artistic importance, these treasure trove finds throw more light on the socio-cultural conditions which prevailed among all sects and groups of people through the ages. A research monograph on the jewellery collections of the Museum is under preparation and will be brought out soon. The care and conservation — yet another discipline of Museology — of this huge collection of nearly 24,000 objects is not an easy task. This Museum has got a well-equipped and upto-date conservation laboratory to preserve the anthropological objects of animal, vegetable and mineral origin.

For comparative display and presentation in the galleries, and for study and analysis from the research point of view, stone age antiquities from different parts of the world have been acquired in recent years, by means of exchange programmes, and important among them are the Rostro-carinates, Abbevillean, Acheulean and Neolithic of England, the Mousterian and Magdalenian of France, the Palaeolithic of Africa, the Neolithic of Egypt, the Tampanian of Malaya, the Pitjitanian of Indonesia, the Chou-koutenian of China, the stone and pottery items from the United States of America, and the Neolithic of Japan. Thus, along with the Indian objects, the entire anthropological

collections form a suitable source material for research study and teaching. This is evident from the fact that for nearly two decades, the Curator for Anthropology was serving as a part-time Lecturer to teach the subject of material culture and for conducting practical classes in prehistory to the P. G. Diploma students in Madras University.

As for publications, the Anthropological monographs issued by the Museum are internationally well-known and recognised, and are referred to by scholars everywhere. Till date, the Museum has produced 20 monographs and guide books on Ethnology, seven on Prehistory, and a catalogue on the Musical Instruments collection. It has also brought out a set of coloured picture postcards of Kathakali figures of Kerala, and a set of photographs of South Indian tribals for sale.

Puppet Gallery

In the last decade, the folk art collection was enlarged, especially the puppet collection with the acquisition of nearly 350 leather puppets from different parts of the country and abroad, including a few string and glove puppets, through purchase and exchange. Following this, for the first time in Indian Museums, a small but compact Puppet Gallery was organised, and a Bulletin on the collection of puppets in the Museum was brought out by the Curator.

In recent years, the Section has been engaged in collecting and studying objects of the Malaiyali tribe, the largest populated hill tribe of Tamilnadu, who inhabit the hills of Pachamalai, Kollimalai, Kalvarayan, Chitteri, Shevoroy, Yercaud, Jawadhi, and Yelagiri. Recently, a districtwise survey of the tribes has been taken up covering the Pulayans, Paliyans and Muduvans, in Madurai; the Irulas, Pulayans, Irawallar and Malasars in Coimbatore; the Malaiyalis, Lambadis, and Irulas in North Arcot, the Pachamalayalis in Trichy; the Chinna and Periya Malaiyalis in South Arcot; the Chitteri Malaiyalis and Lambadis in Dharmapuri; the Kolli Malaiyalis in Salem; and the Sholagas in Periyar.

Being one of the oldest museums in India, and having all the three branches of Anthropology as its subject-areas, the Madras Museum has been a popular and prominent institution in collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the artefacts and appliances of the tribals, and of the primitive peoples, right from 1864 onwards, which, no doubt, is a great achievement. It has reorganised two of its Ethnological galleries in 1962-63 on modern lines, and opened recently new galleries of Puppets and Folk Arts. Plans are being worked out to reorganise the Physical Anthropology and the Prehistory galleries. In order to present a total cultural history of a region or a country, how important it is to project, along with its ancient culture, its tribal culture too, which is changing rapidly due to the impact of modernism. In this respect, the Madras Museum has taken steps to collect and record even the age-old traditions, culture knowledge, and livelihood systems, thus preserving the rich tribal heritage of our country.

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"A VERY WELL KEPT ZOO..."

The Trichur Zoo, in its early years, used to attract a number of foreign visitors and scholars. One such visitor was Dr. Gilbert Slater who was Professor Economics in the University of Madras during 1915-21. His impressions bear ample witness to L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer's hard work in developing it. Dr. Slater wrote—

"...The Trichur Zoo, of which.. Ananthakrishna Iyer was the Curator, was a modest establishment, but very well kept, and decidedly superior to the Madras Zoo. It was a small enclosure, entirely surrounded by a high wall...I was interested in a splendid King Cobra, the biggest of the Cobras — which was said to attack without provocation and to kill almost to certainty —, and in a fine collection of the big carnivores, well-housed. Another exceptional exhibit was a long-woolled sheep, which strolled about freely, and cropped the grass, and was evidently a pet. When it passed in front of the cages of the tigers and leopards, they looked at it with indifference, but there was a splendid black panther, the most beautiful beast I ever saw, born in the Zoo, and when he saw the sheep he got frantic with excitement, the instinct to kill being apparently all the more urgent because it had never been gratified..." — From *Southern India: Its Political and Economic Problems* by Gilbert Slater, pages 202-203 (London, 1936).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS IN KERALA MUSEUMS

Scope for Continual Increase : Need to Exploit Educational Possibilities

By L. K. Bala Ratnam

MUSEUMS THE WORLD OVER endeavour to depict the life of ancient man through a wealth of artifacts representing the different ages in succession. Over the years, museologists have stressed the need for attaching importance to ethnographic collections in order to demonstrate how and by which tools man "protects himself against the surrounding forces of nature, makes himself their master and uses them to his advantage." From the scientific standpoint, each nation tries its best to acquire collections relating to the peoples of the world, though with more stress on products from within its own geographical area. In the early years of this century, the India Museum at South Kensington illustrated the industrial arts of "Hindustan," and the ethnography of the primitive tribes was left to the British Museum.

Apart from the "museum in the making" at Bhopal (the Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya), we have in India about a dozen large-size museums, each having a history of its own. In the southern region, the most famous is the Government Museum at Madras, also known as the Connemara Museum, and, though we have a separate paper on it, in this volume, it is relevant to mention that it was G. Bidie, Surgeon-General, who, in 1878, as Superintendent of the Museum, "made Ethnology a museum subject to be illustrated by prehistoric antiquities and ethnographic materials." J. W. Brecks, R. B. Foote, and A. Rea were among the "pioneers" of prehistoric studies in the country, and it is on record that "large collections" of prehistoric antiquities were made and catalogued by them, and that more were added by others in subsequent years. There are also collections representing the Bronze Age in Peninsular India and the Indus Valley, the Iron Age in India, besides the Brahmagiri cultures, and the Arikamedu finds. Cultural history is represented through coins, and sculpture in stone, bronze, etc. The ethnographic collections, formed by gradual acquisitions and gifts, are fairly representative of the life and material culture of the tribes of the southern region, and include, among others, fire-making devices, tools for collecting, fishing, hunting, and agriculture, musical instruments, ornaments, clothing, and votive objects. This paper deals with the museums at Trivandrum and Trichur, in Kerala State, and their collections over the years generally and with particular reference to ethnographic / anthropological acquisitions. At the outset, it may be stated that both these museums are not well developed in anthropology and ethnology.

Named After Napier

The Trivandrum Museum, named after Sir Charles Napier, former Governor of Madras, is 133 years old, and celebrated its centenary in January 1958. Its Botanical and Zoological Gardens are world famous, and there are appreciative references to them in Pierre Loti's famous book titled *India*. It is stated therein —

“...Trivandrum has a Zoological Garden with parks of gazelles and ponds of crocodiles, as well kept as those of Europe, one of the few places where it is possible to escape from the stifling shade of the palms and to overlook the distant prospect of forests and jungles. Lawns have been laid out with rows of exotic flowers and other matchless plants...”

The different kinds of animals form an admirable collection for the zoo, and provide instruction and amusement to the numerous visitors. To the ornithologist, there is an excellent collection to see and admire, — the vulture, kite, owl, night heron, duck, Nicobar pigeons, koel, spotted dove, etc. In the general layout, in the marvellous beauty of its arrangements as a Botanical Garden, in the excellent arrangement of plants on a scientific basis, the Trivandrum garden is a storehouse of information.

Let us briefly look at the Museum's origin, growth, and development, as eminent personalities had lend a helping hand in its early years. It was in 1852, when His Highness Bhagyodaya Uthram Thirunal Maharaja ruled the erstwhile State of Travancore, a decision was taken to start a museum of objects illustrative of the natural and physical sciences, the arts and of the products and antiquities of Travancore “as a means of aiding the natives in their efforts to gain a practical knowledge of the arts and sciences of Europe and of preserving the rapidly decaying illustrations of the ancient manners and customs of the country”. Accordingly, a Society, was formed in 1855, with the Maharaja as Patron, Gen. Cullen as President, and J. A. Brown, Astronomer and Geologist, as Secretary. It was, however, only in 1857 that the Museum was thrown open to the public. In 1859, the area around the Museum, about 60 acres, was laid out into a park and Zoological Gardens. About 3,000 persons visited it during that year. But the curiosities sent in from time to time by a long succession of enthusiastic members began to accumulate. The accommodation was found insufficient and, in 1873, it was decided that a suitable structure should be erected immediately to house the collections. The new building was designed by Chisholm, the Consulting Architect of the Madras Government, and completed in 1880. The collections which were temporarily removed to the Public Offices were brought back to the new building, which was named after Sir Caarles Napier. The Museum consisted of a main (central) hall, joined to two rooms parallel to it by two wings. The distinction and beauty of its blend of Indigenous and related architectural features have been carefully preserved.

Fergusson's Efforts

In 1880, Col. K etchen was appointed as Secretary of the Management Committee and he was succeeded by the distinguished scholar, H. S. Fergusson, who took charge in 1890, and devoted himself to his work with remarkable zeal. Innumerable collections of value and importance were obtained and exhibited. The classification and arrangement of the exhibits was carried out on the very same lines as chalked out by the British Museum. The Committee of Management, which had administered the Museum from the beginning, was abolished in 1898, and Fergusson was appointed as the first Director of the institution. During his connection with the Museum he made systematic collections of new species of fauna. Let me quote him—

“...The *hill tribes* are represented with all their peculiar instruments. A good collection of the *musical instruments* of the country has been made with some care and trouble...We have most of our mammals represented in our Museum,

a good proportion of birds, all the snakes, and nearly all the amphibia. The butterflies are pretty complete. And we have large collections of the other orders of insects. The art collections are progressing. Cases representing ivory-carving, brasswork, lace, wood-carving, and koftgari work, are all complete..."

Natural History Section

In 1903, Fergusson retired after a distinguished service...Others took over..., and from 1908 the administration of the Department was vested in an Hony. Director with a full-time Superintendent. There have been different patterns in the administration of the various sections since then. It has also to be noted that as years passed by, increased floor space was needed to accommodate new acquisitions. In 1942, the Natural History Section was, therefore, transferred to a building near the beach (seashore), but in 1950 it was transferred back to the present building, and the entire space available was "devoted to the art-crafts of India, with special emphasis on those of Travancore and contiguous areas". The arrangement of the different specimens was a difficult task, but this was successfully done by J. H. Cousins, the then Art Advisor to the State Government. In between 1942 and 1948, H. S. Prater, Curator, Bombay Natural History Society and Prince of Wales Museum, had drawn up a Report on the Natural History Museum for Travancore which was proposed to be built in Trivandrum on the Body Guard Parade Ground, near the Cantonment Junction. A Committee appointed by the University of Travancore had suggested some modifications. These proposals were "generally approved by the Government" which nominated a small Committee "to draw up concrete proposals". K. L. Moudgill, Convener, Natural History Museum Committee, in a communication, had stated in June 1947 —

"...The Museum is intended to display exhibits illustrative of the fauna, flora, minerals, and ethnography of the State. It is also intended that basic natural materials of special interest to the trade, industries and agriculture of the State and natural sets such as models of hydro-electric schemes and other projects may be suitably exhibited..."

