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I and Other Explorations

G. S. Ghurye

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सुखा भांग देऊं नये । प्रेम्ने पुरूषें सांडूं नये ।
 कष्ट करितां त्रासों नये । निरंतर ॥ १४ ॥
 व्यापकपण सांडूं नये । पराधेन होऊं नये ।
 आपलें बोझें घालूं नये । कोणीयेकाली ॥ १५ ॥
 दासबोध २/२

Give not yourself up to pleasure
 Do not give up effort
 Work incessantly and cheerfully
 Cultivate comprehensiveness
 Neither depend on others
 Nor put your burden on them

RAMDAS

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 of seventeenth century
 Maharashtra

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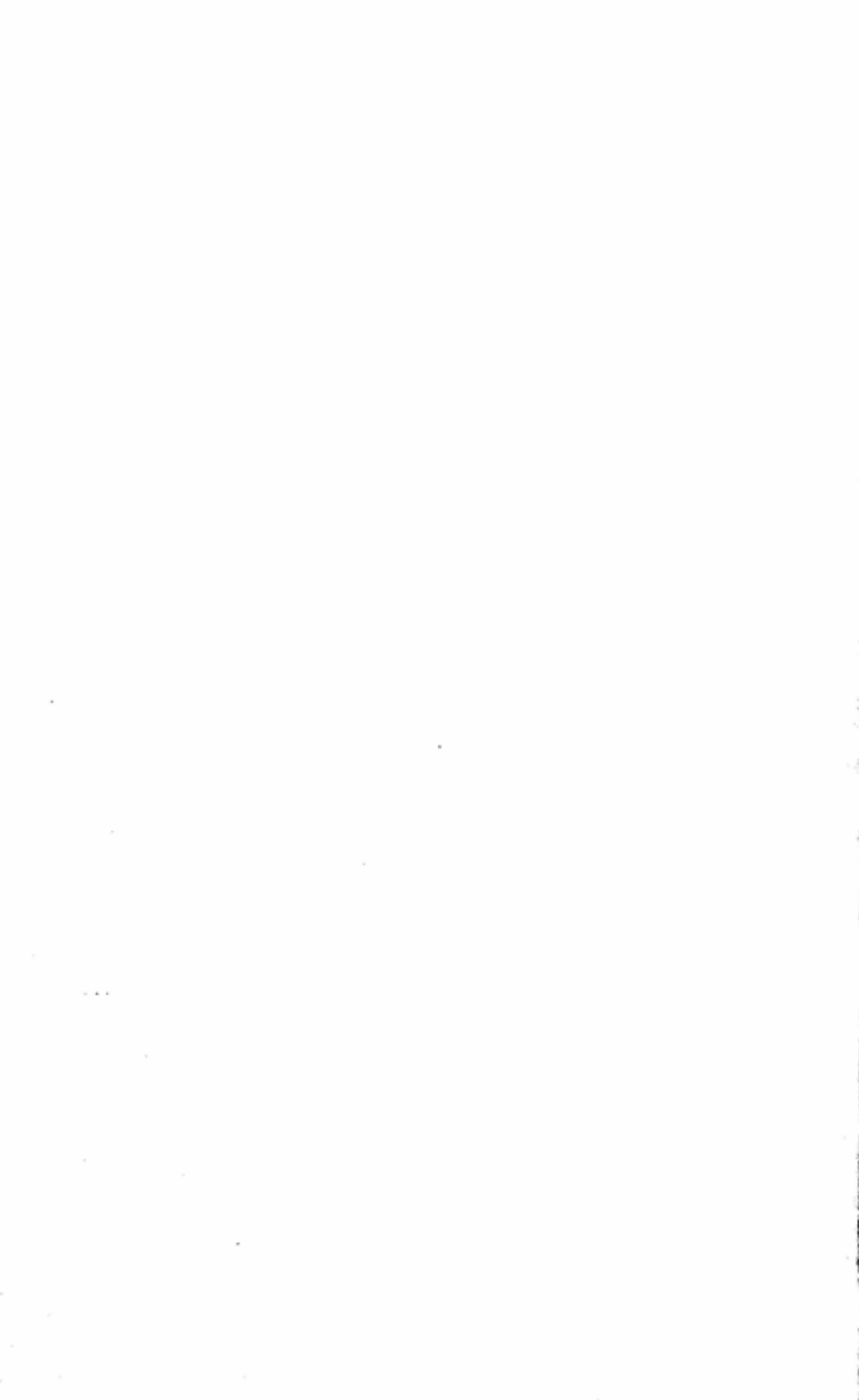
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PART I

I



I

I

I ARRIVE

I WAS born at Malvan, a town on the Western coast about 200 miles south of Bombay. It was almost midnight of the 12th of December 1893. My father's father's death had occurred in the Ganga at Kasi-Banaras within the same year. Sufficient time had elapsed between his death and my birth to convince my mother, father and my mother's mother that the old gentleman was reborn in my form and to prompt them to name me after him.

The tribe of Ghuryes is small. Even today they won't number altogether one hundred including all the children. All of them even today I think are so closely related as to be within the limit prescribed for 10 days impunity on the death of anyone of the adult male. The families were located then in the two towns of Malvan, and commercially more advanced and prosperous Vengurla. My family and two other households were all that represented the Ghuryes. And they were all traders. My great-grandfather, it appears, was a fairly prosperous man. At least he owned a shop in the main bazar and also a country-dhow to carry his goods to him and also to ply for hire for other traders. He had also owned a fairly large and fruitful agri-horticultural estate about 2 to 3 miles away. Sometime during my grandfather's adulthood the 'dhow', owned by the family, fully laden with merchandise almost all ordered

for our shop, capsized while at anchor in the harbour of Malvan. And then our days of poverty began. My grandfather, who had a reputation in the neighbourhood for great piety, was evidently an unbusinesslike man. He was unable to meet the situation and in his attempt to meet it by paying in full without any negotiations had made himself almost bankrupt.

To deepen the calamity for the family, one or two large and principal teak beams of the biggish house that was evidently the symbol of wealth and prestige of the family, were found to be worm-eaten. The local experts advised my grandfather to substitute three or four beams by new ones and thus keep the house intact. But my grandfather, not realizing his correct financial position, moved the family into a very small structure, which was till then used as a stable for the half a dozen cows that the family owned, hundred or so feet behind the big house and pulled down the house that was getting to be unfit for occupation.

The loss of the 'dhow' had meant much curtailment in the source of income. My grandfather's liberal way of dealing with the debtors of the shop had entailed great loss. All this resulted in such a tight situation that the agri-horticultural estate had to be mortgaged. The trade came to a halt. The shop got dis-established.

In the economic chaos my grandfather's meticulous observance of religious practices went on unabated: my ancestors and he had gathered together a fine and complete set of idols of the pentad of the Hindu pantheon. My grandfather was fully conversant with the Sanskrit texts to be used in a sixteen-itemed worship of the Gods. He was also versed in the texts accompanying the performance of Vaishvadeva-worship. It was his daily routine to go through the whole set of worship however late it may be or whatever the state of his health. About the time of the critical financial situation of the family mentioned above, some pious neighbours mooted the idea of visiting Kashi-Banaras. My grandfather jumped at the idea. He almost led the group to the sacred destination. My father at the time was about 26 years old. He was being asked by well-wishers of the family to take some employment during the previous five or six years as our trade had come to a stand-still almost a decade earlier. But he could not be moved to

do so. My mother's mother had virtually taken our affairs in her hand by then. And then the news of my grandfather's glorious death in the Ganga at Kashi-Banaras arrived. Even then my father was not moved to throw worn-out pride for the prestige of the family and take service. A local Bhatia merchant, known to us and to Malvan for a long time as Vithaldas Sheth, being a well-wisher of the family and a young friend of my grandfather had offered to my father the position of a clerk-cum-local manager in some of his out-of-the-station centres of trade. Yet my father was adamant. Somehow, soon after my debut in this world, he suddenly made up his mind to take the job that Vithaldas Sheth had offered. It fetched I think only about Rs. 10 net monthly to the family. My mother in her simplicity and in the feeling of relief treated that good luck as a good omen of my auspiciousness to the family. She used to say as much so many times, besides showing it in her special caresses of me.

My eldest brother, Vasudev, Anna as all of us including my mother used to call him, was already 12 years old and had managed to do his schooling with the good wishes and some active help from a Ghurye family of Vengurla upto a stage. My father's taking service with the merchant proved a veritable boon to the family. There was almost no facility for Secondary School studies at Malvan beyond the third standard, nor beyond the fifth at Vengurla. Two or three years after my birth my brother was ready for his higher secondary education. The above mentioned merchant, a friend of the family, made offers of so many facilities at his establishment at Kolhapur to my brother that he could move on to that place for his further education. The journey to Kolhapur used to be an arduous and somewhat risky undertaking. In those days the dacoits, the waylayers, 'Berads' as in ethnic terms they were called then and in my youth, were still active in the interior. The transport for people like mine could only be the village bullock-cart, 'khatara' as it is called in Marathi, which apart from being a very uncomfortable vehicle was an immensely slow-mover. It used to take at least four days from Malvan to reach Kolhapur. Students and other travellers used to arrange to go in groups. My brother was fortunate in having one Brahmin lad from a nearby village, one or two years senior to him, as a companion

to travel to Kolhapur. He was, as my brother used to tell me in his reminiscences, a brilliant boy of the Rajaram High School which in those days had a reputation for attracting clever students.

My mother's mother had in the meantime, in my father's absence on duty, taken charge of our domestic affairs. She used to buy and sell at profit small merchandise. Our house was situated on the principal thoroughfare used by people of three or four nearby villages to reach the bazar of Malvan. The custom, therefore, was good; and my grandmother was a good business woman, whose tact and ability were inherited by my mother. Not only was my mother illiterate — my brother when he went to college took pains in his vacations to read to her a number of enlightening books and even tried to teach her alphabet but without success owing to heavy drag on her time and energy involved in rearing a family of eight or nine on meagre finance, scouring pots and washing clothes and managing the coconut trees and a small but lucrative trade — but my mother's only brother, too, was so. My maternal uncle though illiterate carried on some trade at Vengurla and made a modest living. When I visited him with my mother in 1911 I noted very carefully during the fortnight I was there that he used to remember all his dealings during a month so clearly that he could get them written out by a part-time clerk once a month!