In 1949, with the integration of Travancore and Cochin States, the Museum along with the Zoo and Gardens at Trivandrum, and the Museum, Zoo, etc., at Trichur, together constituted the Department of Museums and Zoos, and came under the administrative control of the Director of Museums and Zoos. The same administrative pattern continued with the formation of the State of Kerala in 1956 under the States Reorganisation Act.

Ethnographic Collections

The ethnographic collections are highly representative of the material culture of some of the tribal survivals of the erstwhile State of Travancore. These include weapons used by the Kanikkar, and their Bow and Arrow. There are specimens of Plain Arrow, Plain Arrow with Iron Tip, and Arrows used for different purposes like catching fish, small mammals, and large mammals. There is a specimen of a rat-trap, as also of a trap for catching small mammals. Among other objects exhibited are implements used by the Kanikkar for tilling the ground, and their baskets, mats, tobacco box, and betel box made of pandanus. We have also a set of excellent life-size models (both male and female) of five tribes of Travancore — the Kanikkar, Mannan, Malapantaram, Muthuvan, and Thantapulaya —, and also ornaments (Brass bangles.

and necklaces of beads). Barring the afore-mentioned items, we have nothing to represent the other hillmen of Kerala, or of the other neighbouring States of Tamilnad, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, nor also of American, Australian, or African tribal cultures. There are, however, other items of interest. There is a model of an old Nair House, with miniature models (outhouses) representing their domestic and social life, besides a marriage procession, and a typical Nair lady. Another item, though recently added, is the "Brides of India" in their different colourful costumes, obtained from the National Museum. There are on display a large number of musical instruments, some of which are of local origin, and illustrate the musical life of Travancore and her people. The exhibits of brass and bronze lamps are over a century old. The Jewellery Section has been enriched by additions of rare and old ornaments like 'Pavakk Kuru mala', bracelet ring, 'vyalithala necklace', etc., besides Waist rings, bangles, and marriage pendants (*talis*). The Museum has made efforts to acquire ornaments in vogue during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. Special mention may be made of collection of rare items like 'Chandra Palaka', 'Katti Poothali', 'Sata Palaka', 'Ani Kappu', 'Kalpanam Mala', etc. Other acquisitions include necklaces with 'kurtha elas', (Pointed charm), and Adil chain (necklace), of bangles like 'Tharivala' and 'Eratta Kadakam', and of 'Talis' like 'Sanku and Tali' (Cenck and pendant).

Other Valuable Collections

The Trivandrum Museum does have on display a select set of South Indian bronzes, arranged well so as to allow the aesthetical quality and technical excellence of each figure to be appreciated without confusion with neighbouring figures. These include those of Vishnu in the posture of blessing man and belonging to the 10th century, of Shiva as Lord of the Cosmic Dance (Nataraja) which dominated the imagination of the craftsman from 12th to 15th centuries; and of Sasta of the 17th century. In fact, there are a number of striking figures of Shiva in bronze, as also a collection of Nataraja images. The images of Vishnu and Sasta were obtained by the Museum from North Travancore. A rare piece of miniature craftsmanship is a Brahma, and another is a dancing Ganesa. There are examples, too, of the arts of stone sculpture, and wood carving. The stone image acquired by the Museum, perhaps the oldest, is that of a Buddha from North Travancore. Most intricate wood-carving is depicted through the temple car from Padmanabhapuram which was in use about 350 years back. The Java-Bali collection representing the religion and religious dance of the islanders was made by His Highness the Maharaja Sri Chitra Thirunal during his visit to Java and Bali in 1937. A collection of modern folk paintings of Bali in the Sri Chitralayam were the first to be exhibited outside the island.

The Trichur Museum & Zoo

Trichur, like Trivandrum, has a Museum and Zoo which are popular, drawing visitors all the year round. Before dwelling on the valuable collections in the museum, it may be pertinent to refer briefly to its origin, growth and development. It is on record that both the Museum and Zoo came to be established in 1885 at Viyyur, near Trichur, by Sankarayya, the then Dewan Peishkar of Cochin State. As they did not attract visitors, because of accessibility difficulties, Dewan P. Rajagopalachari ordered the winding up of both. A few years later, Narayana Marar, Ag. Dewan, who recognised their usefulness and importance for the State, held discussions with officers..., and in 1912 he succeeded in establishing a mini-Museum and Zoo in an outhouse in the Krishna Vilasam Palace at Trippunithura. J. W. Borr, who succeeded Narayana Marar as Dewan, decided to move the Museum to Trichur, and located it in

Chembukavu which place also came to be known as Lal Bagh Mavu Thope. By acquiring more land adjoining the Museum, it became possible also to plan for a Zoological Gardens as the location was considered by experts most suitable for the purpose.

Albion Banerjee, who became Dewan, reorganised the Cochin Education Department on more upto-date lines and appointed L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer as Deputy Inspector of Schools. He wanted the Museum to be a first-rate one for the State, and felt that Ananthakrishna Iyer's organising capacity, scientific outlook, and wide experience would be an asset to organise not only the Museum, but also the Zoological Gardens, besides an Industrial Bureau, on modern lines. He was appointed Curator of the State Museum, and Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens in 1914, in addition to his being Superintendent of Ethnography. He took over the Museum collections at Trippunithura, which had grown rapidly from the nucleus of some zoological specimens and some stuffed sea-fish from the Cochin waters, from L. A. Krishna Iyer who was then in temporary charge of them in addition to his work as an Assistant in the Ernakulam College.

Masks, Drums, Costumes

Though established on a modest scale, the two institutions developed rapidly after the change of venue. Within a period of six years, they acquired scientific reputation for a number of unique features. The uniqueness of some of the exhibits deserves to be specially mentioned. The skeleton of the elephant in the Zoological Section belonged to Chengallur Nambudiripad. In the *Ethnological Section* were housed the types of ornaments worn by different classes of people, the musical instruments used by them, and a rare and precious collection of masks, drums, and costumes used by the Kathakali dancers and presented by the then Raja of Cochin. There is a megalith, several centuries old, and regarded as the oldest historical object in the Museum. Also, there are burial urns, called *Kudakalla*, of different types. In November 1989, the collections of *talis* (marriage pendants) were stolen from the Museum and till March 1991 they have remained untraced. Some of the most valuable acquisitions appear to have been lost for ever.

The Industrial Bureau began with exhibits of local arts and crafts, principally in woodwork, mats, blacksmithy, bronzeware, and handloom products. These had attracted attention from the local public as well as from outside. Visitors from other parts of India, and also from Europe — and they included scholars and scientists — used to patronise these sections to a degree which was unusual for the time. In respect of the Zoo, from a pair of pythons, a leopard, and two monkeys, a number of important additions were made. The snake house contained probably one of the best collections then seen anywhere. The King Cobra which was added to it was a great attraction to the visitors. The black panther was another important specimen. By exchange with other Zoological Gardens in the country and acquisition from the State itself, many new specimens were added.

Varieties of Lamps

After Ananthakrishna Iyer's retirement in 1920, the State Museum had continued to acquire several objects, some of them very precious and which came to be offered as gifts/

donations. In the last seven decades, it has, among its acquisitions, a fan made of ivory, an ivory chessboard and chessmen on Sandalwood stand, an image of Bhadrakali made from jackwood, Ananta's five-hooded head in antique silver and stated to belong to the 13th century, *dwarapalakas* made of *panchaloka*, tea set made of clove, Aranmula mirror, trays used for counting *panam* (coins), and swords and darbar dress of ex-rulers of Cochin. Special mention may be made of the presentation to the Museum of the legendary sword of the Paliam family, which was used by one of their ancestors who were the hereditary ministers of the ruling Rajas of Cochin "to assassinate the insolent Manakote Chief". The Lamps Section has varieties of *Changalavattas* (hanging lamps with several *dalams* for wicks), *aaluvilakku*, *kindivilakku*, *ottalaathi*, and *panchalaathi*, and huge Kathakali *vilakku* (lamp). There have been many new additions to the Zoo by way of birds, wild animals, and reptiles.

Government Apathy

Any objective assessment would show that both the Trichur and Trivandrum Museums have not made much strides since Independence. Apathy on the part of the Government is largely responsible for this state of affairs. The Trichur Museum and Zoo occupy an area of 135 acres, and lack of space has been a constraint in the way of modernisation and expansion of this place of popular appeal. The Trivandrum Museum, for long, has prided itself on its "ideal environment" and its "multi-purpose" nature. In April 1955, the Ministry of Education of the Government of India had convened an All-India Museum Conference at New Delhi, "to consider ways for the reorganisation and development of museums in the country". The Expert Survey Committee, which it appointed, visited the two Kerala Museums in December 1955. In regard to the Trivandrum Museum, it had then made certain observations which are as valid today as when they were made. The Committee had stated —

" Display is poor and perhaps below the standard, which is probably due to lack of space and funds. The metal collection in the Arts side is not only inadequate in proportion to the potentiality of Travancore-Cochin but was also lacking in order or arrangement. The coin collection consists of about 2,000 coins of which a majority is copper. The coin collection is representative of South India with a few specimens of North India. It is strange that in spite of this State having control of Treasure Trove, it has not been able to enrich its coin collection..."

The year 1956 witnessed the birth of Kerala State with the Malabar region (excluding South Kanara) being merged with Travancore-Cochin. The State Government set apart a sum of Rs 5 lakhs for the development of the two Museums during the Second Five-year Plan. The plans included a new building for the Natural History Section of the Trivandrum Museum, an auditorium, and theatre... With marginal increases only in the annual budgets for these institutions, they have faced difficulties in implementing programmes for acquisition of objects. The Committee referred to earlier did not mince words. It had stated that the Trivandrum Museum "is under-developed in Anthropology and Ethnology", a statement equally applicable to the Trichur Museum. The number of ethnographic exhibits I had seen in the 'forties and 'fifties, has over the years remained almost the same; and this was the impression with which I had left the Trivandrum Museum when I visited it in September 1987. Both Cochin and

Travancore were fortunate to have ethnographic surveys, but the two Museums have not been able to benefit from the studies, and collect/acquire anthropological exhibits, as also exhibits under the heads "Physical Anthropology" and "Ethnology". An attempt should have been made to depict the different levels of cultural and social organisation of the primitive peoples of South India, though with emphasis on the three regions of Kerala, viz, Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. With civilisation spreading, it has to be recognised that beliefs, customs, and products of practically all primitive peoples are becoming obsolete under new conditions which have perhaps only a secondary importance for the ethnologist. Such facts alone enforce the urgency for energetic action before it is too late. I would also endorse the observation of the Expert Survey Committee that "in addition to over-crowding, the show-cases (in the Trivandrum Museum) were obsolete, antiquated, and in most cases ill-suited for the exhibits."

Role of Museums

What is the role of a museum today? What has been the role in the past, and what should be the role in future? Originally, museums were intended for the use of specialists, and no attempt was made to exhibit collected items to help in popular education. Efforts subsequently came to be made to display objects with a view to raising curiosity, and stimulating thinking as well as questioning. The focus was also on developing a scientific attitude of mind even among the general public who happened to visit museums. Over the years, museums abroad have become progressive and changed their roles while discharging their traditional functions. A. Aiyappan, quoting a UNESCO pamphlet, once remarked at a meeting that museums "can no longer be considered sanctuaries for the connoisseur".

Since the 'fifties, the UNESCO has strived through seminars, conferences, etc., to improve the standards of museum work. It brings out a journal, *Museum*, for exchanging ideas on museums with institutions and specialists the world over. The educational possibilities of museums have to be further exploited. UNESCO has expressed the view that museums can help in improving international understanding, and on its suggestion, progressive museums have organised "didactic exhibitions" aimed at reduction/elimination of international tensions, prejudices, etc. "Mankind, A Single Family" was the title of one such exhibition organised in Vienna.

The educational value of museums has come to be recognised, and in the building of this, teachers, students, and museologists have to work together. In the U. S. A., and other developed countries, there are special museums for the exclusive use of children. There is a Children's Museum attached to the Government Museum, Madras, and it has been popular with the children of Madras. Also, in the U. S. A., several museums run a large number of clubs and classes for children. In New York, the Rochester Museum of Arts and Science had at one time about 20 clubs, and among them were the Amateur Radio Association, Writers' Club, Rochester Rose Society, Rochester Aquarium Society, Philatelic Association, etc. The educational activities of the Kerala Museums need reorientation, with the changing times, as efforts have to be put in to exploit their educational possibilities. As earlier stated, ethnography is very imperfectly represented in the two Museums, and even now several other sections are far from complete. For them to expand and function in planned desired directions, funds are necessary, and the blame for not looking into this aspect should squarely fall on both the Central and State Governments.

RASHTRIYA MANAV SANGRAHALAYA

Conceptualisation of a Museum in the Making at Bhopal

By Ram Sharma

THE RASHTRIYA MANAV SANGRAHALAYA, at Bhopal, is one of the most significant Museums being planned in the country today. It has been conceived with a view to project a comprehensive commentary on the origin, growth, and development of Man and his habitat. For this purpose an indoor Museum building along with an outdoor one is being designed on a site measuring 80 hectares in area. The Indoor Museum, extending over 29,000 square metres of area, is proposed to house a variety of sensitive display, seeking temperature, humidity and lighting control. The outdoor museum will incorporate a chronological sequence of physical environments, representative of significant periods through the history. These two together would provide ample opportunities for cultural and educational pursuits.

Concept

The conceptualisation of RMS attains special significance for several reasons. First RMS would be the first Museum of its kind to have a large component in the form of an outdoor display zone within which environmental settings pertaining to different periods through history, depicting the growth and development of man are to be recreated. Second, the content and nature of exhibits vary considerably from a normal museum for Art, Crafts, Sculpture, Painting, Natural History, etc. Third, availability of a range of medium of communication ranging from static, mobile to audio-visual, etc., suggest tremendous possibilities in enrichment of display systems. Fourth, the fact that it is being evolved at a time when our technological competence allows for us to plan large column-free spaces; establish lighting, humidity and climatic control to cater to our specific needs; and incorporate computerised systems for research, documentation, communication, monitoring, and security controls. The site also contributes. A number of rock shelters with prehistoric paintings in them form valuable exhibits. The location of these guides the structuring of the outdoor Museum.

Finalisation of the concept was effected after careful examination and evaluation of the functional requirements projected by RMS, and taking into account the constraints and potential of the proposed site. Over 80 hectares in area, the site, by virtue of its peripheral configuration and nature of surrounding land uses (i. e., (a) Police Line to its south; (b) Wild Life Sanctuary to its west; (c) The Upper Lake to its north; and (d) Regional College - at an upper plateau to its east), to a great extent suggested zoning possibilities. Feasible road access points guided these to an extent, but the final format was established by local topographical fluctuation within the site.

The concept that emerged aims at a distinct landscaped park within which buildings and areas for outdoor exhibitions co-exist in harmony, and yet enjoy a sense of identity. The benefits derived through significant characteristics of the site guide strategic positioning of proposed land uses, and help evolve a physical form which is functionally efficient, aesthetically pleasing, and environmentally stimulating.

Master Plan

Preliminary Master Plan was prepared on the basis of a programme of requirements supplied by RMS. Area requirements identified by RMS in respect of assigned functions were examined, cross-checked by means of diagrammatic studies, and amended as was found necessary before drafting the Plan. The qualitative needs of the proposed activities in terms of lighting, ventilation, desired views, ease of access, associated outdoor area, landscape, servicing, etc., guided the shaping of the Plan. The irregular shape and undulating topographical nature of the site, and location and extent of buildable and non-buildable areas had a marked influence on the structuring of the Master Plan.

The nature of requirements stipulated for RMS necessitated the creation of two distinct zones in the complex, i. e., the Museum Zone and the Residential Zone. Housing requirements identified by RMS asked for provision of 108 residential units of different categories. Of these, 32 were to be of Type I, 22 of Type II, 45 of Type III, 18 of Type IV, and 1 of Type V. In addition, provision had to be made for a Guest House-cum-Hostel Building. Housing formed an important but secondary component. Conceptually, therefore, it asked for a low profiled development, which effectively fulfilled its functional requirements without in any way coming in conflict with the prime functional zone, i. e., the Museum Zone. This observation guided the siting, and three-dimensional articulation of residential structures. The Museum Zone, housing the indoor as also the outdoor complex, asked for an unfragmented area of over 40 hectares. A tranquil zone, with ease of access and the potential effectively to cater to specific needs of the outdoor complex, in the form of a variety of landscape characteristic, etc., became the obvious choice.

Peripheral configuration and the undulating topographical nature of the site fragments it into three distinct zones, viz., (i) Pempura hillock; (ii) Plateau south-east of the hillock; and (iii) Lower Plateau between the lake and Pempura hillock. These three zones, by virtue of their location, size, aspect and land profile, more than adequately fulfil zonal land use requirements of the complex. The lower plateau, between the lake and the Pempura hillock, bounded by the ridge to its east and uninterrupted green belt to its west, and housing several rock shelters with prehistoric paintings became the obvious choice for the proposed Museum Complex. The plateau to the south and south-east of the Pempura hillock, suggested satisfactory conditions for the housing zone. The Pempura hillock provides a much-needed buffer between the two zones.

The first sketch of the Preliminary Master Plan, along with sketch designs of all buildings and an estimate of costs, was submitted for approval to the Director of RMS on 10th August 1985. The Executive Council of RMS after examining the proposals therein, recommended that the Plan be implemented in two phases. Approval to the Plan was accorded by the Executive Council on 4th July 1986. The Council further recommended that the Director of RMS and I should visit some Museums of a similar

nature in other countries before developing the Preliminary Master Plan. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Director and I proceeded on a study tour to Denmark, Mexico, and the U. S. A. on 2nd December 1987. I was advised to visit the Village Museum in Bucharest, in addition to the Museums identified in the three countries referred to. Benefits derived through three weeks of the study tour prompted both the Director of RMS and myself to recommend modifications in the programme of requirements for the Museum Complex in general, and for the Indoor Museum in particular. These recommendations were examined by the Executive Council in its meeting of 26th March 1988. The Council accorded its approval to most of the recommendations, and advised me to proceed with the preparation of a revised design of the Indoor Museum building, and update the Preliminary Master Plan accordingly. I was also informed of RMS's intention of completing the entire building in one operation as against the phased schedule recommended earlier. Modifications in the Preliminary Master Plan, as found necessary in the light of the revised design for the Indoor Museum, have since been incorporated.

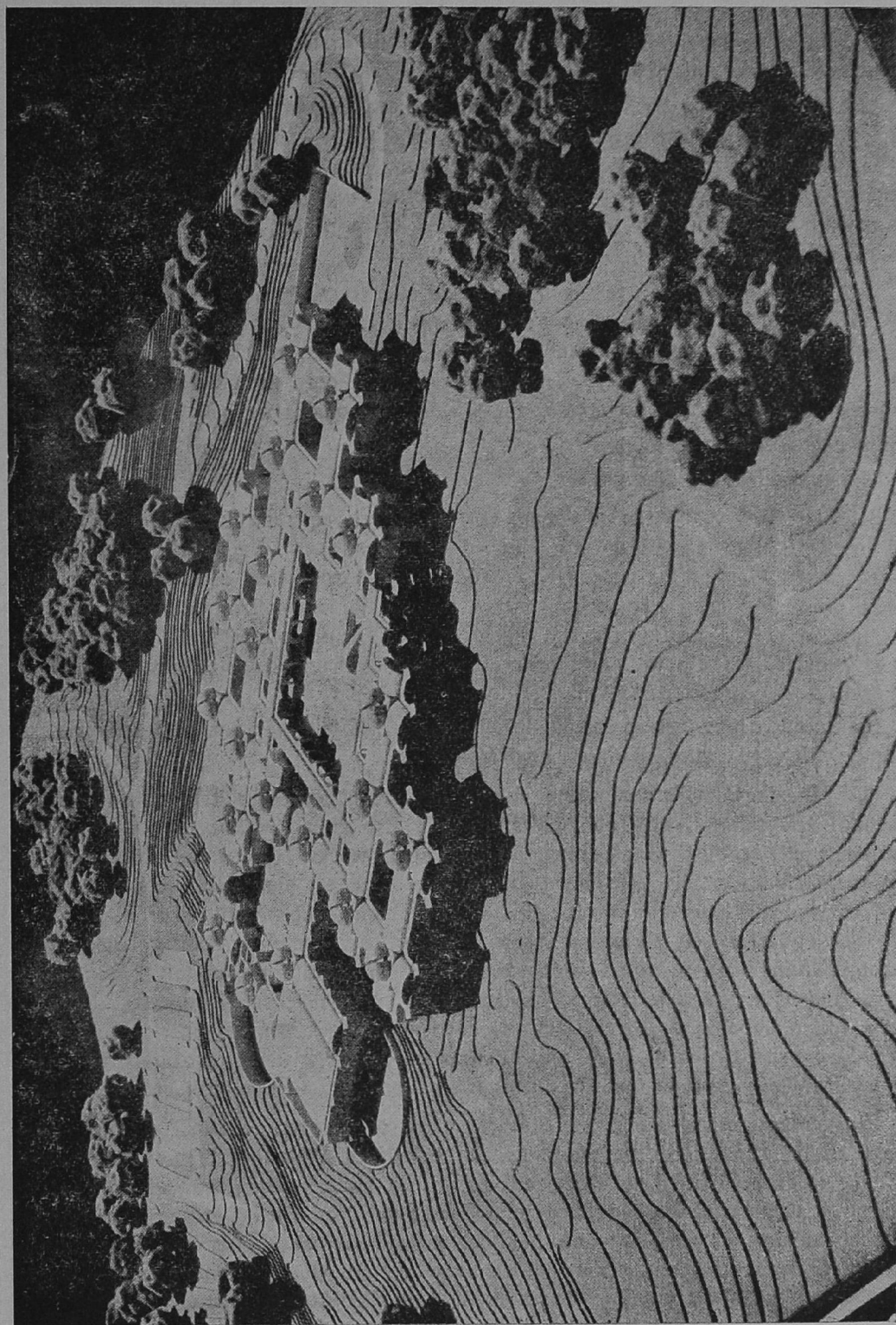
Outdoor Museum

The Outdoor Museum is conceived in the form of a large park, within which are accommodated a variety of Exhibition areas. Each area, depending on its qualitative requirements, is proposed to have an appropriate landscape environment, within a broader framework characterised by expanses of indigenous trees. The quality of landscape is proposed to be enhanced through thoughtful usage of local contour fluctuation in land-form, and by conversion of substantial low-laying area into water bodies. The Outdoor Museum is proposed to be laid out on the plateau between the Pempura hillock and the lake. The Major components comprising outdoor exhibition areas are—

i) Tribal Habitat	25,000 SM
ii) Rock Shelters and Rock Art Exhibitions	25,000 SM
iii) Human Evolution (Extinct Hominoid)	15,000 SM
iv) Pre-proto-historic Sites	15,000 SM
v) Settlement Patterns and House Types in India	10,000 SM
vi) Mode of Subsistence	50,000 SM

The concept aims at creation of a series of rather special, three-dimensional settings, the content, design and environmental quality of which bear a close semblance to the architectural and landscape characteristics of the specific period in history to which the exhibits relate. Use of proper artifacts is essential, but it is the thoughtful incorporation of associated elements, man-made as also natural, which guarantees authenticity.