My brother passed his matriculation examination from the Rajaram High School in 1900, standing 12th in the University. Owing to my grandmother's death my mother could not send me to school before I was full 7 years old. And as far as I remember, though I was much lionised by my mother and neighbours owing to my namesake grandfather's reputed piety, I was a fairly dull boy till I passed out of the fifth standard Marathi, just managing to succeed in every examination. I used to hear so much about my brother's achievement in studies that I always felt very important at the local shopkeeper's, whenever I went to buy something for my mother, whose small business was not in the usual merchandise, and always so with the neighbours. These shopkeepers, postmen and neighbours always used to mention my brother's taking "the munsif's examination". As I came to know and spell out later, it meant that he was keeping terms for the LL.B. examination, side by side with

keeping terms for his B.A. examination, as it could be done under the regulations then current. A good class at the LL.B. Examination in those times meant sure chance of recruitment in the Subordinate Judge's cadre and that was why it was called the Munsif's examination! Later I came to know that my brother was very deservedly, and none too much, talked about, for he had stood in the First Class from the Rajaram College both at the Previous Examination and the Intermediate Arts and that, too, as one of the two First Classes in the University.

My brother, however, had fallen ill in Bombay a year or so after he had shifted there for his B.A. studies. The Rajaram College then could prepare students only upto the Inter Arts examination. He had brought with him passion for gymnastics at which he had earned himself a reputation even at Kolhapur, a centre then of high-grade gymnastics. At the Elphinstone College there was a European gymnastics teacher but as my brother told me the equipment like the parallel-bar or double-bar was lying in the verandahs. When my brother ventured with some companions, I believe they were Rajaramians, to perform on the double-bar even though the ground beneath was all stone, there was a great deal of jittering and curiosity among the hostelites. My brother neatly performed some of the preliminary exercises on the bar and as he was just making the figure of capital 'L' the European teacher arrived on the spot and stood aghast. When the whole of my brother's repertory of performances was over there was the greatest acclaim for him from the hostelites who felt very happy and elated that an Indian like themselves could show performance on the bar which evoked first surprise and then only hesitant praise from the European teacher.

When I was in the fourth standard of the Marathi school, a 'malkham', a single bar and a double-bar were first implanted in the spacious compound of the school. My brother when he arrived home on his vacation, at the invitation of the Brahmin head-master of the school gave fine demonstration on all the three items of gymnastics-equipment of the school. The occasion left a great impression on me and though I never came anywhere near my brother's gymnastics performance, the little practice I went through at his instance and in admiring emulation has stood me in good stead later.

My brother had to drop out for two or three years owing to ill-health. His chances of getting good service thus were getting shattered which had serious effects on the family affairs.

II

I LEARN

IN 1905 I was invested with the sacred thread. Soon after, I passed my fifth standard examination and joined the first standard of the English school. My brother, coming to Malvan in the summer vacation, gave me some coaching and much more encouragement and even confidence. By then there was a full-fledged high school at Malvan known as the Bhandari High School. The name it took from the Bhandari community, the caste whose members had financed the management.

The thread ceremony meant in my case a good deal of restriction on play activities. My father in the discharge of his duties as the guardian of the local renown of the family for piety, thought of me, the 'incarnation' of his piously religious father, to be the proper member of the family to carry on the tradition. In spite of his lean finances he, therefore, engaged a particularly competent member of our family priest's family to teach me in proper intonation the entire text of the standard 'sandhya adoration' with its two 'margins', sprinklings of water, and twelve repetitions of the sacred 'Gayatri' incantation. Every evening, therefore, I had to be ready with the 'sandhya' paraphernalia at about 6 or 6-30 p.m., waiting for my instructor to come and begin the adoration. In the morning I was to do the operation with the help of a written text only. Two to three months guided recitation, 'santha' as it is known in Marathi, enabled me to catch it fully and to go on my own practising the routine without the help of the instructor.

Side by side I was straining to carry on the intensified study programme to enable me to jump over the first standard into the second after the summer vacation, so that I could save one year. Being already overage, even according to the then cur-

rent notions, I had good reason to try to save a year; and my brother had deeply instilled the idea in me. I remember he had also taught me a few verses from the *Amarakosa* (the standard Sanskrit dictionary in a versified and easy-to-remember form).

My brother had to leave for Bombay before 15th May. The steamer companies in those days used to double their fares from 15th May and to save both the additional cost involved as well as the trouble and risk entailed, people from Malvan going north used to leave well before that date. Before leaving for Bombay my brother took care to call on the Head-master of the High School and to inform him how he had coached me, assuring him that if he were to examine me he would find me quite ripe for the second standard. On the fateful opening day of the term when I proceeded to the school my heart was beating loudly, almost thumping when I reached my class, (the room of the 1st standard). Unfortunately for me that room had to be crossed to go to the second standard class and naturally I wavered and tarried for a while on reaching the first standard. Second moment, summoning up all the courage I had, I walked forth and reaching the second standard-class took my seat at the last number. This brave and superior-looking action excited one or two of my old classmates to proceed to the place where I was sitting and to try to pull me away with them. I successfully resisted. I told them that my brother had taught me enough to fit me in the second standard and he had even spoken to the Head-master about it and acquired his assent. By this time the class-teacher, Tatya Tulpule—he was known to us all as that and not by his proper initials—arrived on the spot. Immediately there was silence; the boys disappeared and I felt relieved. Evidently he was apprised of my case beforehand. For though he was known for strict discipline, he took my presence for granted and asked me a question or two which were concerned more with my brother than my studies.

Tatya Tulpule, in my counting, stands as one of the teachers whom I consider to be the best among about thirty-four teachers I encountered in my Secondary School career. And he was surely the most conscientious, and a fine task-master. To his insistence on good copy-writing and the existence of two boys with very fine English copyhand writing in the class I owe

my moderate excellence in that line. I strove and strove hard to beat those two companions in hand-writing but never succeeded. Nay, I could equal them only rarely. I think I owe my habit of keeping fair notes of whatever intellectual work I do to the great encouragement then offered by Tulpule's exhortation and the two companions' immaculate work. Of course it only began then. Fortunately, as in the case of companions, it neither died nor deteriorated but only got strengthened as I progressed with my studies. Today I can look on with amusing pride at a foolscap notebook of my make, in which I wrote down some notes from some books I had read during 1916-18 while preparing for my M.A. degree examination. The writing appears as fresh as if it was done only last year or the year before.

A few months after I succeeded in getting myself fixed up in the second standard, there were signs of the attack of the first epidemic of bubonic plague in Malvan. I remember how in the temple-hamlet of Malvan, significantly called Dewulwada, various pacificatory and propitiatory rites began to be performed. Citizens with abated breath and serene faith, I among them, attended the 'padlibharane' rite (as it was called and is called if practised today). In our own neighbourhood, 'wada', the older people, Chitpavan Brahmins, Saraswat Brahmins, Daivadnya Brahmins (then known as Sonars), the Sutars, the Maratha-Kunbis and Bhandaris joined together to offer vows to the Mahapurush—the old venerable Pipal tree provided with a built-up base, standing some yards behind our compound was considered to be the abode of some Spirit and was therefore thus designated—and to serve a few Brahmins with food cooked there for the special occasion, a procedure and function known as 'Brahmana vadhane'. Everytime we dispersed after the performance of any of these rites we used to feel confident that the 'rat-falling', the sure sign of the onset of the scourge, would stop and we would be rid of the danger. But no; none of the rites proved efficacious and one day a rat fell in the house of our neighbour. My father happened to have been at home, having come that year for the performance of some of the usual religious ceremonies and observances which were current for some generations in our family. He and my mother began to cogitate how to meet the situation. My sister, who was

married in the town and whose husband kept a small shop in the bazar, had only a few days earlier left for the nearby village of Katta. The plague epidemic left not much occasion for my parents to think about the situation. The very next morning a rat 'fell' on the very front verandah of the house we were occupying. My father burned the thing and the place, pouring profusely rockoil, and the next day I and my elder brother were packed off in a 'khatara' heading for Katta. My parents and young sister remained behind. Soon the scare somewhat subsided and my father after some important religious ceremony was over left for his place of work.

At Katta soon events proved that we were not to have peace though we were spared from the plague. My sister's eldest daughter, about 3 years old, was down with, what I could make out years afterwards as, a severe enteric attack. Three or four days thereafter my brother had fever and from the symptoms it was declared to be the same type of disease. With very primitive remedies and no hygienic rules observed, I being a part-nurse of my brother, both patients got delirious. My mother was informed by telegram and next day she came with my younger sister. Seeing the whole scene she was almost on the point of collapse. But with God's grace everything went on well and on the 9th day of the patients' first signs of illness the temperature subsided. And all of us joined in a family gathering, forgot all about the Malvan plague and our Malvan house and what might happen to it. We, i.e. my mother, turned our sights and energy to the task of living at Katta and of the future rejoining our milieu.

A fortunate circumstance enabled me to consolidate the gain of a year which I had ventured on three or four months earlier at Malvan. A fine old-world gentleman-landlord of Katta had two of his four sons at that stage of English education in which my stage fitted. He had induced a tall and dignified-looking non-graduate teacher from a nearby village to settle down to starting a middle school at Katta. He arrived only some days or a few weeks after the illness in the family had subsided. Under his energetic drive and in competition with one of the two boys mentioned above, one who had his residence at Katta, my studies progressed well. I got through the second standard examination quite well. The studies of the third standard began

to progress well and I felt no hitch, no sense of inferiority.

My eldest brother appeared for his B.A. examination, which through ill-health he had to drop twice before. After his examination he came from Bombay to Katta. And one evening a telegram was received by him. There was immediately great rejoicing because the telegram had brought the news that my brother had won the Cobden Club (Gold) Medal. We were highly excited. The landlord mentioned above and his family as well as two or three interested families, the only ones that understood the implications of such achievements, joined us. Of course I did not know what it meant, much less that the medal was for standing first in Economics at the B.A., but the fact of gold medal being won, and that my brother, in spite of a bout of ill health over a long period, had come out with such flying colours were all that loomed large before us. Later in the evening another telegram arrived which brought much consternation to us. It specified the class gained as third. In our elation over the medal we had forgotten all about the class and the fact was that the first telegram was somehow silent about it. My brother soon left for Bombay. He got a fellowship at the Elphinstone College in spite of his third class, as his record in Maths, his special subject, was good at the College and as he had brought honour to the College with his Cobden Club Medal. He soon joined T. K. Gajjar's Technological Laboratory, a new venture in the field of preparing Indian chemists. He received some stipend as a tutor in Maths at the institution. He had a tuition or two in rich Bhatia families. He could earn enough to keep a household and in January 1908 or may be December 1907 all of us came to Bombay.