In addition to the creation of appropriate environments for the above-cited exhibition areas, the concept also aims at establishing desired conditions for exhibition of many other items to include : (a) Boats; (b) Canoes; (c) Water Mills; (d) Windmills; (e) Rope Bridges; (f) Oil Presses; (g) Pottery Techniques; (h) Pile Dwellings; (i) Tree Dwellings; (j) Gateways; (k) Deities, etc. These items are proposed to be interspersed over a large area, essentially in zones accommodating (a) Settlement Pattern; and (b) Mode of Subsistence. The positioning of these, to a great extent, will be governed by their specific landscape requirements.



The Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya (National Museum of Man) at Bhopal will have both an Indoor and Outdoor complex, and work has been in progress in the last five years. A view of the model of the Indoor Museum prepared by Ram Sharma, Architect.

Access to the exhibition areas is provided by means of a network of walkways which interlinks these zones. The network also links up strategically located areas catering to the requirements of public amenities, refreshments, rest and recreation. The suggested width and surfacing specifications for the walkways allows occasional vehicular movement for the purpose of maintenance, servicing, etc. The proposed layout makes it possible for vehicles to approach the complex both from the north and south sides. Public access to the Outdoor Museum is provided essentially through the Indoor Museum. Close proximity and a series of pedestrian linkages between the two exhibition areas ensures active interaction.

The site is denuded of top soil. It would, therefore, become essential to import a sizable amount of it from adjoining areas with potential. In addition, a large variety of plant materials, including trees, shrubs, creepers and grasses, will have to be procured from different parts of the country. This is inevitable as only through the use of genuine species would one be able to accomplish the desired environmental characteristics in areas housing outdoor exhibits.

Indoor Museum : Sketch Design

Before preparing the sketch design, the functional requirements and area statements provided by RMS were examined and checked by means of diagrammatic sketches to evaluate functional efficiencies of activity areas. Several exercises to ascertain the quantitative requirements of specific areas in general, and exhibition galleries in particular, in terms of their need for artificial/natural light, humidity and temperature control, etc., were also conducted. These warranted some amendments in functional uses as also in areas allocations for proposed activities.

The sketch design was prepared on the basis of the amended programme of requirements which was duly approved by RMS.

The Museum Complex comprising (a) Administrative areas, (b) a Library, (c) Research and Technical Laboratories, (d) an Auditorium and Exhibition Galleries is conceived in the form of a cluster of three separate, yet integrated, blocks. The sizes, volumes and forms of these are essentially determined to co-relate with the qualitative requirements of functional components housed in them. One block contains the Auditorium along with associate functions of foyer, projection room, snack bar, etc. In another block, are accommodated Administrative Areas, along with other areas catering to the requirements of Library, and Technical and Research Laboratories. The third accommodates Museum Galleries. The positioning of these blocks is done after ascertaining their requirements in terms of accessibility, intensity of use, orientation, desirable views, proximity to areas of outdoor activities, servicing, and the degree of required interaction between these structures.

The cluster is sited along the northern slope of Pempura hillock, at an elevation and location which allow the buildings an uninterrupted view of the outdoor complex and the lake beyond. The setting out of floor levels of the building is done in full awareness of the advantages offered by the descending profile of the terrain. Visitors approach the building at what is termed the upper ground level, and after circulating through the Museum Galleries arrive at a lower level, at which the Outdoor Museum is proposed to be laid out. The lower level is also utilised to provide service access.

Averaging two floors in height, low in profile the built-form is dovetailed with the land profile in a manner that harmonises the buildings with the natural topographical undulation. The Pempura hillock provides an impressive backdrop.

Zoning of functions within the buildings is determined on the basis of desired interactions between activity areas. The positioning is also determined to co-relate with the qualitative requirements of each activity in terms of ease of access, lighting, orientation, views, servicing, etc. In the case of the Administration Block, for instance, public areas are kept at the main entrance level, while areas needing intensive servicing are accommodated at the lower level where service access is available. In the case of the exhibition galleries, galleries requiring temperature and humidity control are clubbed together in a manner promoting an economical and efficient system of air conditioning.

Wide variation in areas requirements made it necessary to opt for a structural module which provides a fair amount of flexibility for sub-division/addition. etc., and 8M x 8M was considered a workable grid for many reasons. Combined with a sub-divided modular system, it accommodated most of the activities with great ease. Besides, it suggested economical structural possibilities for areas requiring large column-free spaces. The basic framework of concrete structure is proposed to be clad with local stone. This external expression, derived through its colour and textural quality, will not only provide a long-term maintenance-free finish, but will also harmonise the structure gracefully with the surrounding rock out-crop.

The sketch design of the Indoor Museum Complex was submitted for approval to the Director of RMS on 10th August 1985. Approval to this was accorded by the Executive Council of RMS on 4th July 1986.

Indoor Museum: Development of Sketch Design

Experience gained through the study tour of several Museums in Mexico, the U. S. A., Denmark, and Rumania prompted the Director of RMS and the Architect to recommend modifications in the programme of requirements. The Executive Council of RMS, after examining these at its meeting on 26th March 1988, extended its approval to the incorporation of the following additional activity area, area requirements of which were to be worked out by the Director, RMS —

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Orientation Gallery; | 5. Computer Room; |
| 2. Bhopal Gallery; | 6. Security Room(s) |
| 3. Centralised Work Studios & Stores, | 7. Utility Room; and |
| 4. Staff Check-in Area with Change Rooms; | 8. Electric Sub-Station. |

The Executive Council also informed the Architect of its intention to complete the entire building in one operation as against the phased schedule recommended earlier.

Amendments in the programme of requirements, as necessitated by the decision taken in the meeting of the Executive Council, were made before the commencement of work on the preparation of the revised design. The increase in activities and areas, and the fact that it was no longer necessary to stagger the construction activity in phases had a marked influence in shaping the new design. The functions spread over in three separate blocks are now integrated in a manner that not only enhances their functional efficiency, but suggests a rationalised articulated built-form.

The qualitative requirements of different categories of activities provided a queue; however, it was the desired mode of introduction of public activities that helped finalise the design. A series of steps descending to the entrance court provide the main access. The court forms the reception area for the visitors and introduces them to : (a) Educational Area, (b) Auditorium, (c) Main entrance to the Museum, and (d) The Temporary Exhibition Gallery. In close proximity, is also sited a Mandap proposed to cater to the requirement for informal cultural and social interaction. To the north-east of the Mandap is carved out a landscaped court depicting the origin and development of man's natural habitat. The entrance lobby introduces the visitors to the 'Orientation Gallery', which is conceived with the objective of providing information on activity areas available in the Indoor Museum as also in the Outdoor Museum. A large range of exhibits in the form of wall panels, dioramas, video sets, imparting required information, are required to be housed in the gallery. In addition, the gallery is equipped with an audio visual room, where films on the origin and development of man and his habitat, as also on the conceptual framework of RMS will be screened for the benefit of visitors.

The first gallery introduced to the visitor is (i) Human Evolution. The sequence that follows, takes the visitors to: (ii) Evolution of Material Culture, (iii) Human Variation, (iv) Habitation, (v) Food, (vi) Traffic & Transportation, (vii) Environment, (viii) Religion, (ix) Music & Dance, (x) Arts & Crafts, and (xi) Customs and Dresses. In addition, the design provides for two additional galleries, i.e., the Temporary Exhibition Gallery and the Bhopal Gallery. The positioning of these is done in close proximity to the main entrance lobby, but in a manner so as to allow them to function even when the main entrance lobby is closed to the public.

The galleries are clustered around a court, which is conceived as the main outdoor activity area, containing important exhibits disbursed over two inter-connected levels. The lower court establishes a vital link between the galleries in the Indoor Museum and exhibition areas in the Outdoor Museum. The structural system adopted for the galleries allows large column-free exhibition spaces. Incorporated within the system, are a series of domed sky lights, the layout and positioning of which allows glare-free natural light into the exhibition spaces.

Educational Component

The educational component in the Museum is provided in the form of three work studios which share an exhibition-cum-multipurpose room attached to which is an audio-visual studio. The auditorium to the north of the entrance court is so equipped with green rooms and projection room, as to satisfactorily cater to the requirements of lectures, conferences, viewing of technical films, etc. The floor immediately below the entrance level accommodates: (a) Administration; (b) Library; (c) Seminar Room; (d) Curators' work space; (e) Technical and Research Laboratories; (f) Staff Association & Recreation Rooms; (g) Staff Canteen; and (h) Central Stores. The staff approaches the building from this level. An entrance lobby at this level is positioned towards the western end of the building and is provided with vehicular access. The lobby, equipped with staff check-in and a security room also caters to the requirements of services.

Zoning of activities was determined after giving due thought to the qualitative requirements of each activity. For instance, the Library is located in a manner that makes it easily

accessible to the public, yet in a zone which enjoys maximum tranquillity. Office areas in the Administration Zone are easily accessible from the Museum Lobby and overlook the Outdoor Museum, whereas the Technical and Research Labs are zoned in close proximity to curatorial work spaces and central stores. The physical link between these areas is established by a service corridor around the central stores. The topographical configuration in the land form is utilised to advantage by carving out yet another lower level which accommodates additional requirements of work area, storage, etc.

A large number of three-dimensional exercises are conducted before arriving at the proposed built-form. The design criteria aimed at three-dimensional physical form which :

1. Enhances functional efficiency of the proposed indoor activities;
2. Suggests ease and clarity in circulation;
3. Suggests agreeable conditions for glare-free natural light in exhibition spaces;
4. Is inspired by contemporary construction techniques;
5. Is shaped by a rationalised disposition of activities in conformity with their nature and hierarchy;
6. Encourages healthy interaction in-between indoor and outdoor exhibition spaces;
7. Imbibes appropriate environmental settings for educational, cultural, and intellectual interaction;
8. Complements topographical characteristics of the site;
9. Is dimensioned and articulated in a manner that harmonises with the surrounding landscape; and
10. Is simple, and to which common man can relate.