The scene that struck me, when our steamer touched the wharf at about 3 a.m., was so striking and vivid that I seem to visualise it even as I now write about my debut in the impressive city. The 'victoria'-ride to our residence — my brother had taken a two-room tenement in a fairly new chawl very near the Laboratory where he was working and close by the Girgaum Portuguese Church — both the Church and the chawl are standing today, the former much enlarged and beautified, the latter looking almost haggard — proved more out of a fairy world. The gas lights, the 'reckla' bullock carts, the newly-introduced electric tram etc overawed me with their variety and spruceness.

My elder brother, who was in the fifth standard, and I were sent to the Aryan Education Society's High School at Angrewadi, Girgaum Back Road, now Vallabhbhai Patel Road. I believe, my fitness for the standard, in spite of the school certificate, was to be tested. I was sent to two or three different teachers for that. One of them made fun of me in the class where he was teaching because he thought I was undersized or something. The chagrin I felt then is still fresh enough to send a kind of creeping or stirring sensation through me whenever I remember the occasion. In the end, I was sent to my proper standard and class. In the class there were a few mofussil students already admitted as coming from feeder middle-schools, who were mostly from the Konkan. But they were almost all Chitpavan or Deshastha or Karhade Brahmins. Soon both these boys and the local Bombayites—I think I need not specifically mention the fact that there was no girl anywhere in the school—appreciated the difference in my Marathi intonation and began to make fun of me.

We in Malvan and the Southern Konkan as a whole speak a dialect of Marathi and our intonation of standard Marathi speech is invariably infected by the tuneful nature of our dialect. The persistence of the "hela", or the peculiarly softened drawing out of the last syllable of a word, and more so of the last word in a sentence, is so great that only the other day, last week of May 1970, a taxi-driver who happened to be from Devgad, bringing me to Khar from Dadar, remarked on it as being discernible to him. And this in spite of the fact that in my household since its separate establishment in 1923, we have been using standard Marathi as our language of domestic and other affairs.

The boys' behaviour towards me was gall and wormwood to me and I could have succumbed to it and developed some compensatory trait ultimately bad for me. But the teachers in the school and of my class had created such an atmosphere of respect, nay reverence, for proficiency in studies that the hostile fun-making soon began to give way to one of curious, even mysterious feelings, bordering on awe. When I joined the class in the middle of a month, naturally my number was the very last. At the beginning of the next month boys saw me sitting somewhere in the middle of the class. That was a

stroke which was fairly sharp enough to quieten many of the mischievous boys. But a few bolder and tougher as well as venomous spirits were still there and they were predicting a slide-down for me next month. But an examination in one subject, added on to the daily regular score of a full month, made all the difference and at the start of the next month the boys saw me sitting second to their idol, the first boy who stood there it appears from his third standard on. All became quiet on the jesting or scoffing front and my studies proceeded much better than they could have done at Malvan. The much keener competition, the smarter teaching group and its earnestness to rear up a climate of studiousness helped me to further strengthen the habits that were being built up at Malvan when I was under Tatyá Tulpulé's charge.

Bubonic plague was as usual then on its visit to Bombay as the cold season progressed and I think by February end we found ourselves in 'chatai' huts at Marine Lines just to the east of the Parsi Gymkhana. These plague huts used to be put up by castes and communities and ours therefore lay in the Saraswat group. The danger from which we had attempted to fly, however, followed us to the hut. My younger sister was attacked by it and she had two bubos. Nothing was to be said about it but to trust to God; and God or good fortune brought us out of the grave situation all safe.

By the beginning of June we were back into the hubbub of the city. This time my brother was able to secure the entire first floor of a bungalow in what was known as Borbhat lane and we moved there. My elder sister, her husband and her daughter came to share the flat with us. The terminal examinations had in the meanwhile proved that I was capable of jeopardising the first rank of the then idol of the class and had consequently raised my stock among the classmates. As the rains progressed, the trial of Lokmánya Bal Gangadharā Tilak came on. I must say that I had not taken much interest in it. We used to play miniature cricket with a marble for ball and my companions used to speak agitatedly about the trial. The day after the pronouncement of the verdict, when I went to school as usual I found great excitement there. Students were parading and loitering in the lobbies, and in the front compound. Very few went to their classes. However after

half an hour's uproarious confusion things began to settle. Small groups, either standardwise or otherwise, were getting formed. I precipitated to my group and I found myself moving with the swirling mass, which later broke up into two or three parties. The party in which I found myself proceeded towards Khetwadi with the intent of getting the students of the school there out on the streets and to join in the swirling melee. Some members began to throw stones at glass-windows and we were told of such breakages having been effected elsewhere. All this combined with utter desertion which we came upon on the streets made some of us think of deserting the group-company and wend our ways. Soon I think reports about firing and horserider-tramplings reached us. And we realised that there was no time to lose to reach our homes. As I entered my lane coming through the Sadashiv street lane, I found such a scene of utter desertion that I got a fright and in silent double quick march I got to the staircase of my house. Just then I saw a European sergeant riding a fine prancing horse at the other end. I ran up so quickly that I panted heavily at the door-step. I found my mother almost aghast with fear. She was evidently praying to God for my safe return only ten minutes earlier; for she told me that only ten minutes before, three mounted sergeants had ridden their horses at gallop and had brandished their weapons terrifyingly and even had fired perhaps a blank shot or two! The next day of course I could not think of the school.

In due course the annual examination was held and I found myself at the top; but soon thereafter the family had to return to Malvan. My eldest brother of course stayed on in Bombay. At Malvan I found a senior boy—more than a boy he was, having gone through the Vernacular Final examination two years or so earlier and thereafter turning to English education—a very straight-forward, lovable one, in the fifth standard. Naturally he was at the top. My competition started but our rivalry was healthy, owing largely to the frank and open-mindedness of the first-rank boy, Raghunath Natu by name. Only twice or thrice in the whole year I could deprive him of his first rank. The whole year was academically speaking a shamble. We had to face at least six class-teachers, besides two or three subject-teachers, who were constant and also good in their sub-

jects, teaching, one after another. Two very competent and dynamic teachers, Agashe and Bhide, left in quick succession. In each case, though it was July with hard rain on, a large number of us walked on the seashore sands upto a distance of more than two miles to give the departing teachers a warm send-off. Walking by the seashore and crossing the estuary at a certain point was the course of journey to Vengurla in the south then adopted as the best by healthy individuals. And that is how our admiration for the two teachers and our sense of loss at their departure took the particular mode of expression.

Three of the other four teachers were rather mediocre. One of them, however, was not only less than mediocre but was also very high-handed and in the habit of calling almost anyone of us in Marathi 'dha', dunce, and of asking question once and then moving on to others quickly with 'you', 'you', 'you'. After two or three weeks all of us including myself and the more sedate and freeship-holder first boy Raghunath Natu got so irritated by the teacher's heartless mannerisms that we decided to let him know our mind about his behaviour. One morning, all having previously decided what to do as the least objectionable and detectable remedy, some of us, I among them, came rather early to the class, wrote out in white chalk a very big 'dha' on the black-board hanging on the wall just behind the teacher's chair, another smaller one was set on the front side of the back of the teacher's chair; still another and very much bigger and pronouncedly whitened 'dha' was drawn on the teacher's table. All the benches, too, had their 'dhas', in sheer desperation and out of some mischievous satisfaction. For we knew that the teacher would ask us to stand up and then the 'dhas', at least some of them, would be visible when he would go round with his stick to chastise us. When the teacher entered the class we as usual stood up. The teacher was aghast when he came to the small opening between the rectangular sides of the arrangement of the class-benches. He had seen the 'dha' on the board. When he reached his table, we still standing, he began to fume with rage. Then proceeded the usual questioning, caning on the palms of some of the notorious boys—they had agreed beforehand that they would not mind being the beneficiaries of our concoction—started. When it did not yield any result, the teacher turned to me and asked

me — my brother was so well known to him that he expected cooperation from me on more than one count — but I remained adamant telling the white, or black lie, as you please, that I had no knowledge. He turned to Raghunath with even greater claim and assurance but he, too, proved a veritable Yudhishthira. The teacher had no alternative but to fret and fume. I believe he let off the class early and went away, though my memory about it is not quite certain.

The sixth teacher was Mr. P. A. Dhond, a most lively and competent teacher, who had not yet graduated, and who, as I came to know in later years, had taken interest in politics. He had organized a strike in the Wilson College against such a broad-chested elephantine personality as Dr. Mackichan on the question of a holiday, full or partial, on the Ashadhi Ekadashi day, the 11th of the bright half of the lunar month Ashadha, which is a great religious fast among Hindus having special significance for all Maharashtrians, owing to its association with the great saints, Jñanesvara and Tukarama. With Dhond's teaching my competence in geometry improved. The result of the impetus received from his handling of us was seen in my rank being the first among those who passed their fifth standard examination. I entered the sixth standard as the first boy of the class. In the meanwhile my eldest brother who had got through his M.A. with Chemistry in the 2nd class was appointed Professor of Science at Bahaiddin College, Junagad.

My brother moved to Junagad and soon asked my mother to send my elder brother to Junagad for education, along with the male cook who was to go there for him. Preparations were made for my elder brother to depart. A day or two before his departure with the cook, my mother suddenly decided that I should also go with them to Junagad. And I was packed off to Junagad. I say packed off because I even then did not like the idea of being away from my mother. It was my practice from the second or the third standard Marathi right upto the time of my departure to Junagad to say 'namaskar' to my mother everytime of the day I was leaving the home for the school, i.e. in Malvan twice a day. I had half an idea that at Junagad my studies would not be successful as I would not be able to say 'namaskara' to my mother at the time of leaving for the school!

It was a novel experience to travel in the large steamer that

left Bombay harbour for Veraval where my brother, myself and the male cook were to land. The Gujarati language, the crowd of pilgrims with the pilgrim-serving social workers distributing all kinds of sweets among them, all were strange things opening up a sort of new world for me, where at times I used to feel totally lost. On landing at Veraval my eldest brother who was present at the wharf was naturally surprised to see me. The first question that he asked me was how I came there, almost in the tone as if I was not wanted. As it was not I who had asked for the change, without blushing I could answer "Tai (mother) sent me". And everything got settled with that reply.

The house which my brother had rented was spacious; indeed too big for us. The nearest Marathi-speaking families, three or four, lived about a hundred yards away. One professor lived half a mile away on the College students' hostel campus. In the school, Bahadurkhanji High School, of which IV to VII standards used to be located in the northern half of the two-storied majestic building of the college, I could come across only Gujarati-speakers. In those days one had to offer 'mother tongue' as one of the Matriculation subjects in addition to a Second Language. My Second Language was Sanskrit and my mother tongue was Marathi. There was naturally no provision for Marathi in the school. Ordinarily, I would have been asked to change over to Gujarati, which would have certainly handicapped me at the School and University examinations; but owing to my brother's status the Head-Master allowed me to continue with Marathi on the understanding that some private arrangement, if necessary, would be made by my brother to coach me.

The double-bar in the compound was inviting enough for my brother and me to try to acquire some skill in the performances associated with that athletics-equipment. We began to execute some of the exercises which our professor-brother very enthusiastically showed us. His performance was so neat and beautiful that we, my elder brother and I, felt very much ashamed to try ours. But in some of them we persisted and though we did not get anywhere near our professor-brother's finesse in the limited number of exercises we practised, the time spent in them did immense good to our muscles.

The month of May of 1910, my first year out in Junagad,

stands most vividly before my eyes. It was the month when Halley's comet announced its appearance on the eastern horizon early in the morning to all and sundry. The sight was so magnificent that it stands before me as I saw it sixty years ago, standing on the terrace of the house flanked by rooms on each side. I and my elder brother with the cook were the inmates of the household. My eldest brother had left for Malvan, to meet my parents whom he had not seen since he had secured the professor's post, a highly coveted distinction, raising the respectability of the family to a pitch higher than its old one lost through misfortune. We both of us used to get up about 5-30 a.m. for two or three days consecutively to enjoy the scene of a white lustrous broom stretching itself across the sky right from the horizon to within about 20° degrees of the zenith.

We were then told that Halley's comet reappears every sixty years. With this knowledge, I used to tell my wife from about the end of 1969 that four or five months thence we will be able to see one of the most magnificent of natural scenes from our top-terrace, narrating as emotionally as usual with me, my experience of sixty years ago! One day in May, I think, I happened to read in my morning paper the news that a comet was seen in the north-eastern section of the sky a little above the horizon if intently sighted, and I was surprised. Next day I got up in the early morning and going on the top-terrace stood there utterly surprised and crest-fallen. For what was to be a glorious scene so praised by me earlier to my wife, who was then by my side, turned out to be one which even with eyes stretched to the utmost could not make anything but a thin streak of faintish light! After my morning tea I set myself to the task of fixing the responsibility for the fiasco. I looked into the index of my copy of the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and carefully read the few articles mentioned there as relevant. I soon discovered that it was not my memory that was responsible for my discomfiture. My informants, the elderly persons of Junagad of 1910 who possessed wrong knowledge, were to blame. Halley's comet reappears every seventy years and not sixty. It will, therefore, be seen in 1980!

Professor Mahadev Malhar Joshi, the professor of Sanskrit in Bahauddin College then, who was residing in the students' hostel campus, a masterful personality, was well disposed to-

wards my brother. He had offered to give me help both in my Marathi and Sanskrit studies. Since the start of the vacation I began to go to him off and on. This small and limited contact with that dynamic lover of Sanskrit and as it turned out—witness his brochure “Adhunika Susikshitancha Vedanta” Vedanta Philosophy as Conceived by Modern Educated Individuals, written in chaste Marathi—a fine Marathi stylist proved very fruitful. My proficiency in Sanskrit increased tremendously in two months and I began to be sure about my Marathi.

Just before the vacation the Head-Master, a popular figure with great local influence and an efficient manager, had to leave the School owing to his differences with the Director of Education of the State. Soon, I do not clearly remember whether before the vacation or after it, the new incumbent of the post assumed charge of his office. He was one Mr. Karim Mahommed, M.A. There was then a prejudice in the populace against Muslim officers, the underlying reason being that the British adviser was purposely injecting the communal virus in the Nawab, who was not particularly minded to pick up Muslims for important posts. The people did not make a departure in this case too. But Karim Mahommed was a fine and kindly gentleman, and his ways quietened much of the popular opposition. My brother's relations with him were very good. And Karim Mahommed having a genuine regard for clever, and bright or promising students came to know of me.

As the time-table of the Preliminary examination for the selection of students of the VII standard to be sent up for the University Matriculation examination became known through my elder brother who was due to appear for it, my eldest brother thought of a plan to solve a problem that would crop up when the College vacation, much longer than the School one, would start. The problem would be presented by my annual examination. If I did not take it I would not be promoted to the VII standard. To stop at Junagad till my annual examination would have meant loss of recuperating time for my brother, who was not yet acclimatised to Junagad. It would also have affected his old student in Bombay, whose lucrative tuition he remembered with great gratitude and who required the coaching of the last month before his examination so very badly. My brother therefore proposed to me that I

should take the papers of the School Preliminary examination and see if I could thus manage to satisfy the Head-Master for my exemption from the annual examination of the VI standard. With good deal of hesitation, borne down by a fair amount of persuasion, finally I agreed. My brother then had a talk with the Head-Master and to our pleasant surprise he readily agreed. Later I came to know that Mr. Karim Mahommed was influenced by his knowledge of my soundness in studies and his fear of the then VII standard boys providing too few capable of passing the Matriculation. In due time I appeared for the Preliminary. When the results were out, I found myself among the few boys who were successful. I had done very well in two subjects too. Mr. Karim Mahommed was not only ready to send me up for the Matriculation but he even went to the extent of trying to persuade my professor-brother to agree to my going up. He pointed out of course what the saving of one year would mean to my future career. But my brother was not prevailed upon and rightly too. He saw that the special problem for which he had entertained the idea of my taking the Preliminary was solved and that into the bargain I had gained valuable experience and self-confidence and that there were good prospects of my doing extremely well in the Matriculation and in the later University examinations if the foundation of my studies was strengthened with the tuition and work of one more year, which in the natural course was due.

After the vacation when we returned to Junagad we were the whole family, my father and mother, besides us three, my brother's wife and my brother's two sons and my sister. That year there was in the family more than usual illness. Later in 1911 in the early months of the monsoon bubonic plague broke out as an epidemic in Junagad. Educational institutions were closed and we moved on to a village nearby. There in the company of cows and farmers we lived for about two months and more till the start of the College vacation. There was a small rivulet nearby and there I with my brother learned to swim. While there too I saw and began to take interest in such English journals as the *Illustrated London News*, the *Punch* and *Nature*.

I and my elder brother both having to appear for the Matriculation stopped at our sister's in Bombay. The rest of the

family proceeded to Malvan. The 'mandap', pandal, for holding the examination was put up near the south-west corner of the open land studded with cocoanut palms stretching almost to the spot where stands the temple of Gavdevi today and covering the space now occupied by the Laburnum Road. We took our examination and proceeded to our native town. To wait in Bombay to witness the great show that was to be staged there in connection with the ensuing 'darbar' at Delhi for the coronation of King George V did not even occur to us. Soon after reaching Malvan, my mother started for Vengurla to meet her brother and I accompanied her. While there, the darbar show replica took place and the Vengurla Municipality called a special gathering in the market-place where I witnessed the spectacle and listened to some speeches. The shopkeepers near my maternal uncle's house had put up a signboard which they had got written out by me, wishing "Their Gracious Majesties Long Life". Similar signboards and ornamental arches were visible round about the market-place. This was in spite of the Swadeshi, anti-Bengal partition and other anti-British agitation that had gone on through stump orators for at least five years before.

It was at this darbar held at Delhi by Lord Hardinge as the Viceroy and Governor-General that the Government's decision to annul the partition of Bengal was announced. For us the notoriety of the event lay in the alleged insulting behaviour of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda. He, it was reported, after paying his salute to the Viceroy, returned to his seat with his back turned towards the Viceroy, i.e., in the usual human way and not in the prescribed artificial and non-human fashion of walking backwards, facing the Viceroy all the time!

In due course the Matriculation result showed me among the passes. When the marks became available—I saw that I had gathered together only 66.3 per cent of the total. But even that small percentage had secured me the 17th rank (bracketed). I was naturally disappointed to find that I could not even equal my brother's record, achieved under much more difficult and depressing conditions. The top boy had secured 75 marks, and the second 63, more than me!

III

I GO TO COLLEGE

IN 1912 at Junagad I was a member of the Bahauddin College. The Hall of the College was a magnificent cathedral hall with balconies high up, only projecting about 3 feet on the sides. The library of the College was housed there in cupboards with glass panes. At the centre stood a long table or two laden with various magazines. This was quite adequate stimulation to studious pursuits. The professors too were sincere and painstaking. A little tennis, and some double-bar exercises provided enough scope for my body to increase the toughness of the muscles and to tone the fibres of my heart and lungs. Fortunately the bubonic plague did not plague us that year. Though there was illness in the family in the summer months, my studies proceeded smoothly. Bazarising in the company of my brother once a week or so, though it was then very much hated and resisted by me, was in reality a boon to me: for that experience has stood me in good stead during the last thirty years when I have had to do it throughout by myself.

In due course I appeared for the Previous Examination of the University at Bombay. In those days all University examinations were held only in Bombay. They had to be held in specially raised pandals which were not bad places for sitting in and concentrating at the time of the year, October/November, when the examinations were being conducted. The first year examination was a University one and was popularly known as the P.E. When the results were declared I was one among some 20 boys—no girl there then, though some had begun to join colleges and actually we had one Christian girl in the class in our College. I stood fourth among them but was first in my college.

I began my Inter Arts year clothed with glory no doubt but I was not the only boy to stand in the First Class. Another, a Muslim student, by name Umar Abba Khatri, too, had secured a First and had won the Hughlings Prize in English. This situation provided sufficient incentive to me not to slacken in my studies. Physics was one of the subjects we had to study.