The most important consideration, however, was to evolve a form, which besides reflecting the technical competence of man today, complements the traditional architectural vocabulary of the region.

A Reform that Failed

C. Rajagopalachari's new education Executive Order had stated that during the afternoons, Elementary School children should be taught crafts. G. Ramachandran was appointed as Special Adviser. The experiment was tried in all rural schools.

The Teachers' Unions had then protested for *two reasons*: (1) They were not consulted before introducing the change, and (2) By introducing morning and afternoon shifts, teachers had to handle more students, work one hour more, for the same wages.

Opposition from the Congress Party members also came for the reason that they were not consulted before the change was introduced. Rajagopalachari's answer was that "this is an Executive matter, no law is involved". This point indicates one facet of the problem of "policy-making in the Congress Party, — Leader's hunches become party policy."

Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Education Minister, and Rajaji began propaganda for the educational reform after opposition to their action became more aggressive. The measure was finally dropped because of preassure from inside the party.—
From B. R.'s *Scrapbook*.

Tribal People as Custodians of Forest Wealth, — Why Not ?

"Let the Government entrust the safe-keeping of the forests to us. We shall see that no illicit felling takes place..." That was how a tribal headman in Kerala had reacted when an anthropologist briefly talked to him recently about forest-exploitation by "outsiders". There was a glow in his eyes, and he had meant what he had said. Others who were with him had nodded, and repeated what he had said.

We should remember that the homes of the tribal people have been the forests even before Forest Departments had come into existence. Instead of considering them as a national problem, we have to recognise that they are a national asset. Instead of driving them into the "lap of forest exploiters", can we use the tribal people to guard the nation's forest wealth ? An important question, certainly, and Mr. Murkot Ramunny's observations on this matter deserve attention. The following are excerpts from the Fourth L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer Memorial Lecture delivered by him (November 7, 1987) on "Development of Tribal People in the North-Eastern Region, and a few Lessons for Kerala".

"...It was as early as the 49th session of the Indian National Congress that it was resolved that there should be 'protection against harassing restrictions on utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs'. Nehru's policy statement in 1958 was that 'tribal rights in land and forest should be respected'. In the British days, forest exploitation was carried out for the economic benefit of the colonial power for spreading and consolidating their hold for building a communication network, and for raw material requirement in their home country. But today independent India's concern is the extreme necessity for environmental preservation. Forests have become necessary for our very survival. Along with forests wild life preservation is also necessary. The question arises what have we done to the human beings whose homes were the forests long before there were governments and forest departments.

"A few large projects, like the Sugandagiri and Pookode projects in Wyanad and the Western Ghat protection schemes in Attapady, and cultivation of medicinal plants, are commendable schemes which have foundered ... on the rocks of mismanagement and inefficiency. Such schemes when they are successfully implemented would be a great boon to the tribal people. It has to be remembered that the greatest friends of the forests are the tribal people. It was their home; they respected, they worshipped the trees. Their livelihood depended on the forests. Large-scale exploitation of forests has been done by outsiders. Instead of using tribal people as friends, and using them to guard the forest wealth, we seem to have driven them into the lap of forest exploiters. Wherever the forest officers are sympathetic and understanding you can see a contented tribal group. In fact, ... planning for tribal economic development, etc., will have to be made within the forest surroundings. They must be helped to stand on their own legs, and not just driven out of forests..."

PART THREE

Tribal Weal & Legal Frame

1. Role of Applied Anthropology in Planning for Development.
2. The Man-Forest Interface.
3. The Scheduled Tribes & Legal Dissonances.
4. Dangers in Ruthless Exploitation of Forests.
5. Water Management and Culture.

ROLE OF APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN PLANNING FOR DEVELOPMENT

Tribal life and Culture should not be Upset

By Murkot Ramunny

THERE ARE DIFFERENCES in outlook in different parts of the world towards the development of tribal people. There was a time when poets, authors, and travellers of western countries felt that the aborigines all round the world were noble and good, and there was no need to do anything for them, and that they should be left alone in isolation from the changing world. Then came the self-assumed reformers, uplifters, and missionaries, who found them "ignoble, superstitious, miserable, uncultured", and felt that they should do something for them to change them. That was assimilation, imposing their own way of life on them. Independent India's approach is "we want to bring the best things of the world to them without destroying the nobility and goodness of theirs". In fact, protection and advancement.

Nehru wanted us to avoid extreme courses, neither to treat them as museum pieces for study, nor to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. Their life and culture should not be upset as there is so much good in them, he said, but it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Saying all this our first Prime Minister declared, "We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them".

The First Priority

Then what do we do, and how do we go about it. The first priority is to understand the people whom we are to serve, to understand why they do, what they do. Today's administrators, development officers, the specialists are not equipped to understand the mind of the tribal people. They are neither trained for it, nor allowed to stay in tribal areas long enough to study them. It is here that the applied anthropologist steps in, and it is here that anthropological research organisations could help.

Nehru had realised the problem, and given us the answer. In early 1947, Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, had discussions with Naga leaders. Reporting to Nehru, the Governor hoped to bring the Nagas around with "sympathetic policy, financial assistance, and the right type of administrative officers". According to Nehru, the Centre would take the responsibility of the funds, but the question mark was "the right type of administrative officers."

Nehru found the answer, and implemented it himself. He asked for volunteers from all the services, and chose the first batch himself. They were chosen for their aptitude to the work, and attitude to the people they had to serve. Special training was arranged for them. Nehru himself gave the first lessons of applied anthropology, if we may call it, and at least initiated them into the art of tribal administration, as independent India

wanted it. Nehru made it clear that these officers were to stay for long periods, which is the most important aspect of tribal administration.

The other decision was to appoint Dr. Verrier Elwin as the Advisor on Tribal Affairs, who set up a separate department with anthropologists, linguists, and research assistants. The work of Elwin and his colleagues was to answer the question why they did, what they did. They accompanied the administrators on their tours. They also made independent study of the life style, customs and traditions of each and every tribe. These were of immense help in planning development. Apart from all this, tribal dialects were developed and schools started for the first time in the entire area which is now Arunachal Pradesh. In four decades the progress all round has been remarkable. All tribal areas have become States. They have their own elected Ministers, their own officers. Literacy from zero per cent in some areas has gone over the all-India average. This is apart from containing armed insurgency in two States.

A Depressing Picture

When we look round most of the other States, where majority of the tribal people live, we get a depressing picture. Apart from the lack of political will to protect tribal people from exploitation, there has been very little effort to use anthropologists to help the administrators to understand the mind of the tribal people, and plan their development according to the desires, requirements, and priorities, of the tribal people themselves. On the other hand, administrators are not allowed to stay long enough in one post to familiarise with the tribal way of life or to gain their confidence. It is usually seen that unwanted below average officers are sent on punishment postings to tribal areas. But there are instances of motivated officers who had offered to serve in tribal areas, and in a short time had produced results. But we find that they were removed and replaced.

Most of the State Governments have anthropological research organisations and do publish useful monographs and reports and undertake other useful studies. But they are rarely used by the establishment for the planning and execution of development schemes. The result is that the departments undertake schemes not suitable for them and often give wrong priorities. There is duplication of schemes by different departments, and ultimately the benefits do not reach those for whom they are meant.

Nehru as early as 1946 had given a clear policy regarding protection and advancement of tribal people. Our Constitution reflects Nehru's ideals. Successive plans have been allotting an increasing amount of funds. Then what is it that has prevented the progress of the tribal people in the heartland and peninsular India? First, there does not appear to have been any political will to protect them from exploitation, particularly in their land being alienated by exploiters, who are generally controllers of vote banks. Second, our forest policy meant mainly for protecting the forests and wild life, have ignored the human beings whose homes have been the forests for thousands of years. They have been denied forest resources, at the same time no effort is made to find alternate resources or training for employment. But there have been schemes which have been either planned from the headquarters by those who have very little contact with the tribal world, and generally executed by incompetent and disinterested officials.

At all stages anthropologists have to be associated as advisers. The administrators themselves have to be orientated to the needs of the tribal people. The role of the applied anthropologist is extremely important if we have really to bring these unfortunate people up the ladder of progress, who have been denied every opportunity all these decades in independent India.

THE MAN-FOREST INTERFACE

Analysis of Problems Facing Administrators

By T. Madhava Menon

THE CLASSIC WORKS OF L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER were written long before concern for "ecology" had become a credo in world literature. However, being "classic", he had deep insights into the relevance of the forest habitat and its dominance in the determination of the Life Cycles and religious practices of forest-dwelling tribes. Except that he did not use the new-fangled terminology now fashionable in the connected literature, his analyses of the Man-Forest Interface remain essentially valid. Nowhere is this more evident than in his descriptions of the Cochin and the Mysore Tribes. Following closely in his footsteps, his son, L. A. Krishna Iyer, has also left for us perceptive details of the survival techniques of the Travancore Tribes with penetrative analyses of the determining role of their forest habitat. In this paper, I seek to pay my homage to the Iyers, father and son, by attempting a brief conceptual generalisation of the "Man-Forest Interface".

Stages In Interface—The Primitive Stage

When primitive Man emerged, he was just another denizen of the primeval forest. He scratched and scrounged for food, scavenged and hunted smaller animals which he could easily trap and kill, and ran the risk of being killed and eaten by more powerful animals. He contributed no more pollution than any other animal species. We still have examples of such people in the pre-agricultural stages of development, e.g., the Cholanaikkans in the evergreen forests of New Amarambalam. Until recently they were living in natural caves, and were distinguished from the other denizens of the forest only by means of their social organisation. They were semi-nomadic and had home ranges which they perambulated in search of survival. The skill they had acquired in the collection of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) gave them a "marketable" asset which was their only contact with human communities outside.

Shifting Cultivation — The "Dig & Scratch" Stage

The transition to an agricultural stage took the form of digging and scratching the soil with primitive tools, like the pointed sticks (e. g., *Koonthali* literally meaning "pointed sticks" in the dialect of the Kurumba of Attapady). Seeds of several varieties, like red gram, and millets, were sown simultaneously in such cleared areas and grew along with all other plant growth, very little effort being made to weed out unwanted species. In fact, tribal elders found a use for most species of plants so that none of them was a "weed". The Kurumba of Attapady and some Wyanad tribes find even *Eupatorium* useful for the treatment of certain types of wounds and burns. In the course of the centuries these tribes have developed a folk-lore of ethno-botany the wealth of which is only now being recognised by science. They had a curious method of avoiding the attacks of elephants whom they considered as their ancestor totem. They had identified the migratory paths of the elephant herds and would stack surplus agricultural produce as well as agricultural waste along these paths thus diverting them away from the cultivated areas. At this stage of development also the ecological consequences of Man's management of production from the soil and natural resources were negligible.

Shifting Cultivation — The “Slash & Burn” Stage

The discovery that fire could be used to clear large areas of slashed down forests was a technological innovation which can be taken as an early instalment of the “Green Revolution”. In the man-short, land-abundant situations in which it was practised, it represented a most efficient use of scarce manpower to clear large areas quickly and beneficially, because the fire left behind fertile ash, thus restoring to the soil the plant nutrients which had been stored in the body of the tree-growth which it cleared. The increase in productivity of this method over the “dig and scratch” system must indeed have been dramatic. It also created the “Weed Problem”!

The Iyers have described, in great detail, the rituals, taboos, beliefs and practices which regulated these practices; these indicate the depth of the tribal wisdom in these regards, and the “sustainability” of yields under them over long cycles of time.

Conditions where “Shifting” Cultivation is not “Bad”

We have been so brainwashed by the identification of “good” cultivation with the maximisation of output over unit area of land, and its semantic corollary that all “shifting” cultivation is “bad”, that we have forgotten the possibility of alternative viewpoints. In the context of endangered ecology and the need for preservation of wild species, I would define “bad” cultivation as comprising cultural practices, and edaphically unsuited for a given locale and/or (usually “and” rather than “or”) crop husbandry inequitable in a given biotic complex. From this point of view, we can identify the following conditions where shifting cultivation, even of the slash and burn variety, is not bad —

i) **Stable Human Population** : In the communities and at the time shifting cultivation was invented, the human population was at a low level stability marked by high birth and death rates. This maintained the high land-to-man ratio, comprised in the home range of the concerned community.

ii) **Stable Agricultural Productivity** : The crops grown were generally subsistence oriented and a stable, though not necessarily maximum, productivity was maintained. In several communities there were specialist advisors who decided the crop composition as well as the cultural practices to be adopted year to year and locality to locality, e.g., the *Mannukkaran*. By so stabilising agricultural productivity, the area to be cultivated was adjusted in such a way that the area remaining uncultivated provided enough forage for the wild life population in the forest area concerned.

iii) **Long Periodicity of Shift** : Because of the high land-man ratio, enough time was left for nature to restore soil fertility and vegetative cover on each tract successively cultivated.

iv) **Adequate Availability of Forage** : The system ensured that the availability of forage in the total area *minus* the area currently under cultivation was sufficient for a stable wild life population.

v) **Adjustment of Forage Productivity Variation** : It has been pointed out that forage productivity is higher in land which had just been previously cropped. This resulted in wild life population consistently following but seldom encroaching on lands under human occupation.

vi) **Occasional “Conflict-resolution”** : Occasional conflicts could still arise between humans and the wild life if, in any year, because of a fall in the productivity of human agriculture and the consequent need to extend the area under cultivation, insufficient land was left for forage production. It has been established after detailed empirical studies that, in a given range, the larger the size of the cultivated enclave, the higher the frequency of animal raiding. Such conflicts were resolved by the occasional traditional or ritual hunt and capture, e.g., the deer-hunt of the Kurichiar, and the elephant capturing done by the tribes of the North-East. Practised

thus, shifting cultivation did achieve a stable ecological balance in harmony with the edaphic and biotic context and was not "bad". Animals were only infrequently crop-raiders, and humans only ritualistic animal-killers.

Transitional Conditions

When "progress" caught up with such human communities, it took the form of a rapid lowering of the death rates without a reduction in birth rates resulting in rapid population increase. The increase in population was in the non-working age-groups; thus while the need for increased crop production was great, the labour-short conditions of the earlier phase persisted. This necessitated the spatial extension of the cultivated portion of the shifting circuit leaving less area for forage production, and increasing the frequency of crop-raiding by animals. Once used to it, crop raiding becomes an optimal survival strategy for wild life, especially elephants. However, the community is not permitted indefinitely to extend the area under cultivation; the rigours of the forest laws are increasingly enforced by conveniently conscientious functionaries. This forces the community to increase the intensity of tillage and reduce the fallow intervals. Agricultural extension in the form of introduction of high-yielding varieties highly susceptible to pests and diseases, application of fertilisers, pesticides, and other chemicals further interfere with biotic factors. These "non-sustainable" treatments lower productivity still further and perpetuate eco-damage. This is accompanied by a shift away from subsistence crops to commercial types, and these may develop new forage preferences among the wild life and lead to permanent crop-raiding. Thus animals become constant crop raiders, and humans compulsive animal-killers!

Prognosis

These trends will inevitably lead, if left untreated or if the present treatment is persisted with, to the settling of Agriculture and the permanent destruction of the forest. Shifting cultivation, even in its "worst" forms, leaves behind at least a scrub, but settled agriculture cannot tolerate any remainder of such growth. Efforts will be made to introduce new crops, like coffee, which required the preservation of shade trees, but such diversification into commercial crops will reduce the availability of food for the community concerned. Worse, it will open their economy to the speculative forces of monopoly-dominated trade in such crops shattering their independence and "bringing them into the Mainstream of National Life" indeed! The community will increasingly have to depend on food items transported from distances for their sustenance thus again opening another avenue for their economic exploitation. The introduction of the new crops will bring in its wake the intensification of tillage leading to soil and moisture mis-management necessitating, in turn, expensive soil, irrigation, and other development works, each with its own consequences, usually hurtful to the earlier balances. Wild life populations will have to be cost-inefficiently relocated, and a belated recognition of the need to restore the earlier ecological balance will take the form of "scientific" forestry, "social" or otherwise, but oriented towards the supply of industrial raw material to monopoly houses at substantially subsidised prices! The members of the community will either become poachers or the associates of poachers cruelly butchering the remaining isolated herds of elephants for the profits to be earned through the sale of the portions of the carcasses, viz., tusks. Thus the cycle will be complete, and what was once forest inhabited by a simple, "manly", and noble population, however savage, will be turned into dirty townships like anywhere else in non-forest India, with hoardings exhibiting the "red triangle" exhorting people to limit family size, and advertisements of various nostrums claiming to cure imported illnesses!

An Alternative Prescription

As the foregoing analysis shows, the root cause of shifting cultivation becoming "bad" cultivation is the upsetting of the land-man ratio by the rapid increase of population. This would indicate that the first priority should be for the limitation of family size by the introduction, simultaneously with other forms of development, of family limitation by birth-control. In fact, many tribal communities in India did practise such control extending even to the abandonment of infants during times of famine, and normally by the use of several herbs and curbs. Thus it may be expected that they would not be opposed to family planning measures if properly extended. The aim should be "Zero Population Growth" within the next two or three generations.

Simultaneously with the above, new High-Tech forms of shifting cultivation made respectable by being called "Zero tillage systems", or minimal tillage systems based on organic farming discoveries as practised by Kazikavu and others in Japan, should be researched upon, developed and extended as *the* agricultural strategy for such areas. The objective need not necessarily be — in fact, it should not be — the maximisation of weightwise or quantitywise output per unit of land; instead, the choice of species must be based on survivability and tolerance of what would be pests and diseases of other species, varieties or cultivars. If at all a diversification of crops from subsistence orientation is required, then the choice should be determined by eco-suitability and not commercial profitability. Least of all should be the choice which would reduce the survival capability of the population making them dependent on exploitative vested interest groups outside the community. Multiple canopy systems of crop combinations are an obvious choice, provided a suitable combination which can both survive and enrich the eco-balances can be found. Here again survivability without the use of pollutants in the form of chemical preparations, including residue-leaving fertilisers, should be the criterion.

Forestry management should seek deliberately to maximise forage availability and increase the wild life carrying capacity per unit area of forest rather than increasing yield of commercially important exotics like eucalyptus. MFP should be a recognised component of management; this will imply the preservation and restoration of tree species associations and biotic complexes. In other words, monoculture systems will have to be given up in preference to indigenous species associations edaphically suited to the location. It also implies that the primacy of the interests of industrialists for forest produce will have to be given up.

There are distinct "preference cycles" in the feeding habits of elephants which is of vital importance to the coexistence of man and elephant in areas which they share. It introduces the feasibility of the "cultivation" of planned buffer zones with species desired by the animals away from the sites desired by the humans. This is the ancient wisdom of the Mudugas; it involves the identification of the migratory paths of the animals, stocking them with the animal-desired species synchronously with the stage of development of the human cultivated crops, such that the animals would be attracted away from the cultivated sites, and both animal and Man be enabled to get what they respectively want at any particular moment of time from particular points in space, separated by safe distances.

It would also be desirable to go back to the systems of "Limited" hunting and capture to restore balances which could periodically go wrong. Conversely, the balance can also be restored by reducing the human population depending on the given tract of forest territory by means of educating them enough to seek and obtain occupations in the secondary and tertiary sectors by means of urbanisation. This will be the obvious extension of the development process and the assurance of preferential employment opportunities to tribal, usually forest-dwelling, communities.

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES & LEGAL DISSONANCES

Violations of Constitutional Safeguards

By B. D. Sharma

Even about 45 years after Independence, the basic position of the members of the Scheduled Tribes remains a matter of concern both to themselves as well as all those who feel for them. The Constitution of India, a document upheld as one of the most liberal in human experience, provides for several safeguards to ensure that the welfare of the members of the Scheduled Tribes is maximised, and that they are protected from all forms of exploitation. One of the most important administrative arrangements for this assurance has been the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs & STs), who, under Article 338, has to "investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the SCs and the STs under the Constitution". He has to submit reports on the basis of these investigations to the President, who transmits them to Parliament, for the due and serious consideration by the Supreme Elected Body of the Nation.

It is highly revealing that the Commissioner so appointed, no less a person than Dr. B. D. Sharma, a renowned anthropologist and administrator, has now to approach the Supreme Court of India with a letter pointing out that two of his *Reports* (Nos.28 and 29) in which he has pointed out "violations of the Constitution" as well as even of "human rights", have yet to come up for discussions in Parliament. More importantly, he points out that the basic reason for this "unhappy situation...is the dissonance between the legal frame and the basic tenets of the Constitution about equity and justice". It is heartening that the Supreme Court has accepted Dr. Sharma's letter (given below) as a Writ Petition, and issued notices to the Government of India. All those who have had any knowledge of specific instances of the failure of the equal protection of the laws in so far as the members of the SCs and STs are concerned, may bring these to the notice of the Commissioner. (*T. Madhava Menon*)

THE BASIC REASON for the unhappy situation for the weaker sections of our people, which include bulk of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, is the dissonance between the legal frame and the basic tenets of the Constitution about equity and justice. Consequently, many laws are against the spirit of our Constitution. The most serious lapse in this regard concerns the continuance of the legal frame created by the alien rulers, as it was, even after Independence. The basic premises of the system were those of the western world. Accordingly, all natural resources, including land, were treated as property and not as a means of livelihood, unmindful of the fact that the vast majority of the Indian people directly subsisted on them. The legal frame was not

adopted even after the adoption of the Constitution which accepts the right to life as inviolate. There is urgent need for a complete overhaul of this frame to remove the consequent distortions and harmonise it with the Constitutional scheme.

“Harassment at Every Step”

While the general question of the consonance between the legal frame and the Constitution requires to be considered in detail, I wish to take up some of the urgent issues facing the tribal people on account of the continuing dissonance between the legal frame and the tribal tradition and economy. This has led to what has been described as “criminalisation” of their social and economic system itself, and also denial of their rights over resources and non-recognition of their traditional self-governing systems. The forests are the property of the State; therefore, it is an offence for the tribal, who has been living in those very forests for ages, to make a living from these forests. If a tribal enters the forests with his bow and arrows, it is an offence. If his cattle as usual graze in the forest, they are taken to a kine house. If he takes his traditional brew after worshipping his gods or in social functions according to his tradition, he still becomes a law-breaker. He is branded as an offender in all matters concerned with his social and economic life only because the law is against him. Thus the tribal people are completely helpless in the face of the omnipotent system. “The criminalisation of the entire communities in the tribal areas is the darkest blot on the liberal tradition of our country” (Para 15 of the letter addressed to the President). The tribal people, thus, are facing unjustified hardship and harassment at every step which involves violation of the Constitutional safeguards. I will, however, invite attention to a few major issues for immediate consideration.