My brother used to teach that. His conscientious way of discharging his duties made him show to us in the class many experiments. His lectures made me go out of the prescribed text, Balfour Stewart's *Physics*, to appreciate them. I then found very interesting Ganot's *Natural Philosophy*. Inter Arts Examination of our University has been the most trying test of the cleverness of a student. All through the history of the University very few students have been placed in the First Class at the annual result. There have been occasions when only one student was found in that class. Once at least there was none in the First Class. Three to five has been the usual number of First Classes at it. Even now, when the First Classes are to be counted by not tens but fifties and seventies at other examinations, the Inter Arts result shows a fairly small number of such. In the past the Examination has been the grave of many otherwise throughout-First-Class careers. My professor-brother, knowing the situation from before his time to that of mine, warned me that the examination that I shall be taking in October-November 1913 required special minding. And Mathematics is the subject one could score high in and secure his coveted Class or else had to go down. Mathematics I used to do fairly well but I had no real understanding of it nor did I like it very much. Unfortunately, the professor who was in charge, a very kindly Marathi-speaking gentleman, was anything but efficient. Though he knew his subject well he would hardly come prepared. This set a great problem to me. My transfer to Junagad in the VI Standard had already accustomed me to use two or three well-known texts on Algebra and Geometry to draw varied exercises from. I decided to draft extra time to solve all exercises in at least two sets of texts and to draw upon the kindness of our professor in case of difficulties. I succeeded in doing so.

For taking my Examination this time I had to make lodging and boarding arrangement at the Elphinstone College hostel. There I came across some of the top students who were to be appearing for Inter Arts Examination. The extremely confident talk of some of them used to make my heart sink within me. The hostel food, too, began to give nocturnal stomach-ache. While still in such a mental and bodily condition the day rose when I presented myself in the examination pandal—I think

it was erected on the open space between the spot where now stands the aquarium and that where one sees the Grant Medical College Gymkhana by the side of the Western Railway track between the Charni Road and the Marine Lines stations. The examination over, I went to Malvan.

It was during this vacation, I believe, that the Saraswat Brahmins' Association, which I think was two or three years old then, convened its annual (?) Conference at Malvan. My professor-brother was one of the prominent members of the reception-committee and I got drafted into the volunteer corps. This was my first association with one of the caste-based new groupings. Unfortunately it did not prove to be the last.

When the Inter Arts result was out, I happened to be seventh in the eleven-strong group of First Classes.

The new Honours courses and the new terms arrangement were to be in operation from the new term. I do not know why but more or less spontaneously, I decided to take up Sanskrit Honours course, though I had never got in it more than 70 marks out of 100 at any of the three University Examinations which I had passed in the First Class! Change of College was thought desirable on more than one count; and the choice most naturally fell on the Elphinstone College, the College which had remembered my brother's work there so well as to award him a Fellowship even though he was placed in the 3rd class, and the College that was so well-known for its Sanskrit professors, Library and its prestige with the Government. A student from a mofussil College with a First Class, needing one of the College Scholarships, I believe only Rs. 15 per month, was a nuisance to the original students of the College and to some extent to the College authorities too. For the latter would like not to figure as tempters of Class-getting students from other Colleges, if they were full-grade ones as the Bahauddin College was. I had to get clearance from the Principal of my College. I wired to Mr. James Scott, the Principal of the Bahauddin College, who, not being a particularly revengeful person, graciously complied and wired back 'no objection'.

The Library hall of the Elphinstone College with the huge oil-paint portraits of Justice M. G. Ranade, Principal Wordsworth and others and the smaller portraits of Justice Telang

and some others, looking over the splendid collection of books, well preserved in fine wooden cupboards with glass panes, and the central table laden with magazines, the librarian or his assistant in prompt attendance at one end, keeping the users under observation, was an exciting experience to me, though the hall in its dimensions and architecture by comparison with that of my old College appeared to be a very very poor affair.

Mr. A. L. Covernton, the Principal of the College, was a sincere scholar and a conscientious educational administrator. He arranged a special course of general lectures for the extra term which we had to put in before being due to appear for our B.A. examination, owing to the changed terms of the University. Thenceforward the academic year was to begin in June and to end in the following March. Those who had put in one year in fulfilment of the academic regulations for the new courses and we the new comers of the B.A. class were to take the lectures arranged as special programme. They included lectures by Professor George Anderson, who later became Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab and was knighted, on European history, and by Prof. Sisson on Shakespeare as we had all to study two plays for our B. A. examination. I think Covernton himself, gave some lectures on English literature. I am not quite sure whether a few lectures on Ethics and Philosophy by Professor Marrs, who later, when the First World War broke out, was drafted into the military service, too, were not delivered. The construction work on the Institute of Science nearby was already started and the chisel and hammer strokes of the masons many times kept tuneful company to the lectures.

Mr. Shridhara R. Bhandarkar, the eldest son of the respected Sanskritist Sir Dr. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, was in charge of Sanskrit. Unfortunately, he was a very poor lecturer and already was the victim of the old age malady of forgetting something, thus snapping connections and repeating something as if it was fresh matter, which worsened his tuition. He used to come in a horse-carriage of his own, driven by his 'sais' all the way from near the Prarthanasamaj Hall in Girgaum to the College in the Fort area. His mannerism consisted in taking half a dozen books in his grip against his chest and walking into the class. He was rather shortish and used to put on a black 'pagadi' of the standard Poona type. He was, however, respected

among the British professoriate of our College. All professors at the Elphinstone College then had to wear their academic gowns when lecturing in a class. Among our professors Covernton in his gown looked pensive and worried but fully academic; Bhandarkar was almost overcome by his gown and his books; Sisson, with his almost Shelleyan face, stood out the best, looking impressively intelligent and peering. Professor Bhandarkar retired after a year or so and we had, I think, two professors one after another going away either to another University or to a foreign country for further study. So I was the beneficiary of quick change of many teachers in my degree studies, not much different from what I had in my fifth standard at Malvan. And as in the Malvan situation so too in this Bombay one I did not find myself necessarily the worse for it.

About August or September 1914 my elder brother and I took a room for ourselves — till then we had been sharing our sister's rooms and dining with her — in the then fairly new single-room tenement chawl opposite the Prarthanasamaj. In the extra term I had tried to fulfil my body's need for exercise with tennis at the College; but I soon found that to be too costly and time-consuming arrangement. In the new premises, walk on the Chowpatty sands supplemented by a few 'dandas' and 'baithaks', one set of the components of an Indian athlete's repertory for keeping fit, supplanted tennis. For our meals we patronised an inn, not a very clean one but one which was accommodative enough for our food-requirements, which included some fish preparation at least once a day as a desideratum. We bought some milk regularly from a middle class vendor who had organized a very efficient service for distribution of milk of very good quality. As far as I remember he used to sell it at 3 annas, i.e. 19 paise per pacca seer, i.e. almost a litre. As late as 1927, my wife, buying the family's requirements from the same source, used to pay 4 annas i.e. 25 paise for the same quantity! We used to prepare our morning and afternoon tea in our room on a Primus-stove. The chawl was then, and much more so since then, well-known for its restaurant whose savoury "bhajyas" have been considered a speciality. We lived in that chawl for more than five years but I don't remember to have tasted the "bhajyas" of the restaurant, nor ordered its tea for us. Through all the years we prepared our tea. The servant, of

course, used to clean the pots and wash the cups.

Second term of 1914 is remembered for the great commotion created by the start of the World War. We students were always on the lookout for any reverse of the British in any field. As ordinary citizens we soon began to feel the tightening screws of short supplies and controls, getting excited on rumours about bribery and corruption being at the root of our woes. As the War progressed and the Germans began to advance, their Emden playing havoc in the Indian Ocean, though we were getting terrified as to our safety and security, we used to feel a kind of delight because it meant so much loss of prestige of the British. I remember how in the Convocation Hall, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University was heckled by the students gathered there to be exhorted by him to join in war-work. The war ended at last late in 1918 with the U.S.A. on top. For the first time in the history of the world a Professor with his idealism had succeeded in bringing to a close a war, in which some moral principles were involved and defeat in which would have meant their loss. A Revolution, greater than and different from the French Revolution, of which we had learnt a fair bit through the special lectures of the extra-term, had occurred in a huge country. What was equally significant was that the Professor who had fought the War to its successful end had, as we professors think they have it in them, shown vision in creating the international organization known as the League of Nations!

I kept fairly good health, the nocturnal stomach-ache of the Elphinstone College hostel sojourn, which had terrified me because such aches soon turn into dyspepsia in Bombay under the fostering care of the food of Bombay inns, made no appearance. While I was gloating over my good fortune and preparing hard for the examination which was drawing near very fast, only about ten days before the start of the examination I developed temperature. My family physician, a gentleman from Malvan, just a little senior to my professor-brother and on friendly terms with him, diagnosed it as malaria. As was his practice at that time he treated me with quinine in chlorine-gas mixture for four or five days when my temperature subsided; but I felt extremely weak. I had to continue that mixture on my physician's advice for a week at least to avoid recurrence of the disease.

When the day of the examination dawned, I found myself still weak and with a certain sensation like that of deafness still persisting. But I did not feel nervous as I was fully prepared. The loss of last eight days' work would not have meant anything if I could sit through the examination. I went to the pandal, which was at that time put up on the Gowalia Tank maidan, almost just where later in August 1942, the Indian National Congress gave the people the order "to do or die", with the horrid-tasting mixture bottle in my pocket, in order to take the medicine at the stated times. In every one of the papers of the Sanskrit course I reeled off not less than 30 pages of the University answer books. In the English papers the average page coverage was less. Nevertheless I had answered almost all questions. Only I could not spare time to read through the answers once. The second day after the completion of the examination I packed off to Malvan as recuperation was quite an urgent need.

At Malvan I found my mother giving a sigh of relief. The group of people from Malvan-Vengurla who used to congregate at my Bombay physician's rooms for Sunday teas and chats had drawn their own conclusions about my illness. They had carried the canard that I had a sort of a breakdown like the one which many First Class students were supposed to get just before the examination if they are not sure of a First Class preparation. They then take a drop. And these overtly admiring maligners had concluded that I would get off the pandal in the midst of the examination. I told my mother that I had done so well in the examination that they cannot possibly deprive me of the First Class, but that more could not be said. She was mightily relieved. It seems she had vowed a "Satyanarayana puja", worship-performance of Satyanarayan, a deity much vowed to and resorted to for achievement of success in manifold ventures. Later when the time arrived for the fulfilment she could not persuade me to go through the performance. I have been dead-ly against such religious practice, if it can at all be called religious.

My marriage was already settled. For two or three years before, families of the sub-caste of my birth with eligible daughters—it is a fact that in spite of sub-caste unification and my examination successes, which by the then standards were almost spectacular, there was no offer of any girl from other

sub-castes—had approached my parents and professor-brother with offers. But it was only the previous year that my parents had fixed upon a girl from a fairly rich family of Vengurla. The girl's party was insistent on marriage that very season when my father had given a promise that the girl was acceptable and accepted. But he had to tell the party, as both my professor-brother and I were quite firm, that my marriage can take place only after my B.A. examination, that their wish could not be acceded to and that if they were not willing to wait for a year they should seek another bridegroom for their girl. And this firm declaration had settled the matter. Now that the examination was over my marriage was fixed to be celebrated on an auspicious day in May. And I became a married man on May 12, 1916.

On marriage my wife was named by my parents, Rukmini, which was the name of my father's mother, because I was named Govind which was my grandfather's name. When we established our household in 1923, I reverted to my wife's maiden name Sajubai, as I did not consider change of a woman's personal name on her marriage an honourable custom. Since 1923 my wife has been formally and officially known as Sajubai.

Sometime after marriage, having seen that my wife did not have the usual tattoo mark on the forehead, called in Malvani dialect 'chandram', i.e. the moon, which all middle-class ladies on our side get tattooed either before marriage or immediately after marriage, I told my mother, who wanted to have it tattooed that I thought it to be a barbarous practice and she should not bother about it. She respected my wish. Later, I came to know that my wife's mother had wanted the tattoo-mark to be made but as my wife had shown her unwillingness and opposition she had not persisted. Thus my wife escaped having the tattoo-mark on the forehead.

I and my professor-brother stayed on in Malvan long enough in the vacation. We planted a few trees in our compound bringing the saplings from a nearby hamlet where an old friend of my brother had a horticultural holding. Soon after, it was time to leave for Bombay for my brother on his way to Junagad, and we left Malvan in a 'dhamni' or 'sarvat gadi', as we called it locally, for Belgaum. The vehicle proved to be much worse than ordinary ones and we took full three days to reach Bel-

gaum. Two or three days after our arrival in Bombay the B.A. result-day dawned. I had the temerity to go to the Rajabai Tower hall of the University all alone to hear the result. The result then used to be read out first by an official of the University and then put up on a board by the side of a wall in the open ground floor verandah. As I stood waiting in the grand porch, for the result to be read I was trembling — I cannot say in my shoes because I had only Malvani chappals on my feet — till I heard my number declared as number second in the First Class. The trembling turned into a heavy throbbing of the heart which was now all intently eager to hear the announcement of the Bhau Daji Prize, the blue ribbon of Sanskrit competence in the University, named after that great Indologist Bhau Daji Lad, who was one of the first modernly trained physicians highly reputed as a curer among Bombayites. At last the list began with the announcement of the top-general honour of the Examination, the Duke of Edinburgh Fellowship. I was thrilled, in spite of tribulation, to hear the name of the same youth who had topped the Matriculation result. When I heard my name as the Bhau Daji Prizeman of the year my joy was intense. I was excited; for the last year's prize was shared by two First Class students and I had won it exclusively. I returned home after making sure of what I heard by peering into the sheet on the board. My brothers were very happy to know the result. When later the whole marks list was known I was glad to note that I had scored 74 per cent marks in Sanskrit and stood separated from the only other candidate with Sanskrit in the First Class by 70 marks.

I was appointed a Fellow of the College and began to read for the M.A. degree examination. For the first time in the University, beginning from the M.A. examination of March-April 1918, the marks necessary for pass and class were raised. They were to be 37.5, 50 and 65 per cent on the total of all the eight papers for a pass, a Second Class and a First Class, respectively. The earlier percentage for a Second Class was 45 and for a First Class 60. The courses in Languages required two Languages with equal number of papers, i.e., 4 each, to be offered. I offered Sanskrit and English. In the group of 4 Sanskrit papers, for one paper some alternative courses were available; and I had chosen Pali and Palaeography. For the

first time Comparative Philology was prescribed as a half-paper in one of the three compulsories.

Only recently the University had arranged some lectures for M.A. students, thanks to the intervention of the Government of India in University matters. I believe ours was the second batch to be the beneficiary of the arrangement. Dr Pandurang Damodar Gune, who had returned from Germany very recently, was commissioned by the University to give a course of lectures on Comparative Philology. Gune, a brilliant Sanskrit student of this University, had received his training in Indo-European and Comparative Philology from such wellknown students of the subject as Brugmann, Wackernagel and Windisch. His clear, precise and enthusiastic treatment of the subject in the few lectures which he delivered — we were six or seven of us attending them and had to go to the Wilson College at such times as were found convenient by Gune, who, being a professor at the Fergusson College could come to Bombay only when some other academic business called him and had commonly to return by the evening train, mostly found morning times convenient, sometimes on Sundays — were quite adequate to place me squarely in the subject. For English, Principal Covernton had permitted me to see him with an essay twice or thrice in a term. He had introduced me as his 'reader' to the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society's Library which had given me free access to a very fine collection of books placed on open shelves. Moreover some of the assistants of the Library knew me personally and were very friendly. So my access to excellent books on all the subjects I had to study was of the freest and widest. I came to know of the Variorum editions of Shakespeare, four of whose plays we had to study for the M.A. examination, having done two more already at the B.A. Rev. Fr. Zimmermann, who had recently arrived at St. Xavier's College, was commissioned to give some lectures on the Rigveda. It was that kindly gentleman who, out of his love for Sanskrit and for students of that subject, gave me first aid in respect of optional paper, Pali and Palaeography. He not only recommended to me the then best book or two on Indian Palaeography but also showed me how to read with the aid of Buhler's plates — the best and the only ones then available — some of the epigraphs prescribed for the examination. His first aid proved quite adequate for

me to proceed with my decipherment of the already read and well translated epigraphs which were to be done by us. In Pali I did not seek any help and found not much difficulty in going through such books as *Suttanipata* or *Mahāparinibbanasutta* or the *Jātakas*.

In the second term of M.A. the complaint that had plagued me at the Elphinstone College hostel reappeared. I reacted by paying greater attention to exercise. Sandow's spring dumbbells and developers were pressed into service. Some newly advertised lung developers were also tried. I joined the gymnasium of the Aryan Education Society's High School in the company of my friend V. B. Phadnis, a gentleman of great social ideals which he successfully put into practice.

Early in 1917 my wife had her menarche at her mother's and word came to my mother that my wife's people would very much like that I should go to them for the consummation-rite when I got down to Malvan at the start of the vacation in March. When I went to Malvan my mother consulted me about it whether I minded going to my wife's people for the rite or whether she should get it performed at Malvan. On my telling her that consummation of my marriage will have to wait till my M.A. examination was over she sent an emphatic negative to my wife's people and the matter rested there.

Between October 1916 and December 1917 I had to break off studies off and on in connection with my sister's daughter's marriage, which took me to Katta, where a decade earlier I had passed some miserable and more happy days, with my young sister's marriage, the influenza epidemic and my mother's serious illness with double pneumonia. My stomach ache, too, had not left me more considerable time. When I entered the University Convocation Hall in April 1918 to appear for the M.A. examination, there being only one hundred or so candidates the examination was held in that grand hall, I did not feel half as confident as two years before in spite of the chlorine-gas mixture for more than a week and during the examination itself at the B.A. examination. However, when I emerged out of the hall after every paper I felt not at all depressed. When all papers were over, if I could not and would not assure myself of a First Class, it was largely because the new percentage requirement was so high. I could not even assuage myself by promis-

ing to my ego the blue ribbon of Sanskrit in the University, the Bhagwandas Purshottamdas Scholarship. Prof. Hari Damodar Velankar — he was already professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College for almost a year, when he appeared for the M.A. examination — who had, at the first Honours course examination in 1915, shared the Bhau Daji prize with another candidate, had also offered Sanskrit and had combined it with Marathi as the other Language. I tried to forget all about my examination and went straight to Malvan thinking of what I could and should do for my future under the fostering care of my mother who had only recently been saved from the jaws of death.

At Malvan when the previously announced day of M.A. result dawned I was all care-worn but alert to even small sounds. As the day began to wear out despondency began to take possession of me. At about 5-30 p.m. the telegraph-peon appeared at the compound gate. I took the packet and with trembling hands opened and reading First Class burst out in joy in the name of my mother, forgetting that only half an hour or so before she had gone out. My elder sister, who was near, caught my words and ran to the neighbour's where she expected to find her. My mother knowing that I was placed in the First Class came almost running home and caressed me.

Something more exciting than the First Class at the M.A. was yet to come. For when the newspapers came to hand it was clear that I was the only First Class successful candidate. The Chancellor's Gold Medal, the topmost honour in the whole University every year receiving first attention at the Convocation, was already known to be available that year for Mathematics — the medal is assigned to subjects in strict rotation with the additional condition that the successful candidate topping the candidates in that subject must also have secured a First Class to be eligible for it — and none of the Mathematics candidates was placed in the First Class. My heart leapt with joy but that joy had the quality of gnawing at my heart owing to the suspense through which I had to go. For the award of the medal could be announced only after the Syndicate had resolved, however formally.

In due course the award of the Chancellor's medal to me was authoritatively announced. My success was unique in the annals of the University. None before that time had obtained a First

Class at the M.A. with Sanskrit. Needless to say no Sanskritist of the Bombay University had won the Chancellor's medal before me. The teachers of the Anant Shivaji Topiwala High School and the pleaders and doctors of Malvan publicly felicitated and honoured me. I found full return for all the self-imposed study-habits, eschewing all time-consuming entertainments and amusements. I had not even once attended a dramatic or cinema show during the previous ten years, nor had I gone to the Ganapati melas or joined any cards-party — that I had got on me through largely the influence of some of the teachers mentioned above, my professor-brother's arduous student-life and in-built temperament.