Excise Policy

The Excise policy deserves to be taken up first because it touches the personal and social life of every tribal. If a tribal here acts according to his customs, he breaks the law, he is an offender before the law, and legal action may be taken against him. This was pointed out by the Commission for Scheduled Areas for Scheduled Tribes (Dhebar Commission) which was appointed under Article 339 of the Constitution in 1960. The Commission regretted the continuance of the Excise policy of the earlier regimes, and recommended corrective measures. This, however, did not evoke any response from the Government. Another important Committee under Shilu Ao reiterated this recommendation a decade later, but with no effect. It was, however, in 1974 that the Government of India reviewed the tribal situation in the context of growing unrest, and formulated a new Excise policy arrived at harmonising the social custom and the prevailing law, and giving the community the necessary authority to manage Excise matters. A set of guidelines were issued for adoption by the States.

Even after sixteen years of the issue of these guidelines, they have not been fully adopted, in any State so far. Even where they have been formally adopted, something or the other gets incorporated at some stage of the implementation, such that the basic spirit of these guidelines cannot be realised. Moreover, when people demand the implementation of the policy guidelines they have to face the wrath of the system unmindful of the fact that “any law in the tribal areas which makes any act according to their traditions a crime is against the spirit of the Constitution”. *I would, therefore, urge that the States may be directed to amend their Excise laws so as to bring them in line with the guidelines, and report compliance within a time-limit.*

Forest Management

The next important issue concerns the management of forests. The basic dissonance in this case also arises from the fact that legislations about forests were enacted during the British period without any regard for the right to life of the people subsisting on these resources, and also the right of the tribal community not to be disturbed from their habitations and retain their identity. In a number of cases referred to in my *Report*, even the application of the Indian Forest Act (which itself is against the spirit of our Constitution) leaves much to be desired. These are cases where even the existence of the people and their rights before the reservation of the forests were ignored. In many cases, the due procedure has not been adopted. In some cases, like that of Sonbhadra in the Uttar Pradesh, even the Hon'ble Supreme Court has come to this conclusion. In many cases, even the State Departments are not clear about the factual position on the ground. The fact about the possession of the land by the tribals and the existence of their habitations are disputed on the basis of Government record which cannot be taken to be authentic in all situations. In some cases, like Singbhum in Bihar, the tribal people continue to be prosecuted for the violation of law, even though the State Government has not been able to establish its cases before the Courts. In this way, the law about the forests, its application, and administrative action thereunder are causing undue harassment to the people. There is an urgent need to bring these laws and rules thereunder in harmony with the right to life of the people and also the human rights to which we as a nation are signatories. The Government, therefore, may be directed to take necessary steps in this regard, and until this is done *the State may be asked to withdraw all cases under various forest laws pending against the tribal people in the Scheduled areas, or at least stay further proceedings*. The State Governments may be asked to enter into a dialogue with the people, and resolve the issue amicably as suggested in the 29th Report.

Minor Forest Produce

The Minor Forest Produce (MNF) occupies an important position in tribal life and accounts for the bulk of the subsistence in many cases. The right of the tribal people to collect the MNF and even its sale was accepted as a part of the process of the reservation of the forests in many areas. But, unmindful of these provisions, the State Governments started levying royalty and auctioning the right to collect the MNF. This is against the provisions of the law, and has gone unchallenged. The various Committees and Commissions dealing with tribal affairs have been suggesting to the Government that the right of the tribal people on MNF should be recognised. The Government of India has also issued guidelines in this regard. At least two State Governments, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, in a way, did accept the right of the tribal people on the MNF. It is unfortunate that the Government of Madhya Pradesh has gone back on this decision which 'makes a mockery of the entire Constitutional ground plan in which the State has been given with great confidence the responsibility of protection of the interests of the tribal people'. *You may consider issuing directions to the State Governments that the tribal should not be treated merely as a wage earner, but accepted as owner of the Minor Forest Produce*. They may be directed to make suitable changes in the law, and Government instructions issued to ensure that the rights of the tribal people are fully honoured.

Command over Resources, & Acquisition of Land

The question of command over resources, including land, is vital to the survival of the tribal people as a community, and their well-being as individuals. The first basic anomaly in

this case arises from the fact that land has been treated as property, and not as a source of livelihood. In the case of the tribal areas, the distortions are much sharper since the concept of property has not been fully accepted by the tribal people, and in most cases it is the community which is treated as the owner of the resources including land. The individual has a right of usufruct.

The biggest anomaly in this case arises when the State decides to put the natural resources, including land, to an alternative use as a part of their developmental programmes. The State takes over those resources and also land which are not recorded in individual names without consulting the people subsisting on this. This is not justified. Even those land, which are formally owned by people can be taken under the Land Acquisition Act. The use of the law concerning land acquisition in the Scheduled Areas is incongruous on a number of counts. This law does not admit of the concept of right to life of the people depending on the resources for their subsistence, and ignores the fact of community life in the tribal areas and the community's traditional command over resources. Whatever may be the formal position about land acquisition, to the ordinary tribal it is forcible occupation of the land which he resists. It is regretted that even the provisions of the law, which itself is wanting, are not adhered to in the acquisition proceedings. The people are faced with a *fait accompli* as the projects get sanctioned by Government. The proceedings of acquisition start thereafter which denies them even the right to be heard.

The law on land acquisition was not meant for the situation where whole communities are uprooted, and the people rendered destitute. Money has no meaning for the tribal. It is an irony that when people finding no other way come together to defend their basic right to life, the State does not hesitate in using force against the same people whose protection is their sacred charge under our Constitution. The conclusion about the Developmental projects in tribal areas is that 'there is violation of law, of the Constitution, and of human rights, and the State is ignoring the constitutional responsibility of protecting the tribal communities'.

I will, therefore, submit that in the face of this violation of constitutional safeguards *the State may be asked to harmonise the laws concerning acquisition of land with the Constitutional provisions concerning tribal people and our national commitment to safeguard the basic human rights.* In no case, should the natural resources, including the land on which the tribal people subsist, be taken over by any authority without their prior consent, and without provision of an alternative means of livelihood acceptable to them. All proceedings concerning acquisition of land, at whatever stages now, may be stayed pending action as suggested above with the full concurrence of the people.

A Serious Matter

The possible consequences of such a dissonance were fully appreciated by the founding fathers. The Specific provisions..., made in the Constitution concerning the tribal people are that it is not the legal frame which is to be taken as invariant and that people must adapt themselves to its requirements. Instead, the legal frame itself must be adapted to the local situation, and should be so designed as to enable the tribal people to develop according to their own genius. I may invite your attention in this regard to the Sixth Schedule which bars the automatic application of any Central or State law on matters concerning the life of the ordinary

people without prior concurrence of the concerned District Council. This specific provision gives a clear indication about the line of action which the founding fathers themselves had in their view in making the constitutional provisions for the tribal people. The only difference is that in the case of the Fifth Schedule, in view of the vastly varying local situation in their case, instead of a uniform set of provisions being made, the Governor has been given the discretion to do what was necessary. Accordingly, the desired adaptation can be done by the Governor, in his discretion through a public notification in exercise of the power vested in him under Clause 5 of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution without making any reference to any other authority whatsoever. It is unfortunate that the Governors have failed even to take note of these powers, and the tribal people continue to suffer under the tyranny of the law. Here, *the tribal suffers because those who have been given the responsibility and the necessary powers have not acted, and his rights under the Constitution remain unrealised.*

In both the *Reports* (Nos. 28 and 29) referred to, a number of cases of gross inequity and injustice and dereliction of duty by the concerned authorities have been referred to by me. The situation remains unchanged even after these violations have been formally brought to the notice of Parliament. Continued violation even after it becomes known is a serious matter. I am, therefore, constrained to bring these to your notice for such action as you may deem fit, and for giving suitable directions as may be considered necessary ..”

They want “to ride upon the Elephant of Literacy”

The name of Verrier Elwin will always be remembered because he was one of the few anthropologists who lived among the aboriginals and did a lot for them, particularly in Madhya Pradesh during the late 'thirties, and 'forties. Referring to the opening of a carpentry school at Sunpuri, he said that it had made “an excellent beginning,” and added :

“It would be hard to imagine anything more useful to the aboriginals, whose tribal taboos bar them from so many other subsidiary industries such as weaving, iron work, basketry. Yet it was only with great difficulty that we could get boys to take up this ancient and profitable craft. Their parents came and fell at our feet saying, ‘We want our children to ride upon the elephant of literacy, not to be dragged in the dust of manual labour’. This is typical of the difficulty that will have to be faced throughout village India when the time comes (and I hope it will come soon) for introducing the Wardha Scheme of Education. If this Scheme could be modified to suit aboriginal conditions, it would be the ideal means of developing the tribesmen and leading them forward to take their place in the civilised modern world. Yet the strongest opponents of the Scheme will be the aboriginals themselves and no doubt the villagers in the rest of India. So deeply ingrained are the vicious habits of thought and ideal set up by the abominable system of primary education under which India groans at present”. — From Verrier Elwin's *Bhumijan Seva Mandal Bulletin* (1942).

INCREASING EROSION, FLOODS, SILTING...

Dangers in the Ruthless Exploitation of Forests

By A. K. Narayanan Nair

FOREST IS A VERY CRUCIAL ELEMENT in safeguarding our environment. It provides long-term ecological security and conserves our life-supporting soil and water. Contrary to national interest, due to rapid increase in population and the resultant over-exploitation, forests are shrinking rapidly. The denudation of forests leads to soil erosion and floods resulting from non-percolation and non-absorption of rain water into the soil through spongy leaf litter and network of roots. Floods not only cause physical loss of rain water by rapidly draining into the sea, they also account for the very severe type of soil erosion by the formation of gullies.

Havoc by Erosion

Soil and water conservation are of primary importance in the economic management of land. To conserve water, soil conservation is a pre-requisite. If rain water is not conserved by preventing excessive run off, top soil which is the most important sustainer of agriculture, and which takes hundreds of years to form, will be lost in the excessive run off. The eroded soil will be deposited in places like paddy fields. It will also reduce the storage capacity of tanks and reservoirs. Silt deposit is responsible for the reduction in the expected life period of many of our irrigation and hydro-electric schemes. Idukki is a typical example. Repeated erosion leads to exposure of subsoil, consisting of tough stubborn clay, and loose sandy or gravelly material. The rough subsoil materials are deposited in nearby productive lowlands, and make agriculture less profitable.

During rains, part of the water proceeds downwards to the watertable which is usually beyond the reach of the plants. Another part retained within the upper portion of soil is partly utilised by plants, and partly lost in the form of transpiration. Another fraction is lost as direct evaporation from ground surface. The proportion of the total precipitation that is finally disposed of in one or more of these forms (run off, evaporation, transpiration, percolation, absorption) is greatly influenced by the quantity and intensity of rainfall, soil, slope, kind of vegetation cover, etc. Soil management practices have much to do with the rates of water intake.