The one exception which had brought me into contact with caste-communal organization is already noted. I should like to note another aberration which occurred during my M.A. student-years. Saraswat Brahmin youths were organizing a caste-youths association to fight some of the reactionary activities or rather views of the elderly people. Some of my intimate acquaintances roped me in, finding me in a particularly jolly and lenient mood in the first term of the M.A. year, soon after my B.A. success. But fortunately for me within two or three months the enthusiasm of the organisers including me waned, and I got off from the time-consuming bickerings of a purely parochial nature. All this happening of almost a decade had by then fed my built-in temperament of social aloofness into a solid character of inward direction, keeping me oblivious to many good and bad things of life on the path, however arduous, leading to some desired goal!

After the M.A. result-jubilation was over, on the appropriate occasion, my marriage was consummated at Malvan. About a fortnight or so after, I left for Bombay leaving my wife at Malvan. I had won the Lawrence Jenkin's Scholarship for the study of Law and I had to attend the 1st LL.B. lectures which were invariably delivered at about 5 p.m. and later. As far as I remember it was in October 1918 that I was asked to join the Elphinstone College as Assistant to the Lecturer in Sanskrit on Rs. 125 per month from the opening of the 2nd term, i.e., from November 10 or 15, I do not remember. I joined duty and began my lecturing work, yet did not give up attending Law lectures. I came to know that the total number

of my marks at the M.A. came to be just the required number for First Class at 65 per cent because I was falling short by 5 marks and was given 5 grace-marks at the examiners' meeting by Prof. Scott of Wilson College who was one of the examiners in English.

Soon after, my mother died at Malvan. I had to go there immediately after the start of the summer vacation to attend the marriage of a daughter of my sister. When I stood on the verandah of my house I seemed to see my mother at her usual place on the verandah coughing as she used to do. With such vivid memories I could not control my tears for a good few minutes. Thereafter when I settled down to the vacation proper, things appeared to go on rather wearily for me.

Late in the vacation, however, a domestic calamitous occasion drove away my lethargic weariness. My Professor brother's wife, who was pregnant but was not due for delivery, began, one night, to have birth pains. The usual *dai* who was to attend the case came in but after sometime told us that the case appeared complicated. The doctor in charge of the Government dispensary was called in. His examination revealed that it was a very difficult case of delivery. After sometime he told us that a caesarian operation was urgently indicated. With whatever skill at his command and with the *dai* and me for his inside and outside assistants respectively, by 4 in the morning the operation was over. My sister-in-law was thought to have stood the operation well. When, however, the doctor came to examine her at 8 a.m. he found her pulse going from bad to worse and I had to run about trying to procure from the dispensary and the local doctors whatever drugs were thought to be the best heart tonics to be injected. The doctor, a very conscientious and resourceful man, felt very happy when he found his patient rallying round and we heaved a sigh of relief at about 2 p.m. For three weeks thereafter I was acting as a sort of nurse and a food and menu preparer and fixer. When it became absolutely necessary for me to leave for Bombay to join duty, I could do so with light heart; for my sister-in-law had begun to recoup and it was only a question of a few weeks for her to go about her ordinary business. My wife of course remained with her. There was no possibility of her accompanying me to Bombay even if there was not this duty for her at Malvan.

When I returned to Malvan in the October holidays I found my sister-in-law quite hale and hearty but the atmosphere in the home was anything but happiness-engendering. My mother's departure had meant the removal of the archstone of a rounded arch! I returned to duty in Bombay a rather saddened and worried man. However a challenge in the situation roused my spirit.

IV

I SEEK AN ACADEMIC CAREER

The University of Bombay two or three months before (1919) had advertised that it was going to select a person to be sent to a foreign country for training in Sociology and that intending candidates should apply to the University. I put in my application, hoping that my academic career would induce the University to select me. My study of the *Manusmriti* at the B.A. with its eight forms of marriage and the dictum 'woman does not deserve freedom' had excited my interest in the study of some institutions. Having applied for the University Scholarship I consulted the kindly old K. Natarajan, the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, whom I had met much earlier with Principal Covernton's note in another connection. At his recommendation I began studying E. A. Westermarck's *History of Marriage* which then was in one volume. Later on I met Mr. Percy Anstey, the Principal of the Sydenham College, who recommended to me Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* (3 vols.). I went to the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library of which I was a reader as stated earlier. One of the assistants there intimately known to me confided to me that the three volumes were already taken out by Percy Anstey!

In November or December I received a letter from the Registrar of the Bombay University in reply to my application for scholarship to go abroad for Sociology study. In it I was informed that academic career, howsoever brilliant, will not secure the scholarship and that I should see Professor Patrick Geddes,

Professor of Sociology, on whose recommendation the scholarship will be awarded. Accordingly after my college-work I went to the building, which is now occupied by the Institute of Science and which was just then being vacated by the War-hospital establishment, to see Prof. Geddes. I came to know from him that there were very few formal lectures and they were not the most important part of the work of his Department. He told me that I could go there at odd hours in the morning or in the afternoon, read books or papers lying on the table, and discuss with him any matter arising out of my reading. It was worthwhile he said to attend the semi-informal seminar-like meetings. At the largest of these meetings I did not find more than eight students. I listened to more than half a dozen such talks and I got disappointed because I could get nothing more out of them than that place created or dictated work and moulded the people who in their turn conditioned their own work and both in the process modified the place. I was not at all sure that I had caught the import of Geddes' lectures or talks, for that was what I was gathering from my perusal of some books on geography in the library which was being built up by Geddes. But I got quite sure about it when later I saw and read the book *Our Social Inheritance* which Geddes and his friend Victor Bradford had brought out. For there the catechism is further developed and Comtian concepts of spiritual and temporal powers too used for social analysis. To make myself further sure on this point at the time of writing I ransacked my papers and found out a reprint of Prof. Geddes' paper entitled 'The Essentials of Sociology in Relation to Economics', published in *Indian Journal of Economics*, vol. III, 1922. I know from it that of the two parts of his paper, the second, he wrote when he was the Head of the Department of Sociology and Civics, University of Bombay.

I found browsing through some of Geddes' writing on City and City development more instructive and suggestive. And this finding became very much more pronounced when I was able to look at many of the pictures and drawings forming his Civic Exhibition. It may be noted here that the first part of the paper mentioned above showed Professor Geddes as of the University College, Dundee (St. Andrews University) and Director of the Civic Exhibition!

Fortunately for me Professor Geddes prescribed an essay on 'Bombay as an Urban Centre' to be the test for selection of a scholar to be recommended to the University. In due time I submitted a fairly long essay, about the same size as one of my M.A. answer-books, in my handwriting. It did not occur to me to have it in typescript to facilitate its acceptance through an appeal of the externals; and I am very doubtful if it had occurred to me then, whether I could have got it done, judging by the intensity of my ability in that field even at this time of my life! After some days Professor Geddes had a talk with me on the essay which ended with his almost unreserved appreciation suggesting that I would be the fortunate boy to be recommended by him. Sometime thereafter he called me to chalk out a programme of further work in India and thereafter in Europe when the University would have conferred on me the foreign study scholarship.

Geddes' exhortation and programme prescribed my apprenticeship with Mr. H. V. Lanchester, the best known town-planner then in India, who was at that time engaged in planning Lucknow. I was, therefore, to see Lanchester at Lucknow early in April. As for the European programme proposed for my study I must say it was a sort of a hotch-potch. I possess a small rectangular sheet, so favourite with Geddes for his Place-Work-Folk-analysis-synthesis laboratory, pasted to my diary. It bears the suggestions or prescriptions in Geddes' own handwriting regarding Montpellier-University-residence and what not, which being so varied as utterly to be beyond my greatest mobility-potential could not make the slightest appeal to me. If they could have made an appeal I would certainly have totally ruined myself intellectually! I am sorry I have to record this. Prof. Geddes, it appears to me, never realised that what his nature and ability had led him to do and achieve had to be considered on the background of normal and routine temperament and ability of learners, and an appropriate phased and graded study-scheme to be devised. Even if he had before him or in his mind the sort of Sociology for which he later framed a syllabus for Bombay University, and which I and my colleague, the late Dr. N. A. Thoothi, worked for and under till 1940, i.e. full 16 years, he would not have chalked out a programme of the kind he did then for me. It was a very fortunate circumstance

for me that the programme in its wide and extremely varied range defeated its own purpose!

I was not sure that the University will necessarily accept Prof. Geddes' recommendation of me. For one thing, there was a group in the Syndicate, as was talked in the town, which thought that Geddes, a town-planner was foisted on the University as a Professor of Sociology; for another it was known to all of us who used to gather round Geddes that at least one member of the Syndicate, who was an occasional visitor to the Department, was intensely interested in another member of Geddes' class for being selected for foreign scholarship.

I had decided to have finally done with possibilities of my Sanskrit competence giving me a proper start in life. Soon after the start of the vacation, therefore, I started northwards to combine my final trial about Sanskrit posts with the carrying out of Geddes' injunction to see H. V. Lanchester at Lucknow. At Patna Mr. S. B. Dhavle, a brilliant past Rajaramian having regard for my brother who was his near contemporary at Kolhapur, had informed my brother that if I went to Patna he would see about an opening in Sanskrit which his friend Dr. Hari Chandra had informed him about. Accordingly I went to Patna as the guest of that kindly gentleman S. B. Dhavle. I met Dr. Hari Chandra and one or two officials but I was not impressed with the job then available, though a little better than the one I had at the Elphinstone College. I proceeded to Benares. Prof. Anandshankar B. Dhruva having called me there to see if I liked the Sanskrit post he could offer me there. Having taken stock of the situation I started for Lucknow. Unfortunately while waiting for my Lucknow train at Moghul-sarai I began to have stomach-trouble; yet I boarded the train for Lucknow when it arrived at the platform. The stomach-trouble, however, proved this time to be my much older habitual visitor than the stomach-ache which had started at the Elphinstone College Hostel in 1913.

The illness turned out to be dysentery. It is the oldest pathological visitor I remember. My mother used to tell me how I had a severe bout of what appears to me from its description bacillary dysentery ('atisara' in Marathi) when I was about 6 years old. Since then till this attack in 1920 I remember to have suffered from dysentery four or five times.

And that is why I speak of dysentery as my oldest pathological regular visitor. As it appears from later diagnosis of three or more specialist physicians, two of them being my friends, that disease has proved to be the undoing of my health. Let me inform my readers once for all that I have been a dilapidated man for thirty years now, during which I have suffered from dysenteric or diarrhoetic upsets more than a dozen times in spite of strict regimen of both food and other things concerned with health!