Effect of Forest in Conserving Water

Properly managed, forests eliminate or greatly reduce the hazard of erosion and contribute to the maintenance of stream flow. Thus from the standpoint of public welfare, it is important that the mountainous head water tracts are preserved as forest. In an ideal forest, the branches of trees are frequently close enough to touch and form a closed canopy. Small trees, shrubs and other forms of lesser vegetation often make up a more or less dense undergrowth. The leaves, twigs, branches and stems of such a forest act like a loosely thatched roof and is the first protection line against soil erosion and excessive run off. The main barrier against erosion and run off is the wood litter (dead vegetation debris), a mass of leaves, twigs and fragments of barks in various stages of disintegration. The spongy blanket of litter perform a double function, —

(a) absorption of part of the rainfall, and (b) establishment of a condition favouring infiltration (intakes by soil) of a much larger part of rainfall. Thus forest floor exerts a powerful beneficial influence on soil and water conservation. On the other hand, rain water falling on the bare ground clogs the soil entrance channels, and cuts the bare block of forest clearfelled, the rain falling there washes thus removed, the rain beats on the barren soil surface and washes the top soil into the adjoining rivers. So, a block of forest if clear-felled (total cutting of tree growth) restocking has to be done with trees by planting suitable species at the earliest so as to minimise the soil loss. In any system of sound land use, it is essential that excessive of steep slopes are kept in some form of dense cover, preferably forest or grass. Trees are easier to be established in large hilly tracts than grass. Grass is the proper form of vegetation in areas which are not climatically or otherwise suited to proper tree growth, but which are well suited to grass—, for example, the Bramagiri peak in North Wyanad. When forest plantations are raised, planting mixed species will help in getting a better canopy cover as well as a better blanket of forest litter on the floor as against doing monoculture.

Ruthless Exploitation

During the past many years, in the name of development, large areas of forest on the ghat areas of the country, which are richly endowed by water resources, have been ruthlessly exploited for purposes like hydro-electric projects, irrigation schemes, for assignment to landless Harijans, ex-servicemen, etc. Unauthorised encroachment for cultivation has also played a great havoc in the Rosewood forest in the Travancore-Cochin area, and in the erstwhile private forests of Malabar. Large areas were also felled for raising softwood plantations for industrial purposes. All these have resulted in increasing floods, reduction of water flow during the summer season, and silting of our reservoirs.

The remaining forests in Kerala and also in this country have to be well protected to avoid further loss of the precious soil and water from erosion, drought and flood. To achieve a National Forests Policy target for the benefit of the country, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the land area (60 per cent in hills and 20 per cent in plains) has to be under forest. Against this, we have only about half of it especially in the hills of the Western Ghats and the Himalayas where largescale fellings have taken place in recent years. It is up to the youth of this country to involve themselves actively in preventing further destruction of the remaining forests, and to raise trees in patches of lands lying waste all over the country.

"I First Heard of Gond from Jamnalal Bajaj"

Verrier Elwin once recalled that it was from the lips of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj that he first heard the word "Gond". The year was 1931. Elwin was planning to work in Gujarat. To quote Elwin : "I met Jamnalalji in Ahmedabad and he urged the claims of the largely neglected aboriginals and offered us the freedom of his house and all the support that his great-hearted generosity could give. On his advice we explored the Betul and Chhindwara districts and finally found our present home in Mandla (C. P.). Soon afterwards Jamnalalji went to prison and I paid him a visit in the Dhulia Jail that I shall never forget. Later, he spent three days in our Ashram in Mandla accompanied by the famous traveller, Miss Muriel Lester, and the lady who is now Mrs Kripalani. The villagers here still remember how he presented them with a sack of salt as a reward for one of their tribal dances. Although we had seen little of Jamnalalji in the last few years, his death has left a gap in our memories and our affections..." — From Elwin's *Bhumijan Seva Mandal Bulletin* (1942).

WATER MANAGEMENT AND CULTURE — A NOTE

By K. Madhavan

THE DEPENDENCE OF CULTURAL EVOLUTION on environmental factors has been the subject of many studies. Perhaps no single environmental factor is more important in determining the path of cultural evolution than the availability of water. In addition to providing water for drinking, the availability of water for transpiration and the solar radiation which causes it, determines the biomass productivity of land. In fact, the biomass productivity of land, including forests, can be estimated by the water quantity taken up from the soil into the atmosphere by evapo-transpiration which includes transpiration and evaporation from the surrounding ground. Nearly 300 kgs of water is taken up by this process for producing 1 kg of biomass. Unless the productivity of biomass keeps up with the needs of the rising population, environmental degradation is unavoidable. Social tensions and conflicts, in many cases, can be traced to the gap between productivity and demand. Demands being influenced by the transmission of information, it is difficult to stem the rising expectation and demands with the phenomenal developments in communications. It is difficult today to isolate communities, and provide them with a quality of life very different from the surrounding region. At the same time the advances in communications and transmission of information provides us with techniques and opportunities for resolving such problems.

Factors Affecting Water Management

With the major part of India depending for its water requirement on the monsoons, there are long periods between the monsoons when the evapo-transpiration is greater than the precipitation causing depletion of the soil moisture resulting in stress on plants and affecting their productivity. In addition, the high intensities of precipitation combined with the geology and topography results in large seasonal flows in our rivers. If the country is to meet its biomass demands in addition to the requirements of water for drinking and sanitation, every method of storage of water during the monsoon for utilisation during the dry period is necessary. In a well-conceived water resources plan, every method of storage, i.e., in the soil, in deep aquifers, in small and large dams has an unique role to play. For example, due to the annual fluctuations in the rainfall, famines were a part of life in India. The great irrigation works and large dams built by the British, and continued with greater vigour and vision by our leaders since then, have controlled this. The large catchment serving a large dam is less sensitive hydrologically to variations in precipitation, and, therefore, highly reliable and intensive production systems can be based on them. Further, on account of this, these systems exert powerful pulls on migrants from water deficient areas.

In this Note, a few observations are made with reference to water management in endogenous areas which have to depend on water falling within the area or closeby since they largely represent the tribal situation.

Water Management in Endogenous Areas

Where water is limited in quantity, it becomes necessary to consider systems which produce maximum value per unit of water, like, say, weight of grapes produced per unit of water. The

cost of water tends to be higher in small storage structures. Further when population pressures increase in relation to the sustainability of the ecosystem, intensive systems are found to be more appropriate considering physical, economic, and environmental factors. For example, the paddy-terrace has sustained large civilisations on a sustainable basis by adapting to increased intensity. In many areas even three crops have been grown annually on a sustainable basis. It has been possible to adapt the management techniques, specially water control, to attain this. On the other hand, slash and burn techniques have not proved to be so adaptable.

Systems for small water conservation are highly site specific, and custom built and operated. These systems have to be planned to be economically viable for sustained activity and to create enough surplus for ensuring a continued flow of benefits, like housing, drinking water, education, electricity, and health services. In endogenous systems tree crops have certain inherent advantages —

1. The risks due to climatic variations are controlled due to the deeper root systems;
2. Once the deep root system is established by life-saving irrigation during the first 3 or 4 years, the production can be quite high taking advantage of the moisture in deeper soil layers;
3. Financial returns tend to be higher if marketing can be arranged for;
4. High water use efficiency can be obtained by systems like drip with less energy inputs; and
5. More employment with greater time spread.

Engineering Techniques for Water Management

There is great scope for introducing modern inputs into the field of small water conservation structures. With the availability of new materials and processes there is no doubt that costs can be brought down substantially and efficiency of irrigation increased. A few of the options available now are listed below:

1. **Slow Dams & Weirs :** Reinforced Earth and Rockfill including Gabion structures. Inflatable Dams. Sub-soil cut-offs made with soil-mixing techniques.
2. **Impervious Barriers & Linings :** Geomembranes made of IDPE, HDPE, Rubber woven or non-woven fabrics impregnated with polymers, clays, manure slurries, and Ferrocement.
3. **Water harvesting catchment surfaces :** Soil cement. Pavings made of local materials.
4. **Evaporation Control :** Floating covers of biomaterials. Floats made of polymers, Windbreaks:
5. **Increasing Efficiency of Irrigation** by lining of conveyance structures with polymers, soil cement, ferrocement. Application methods like Drip, etc.

The choice will depend on local conditions. There is a large scope for application of techniques of Value Engineering where the functions are assigned values and optimum choice made on the basis of economics using available materials and processes serving the required function.

Organisational Issues

Implementation of numerous small schemes using sophisticated technology and high quality calls for some thought on suitable organisational structures. Governmental structures are,

by their nature, better suited for large works where high overhead costs can be borne and the required accountability for operation and maintenance arranged for. They are also less capable of mobilising interdisciplinary work requiring agricultural scientists, sociologists, economists, engineers, etc. In general the quality of and level of expertise in a government set-up is related to the expenditure. Private consultancy services may prove to be better suited for this type of work. Payment for these services may not pose a problem once the project is accepted for funding on the basis of a project report. However, funds are difficult to obtain for services needed for investigation and project formulation. Some arrangements for seed money is called for. It is also important in such projects to continue the services for operation and maintenance for specified periods after commissioning so that training of local personnel and beneficiaries can be included.

A large reservoir of personnel is available for such work if the students of technical institutions and the staff are mobilised. They are in general enthusiastic if the credibility of the organising agency is established. Similar is the reaction of the beneficiaries to voluntary work.

In general, a large area of work remains to be done in this field with challenging problems requiring high-level technological inputs for their success. The mobilisation of such efforts will, no doubt, help in resolving the social problems which have come to the fore recently and are sometimes attempted to be tackled by static and negative paradigms.

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How to Answer the Unanswerable

Supervisory Management, a well-brought-out periodical of New York, had over the years carried valuable suggestions for effective supervisory management. A few years ago, in one of its issues, it had asked the question; "Stumped for answers when subordinates ask for information that must be withheld?" The periodical agreed that often it was a matter of time before the facts could be made public, and proposed that, in the meanwhile, there was a diplomatic way "to parry the question", and the four steps it had suggested were —

1. Explain why you cannot divulge the information, positively if possible. 'You stand to benefit by the move, but...'
2. Emphasise the time factor. Set a date to reveal plans, but only make promises you can keep. If material is permanently classified, say so.
3. Acknowledge the right to ask questions, even though you know, the answer must remain confidential. The holier-than-thou 'You have no right to know that' attitude builds employee animosity. The 'I am glad you are interested, but in this case...' reply satisfies most workers.
4. Be honest. Straight answers, even those revealing nothing, are better than half truths and lies which breed distrust." — From B. R.'s *Scrapbook*

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A Forthcoming Publication

ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF KERALA

By

L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer

With Introduction by

His Grace Mar Gregorios,
Archbishop of Trivandrum

It is proposed to reissue the volume on the *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians of Kerala*, written by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, and published in 1926 by the then Government of Cochin. The book had been out of print for over five decades now.

Several changes have occurred among the Syrian Christians since Independence. In view of the intrinsic merit of the volume as an anthropological study, as well as the importance of the community in our body politic, the publication will carry a scholarly Introduction by His Grace Mar Gregorios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, so that it will be topical and of current interest. Says T. Madhava Menon, AICAS Chairman: "This definitive study, enriched as it will be by a contribution from His Grace Mar Gregorios, will be of classical importance and be cherished for several years to come by students and scholars as well as by the general public." To quote the Archbishop, "the book is a rare and valuable treasure".

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