When the train reached Lucknow at about 4 p.m. I felt very exhausted. I had of course fasted throughout the journey except for tea which I had taken three or four times. I got out and occupying a 'tonga' outside the station I asked the tongaman to drive me to the nearest physician. It took the tonga almost half an hour before it could let me down at a physician's. The doctor was a Muslim gentleman, who for one or another reason could not give me the medicine and free me to go back to the railway station till it began to be dark. I thanked my stars when, looking out for a tonga to return to the station after almost half an hour, I met one tongawala willing to take me to the station at that time. I had already gulped one dose of the doctor's concoction. Its colour and taste, bismuth, confirmed my own diagnosis of my illness that it was dysentery. By the time I reached the railway station I was decided that I will take a Bombay-bound train and not seek town-planning enlightenment from anybody there. I boarded a Bombay-bound train, travelling Inter Class. Soon I could feel that my temperature was rising. For the whole night I could not sleep; but my fast and the doctor's bismuth compound mixture had checked the disease; and my temperature began to drop down to almost the normal level. When I alighted at Bombay I did not feel very weak. At Bombay my sister's daughter's marriage was to take place soon after and I busied myself with it to some extent and my illness co-operated with me by disappearing for the time being.

It was not many days after this, I believe, that I heard from the University that I was selected as the foreign study scholar for Sociology. The letter informed me of the size of the stipend etc. and that it would hold for two years. The only condition mentioned was that I had to study Sociology in foreign countries.

I do not remember if London or any other place was mentioned as my destination.

I applied to Government for leave without pay with lien on my post at the Elphinstone College for two years, which later I got extended by a year. On my return in May 1923 with the Ph.D. degree of Cambridge, I thought it below me to go back to that lowly post. Without taking thought of the morrow in June I resigned my post.

The stipend, payable quarterly or six monthly, I do not remember now, was to be paid on reaching London; the steamer fare was available for a class in which at that time a berth was not available for about six months. There was no provision in the stipend for outfit, etc. I had no money. All that I had earned through the large scholarships, the Fellowship and teacher-service at the College had gone into the family chest for expenses. I had to seek a small loan from the Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Charities. What a bother and a laborious and even tortuous procedure for the two thousand or so rupees I required! At last I got them; and with a slice of the loan added to the University provision for steamer passage I secured a berth in the First Class and embarked in July 1920 on s.s. Merkara bound all the way by sea for Plymouth.

As soon as the ship left the wharf and put out to sea the roughness of the sea with mountainous waves striking against its bow upset my slender sea-worthiness to such an extent that I lay flat in my berth for almost three full days without any food. During waking time, which was almost 20 hours in a full day, I used to curse my ambition to go to England for higher studies to equip myself for an academic career. So lonely and forlorn I felt sometimes. Later, things improved and I began to eat a little for two or three days in my cabin. After Aden I was myself again, and though I cannot say I enjoyed the life on the steamer, it proved tolerable enough not to prompt me to curse myself or anybody else for the voyage.

From Plymouth I and my cabin-companion went to London by railway. Early in the morning I got out of the taxi at the door of the Government-sponsored sojourning house at Cromwell Road, the atmosphere of which I found anything but inviting or assuring. Fortunately for me the very next day two Marathi-speaking students from Bombay, naturally about 5 to

6 years younger than me, arrived. One of them, Chandrakant R. Chitnis, happened to have a very genial temperament and somehow I fell for him and found comfort in his self-assurance and inquisitive though not very pushful approach. The friendship that we struck then continued unabated till the untimely death of that kindly soul at Bombay in June or July 1930.

Chitnis and I then moved to a landlady in Belsize Park; but finding the rooms a little too costly and one or two paying inmates not the sort that we would care to dine with at the same table, we made for another landlady, this time at Chalk Farm. From there I began my search for the proper course which should equip me for Sociology. One naturally went in those days to the London School of Economics. Both of us went there, Mr. Chitnis who had come with the specific purpose of taking the B.Com. degree, had no difficulty like mine. I was advised by Geddes to apprentice myself to Prof. Sidney Webb; but on reference to the School Handbook of information, or whatever it was called, I decided that that could not be my choice. Because one or two persons in Bombay had spoken about Prof. Graham Wallas I tried to contact him but he proved elusive. In the meanwhile, as I had known that Geddes was known for his social work in Edinburgh and as I had concluded that whatever else I may do I should not fail to avail myself of any training in that line, I joined the Diploma Course in Social Welfare and Sociology which was headed by Prof. Urwick, not much known to the outside larger world. In that course there was Mr. C. M. Lloyd, a fairly known writer on Trade Unionism, and also Major (later Lord) Attlee. I somehow came more in contact with Mr. Lloyd. I explained to him my predicament as I found him very sympathetic. He spoke to Prof. Hobhouse who agreed to see me. When I saw him—I had already heard his lectures in the Diploma course and had got the impression of a stiff person, not likely to be a good and inspiring guide or even teacher—my impression was strengthened by the personal brief conversation I had with him. When I told him that I would like to write a thesis on Caste and Class, he told me to write a preliminary essay on the subject and deferred his decision whether to enrol me as his Ph.D. student till he read and discussed the essay with me. It was clear to me that I must read some literature on the subject;

for till then my knowledge was confined to what I had learnt from the *Manusmriti*, there having been no talk about it or about any literature bearing on Caste in Geddes' classes at Bombay.

With Mr. Lloyd's sponsoring I got a ticket of admission to the British Museum Library. I had already called at the Le Play House, the centre of Geddesian or rather Le Play-Comte-Sociology and used to go there at least once a fortnight. After my Hobhouse settlement I wrote to Mr. Victor Branford, a friend and co-worker of Prof. Geddes, who was one of the three or four persons to whom Prof. Geddes had given me his visiting cards with their names, written on them, introducing me. He called me to a Sunday tea and dinner at his Chelsea home. I had a long talk with him, or rather I heard a fairly long address by him cut up in small but very emotional bits, at the end of which my ego concluded that it was not necessary to see the gentleman again. The kind of talk that he had in his repertory was so involved, or perhaps profound, as to elude any application of it to the matter in hand or to the subject as it was sub-sumed in the scheme of courses prescribed in the London School handbook. I kept on with my Diploma routine and visited two or three factories. I was much impressed by the turnout of the workers there and the whole atmosphere within them. I particularly remember my visit to the Crosse and Blackwell factory as I brought from there two tins of fine sweets as presents from the factory! By the beginning of the second term I ceased taking interested in the Welfare studies and concentrated more on my Ph.D. project. My visits to the Le Play House convinced me that the group, no doubt a sincere and enthusiastic one, was a hero-worshipping unit, whose heroes were A. Comte, Le Play and Geddes. It was almost oblivious to any Sociology outside that trio. The illustrations—posters, and placards—hung there were however, suggestive and even inspiring. Through the short recess at the end of the first term and some part of the second term I was present at the gate of the British Museum punctually at 9 a.m. when it opened. Soon I completed my essay and handed it over to Prof. Hobhouse through Mr. Llyod.

Though I had gone forward with my project of London Ph.D., to which I was aided by the sympathetic approach of

Mr. Lloyd, I was getting more and more dissatisfied with the atmosphere of the School. On the day appointed I saw Prof. Hobhouse to discuss my paper and to know his decision. He had not much to discuss, as it turned out, however. After a brief conversation, whose principal point was that the class-part of the proposed research project should be dropped, he told me that he would accept me as his Ph.D. student. I thanked him and left him, quite determined to flee from him and the School.

At that juncture my inherent insensitiveness to money-matters was at its highest, so fired by the single idea of equipping myself appropriately for an academic career was I, and, oblivious of the stark fact that the scholarship was only for two years, out of which two-thirds of one was already coming to be a thing of the past. I decided to explore the possibility of going to Cambridge. By then I had also come to the conclusion that the anthropological approach to Sociology was the most appropriate one.

One of the Geddes' visiting cards in my possession bore the name of Dr. A. C. Haddon, introducing me. I wrote to Dr. Haddon, the world famous ethnologist who had conceived and carried out the novel idea of leading a scientific expedition to study preliterate human groups, at his Cambridge address, enclosing that card and requesting an opportunity to meet him to seek his help in my studies. The kindly old gentleman promptly replied. He informed me that he would be attending a meeting of the Royal Society at Burlington House on a particular day giving me the time of the meeting and inviting me to attend the same. Rev. Roscoe was to lecture on the Bunyoro or the Bunyankole tribe of East Africa. I went to the Royal Society rooms in time and had a brief talk with Dr. Haddon. He encouraged me to go to Cambridge and introduced me to Dr. W. H. R. Rivers who appeared even more enthusiastic about my going there to do research.

It was a proud privilege to have the opportunity of attending a meeting, though only in the Anthropological section, of that august body, the Royal Society. The impressive scene was excelled only by the one which later I witnessed in Edinburgh at the British Association meeting! The venerable looking Sir Charles Sherrington, the immortal author of the book

Integrative Function of the Central Nervous System, as the President of the Society, was in the chair. There were at least fifty members present. I listened to the lecture, which was illustrated, with rapt attention. When I came out of the rooms I was dead certain that I was going to Cambridge to study under W. H. R. Rivers.

I left London in due time, having previously gone to Cambridge and fixed up my lodgings. I had seen the Head of the Fitzwilliam Hall, where alone I was to get admission, and he had advised me one or two lodgings on his list, and I had, after visiting them, fixed upon this particular one. The admission even at that then "non-Collegiate" institution was possible because W. H. R. Rivers had accepted me as his research or, as they said it there, 'advanced' student.

W. H. R. Rivers was then at the pinnacle of his intellectual glory. He was acknowledged already as the founder of the Cambridge School of Psychology; and the two students that he had taken with him on the Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, C. S. Myers and William MacDougall, afterwards rose to fame as psychologists and the latter even as an anthropologist and sociologist with his *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, published in 1912 in collaboration with Hose, and his single-handed *Group Mind* published in 1922. Rivers himself blossomed out as an anthropologist with a new tool of field-research in his *Todas* (1906) whom he closely studied in 1902. His Melanesian researches raised him to the forefront among anthropologists, and earned him the highest honour at the disposal of the Royal Society, the Royal Medal. He was a member of the Council of that august body only a year or two before. He had presided over the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1911 and was elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1922.

To have the privilege of meeting such an intellectual luminary once a fortnight, that was a sort of a regulation for 'advanced students' regarding their relations with their research-guides or supervisors, all by myself elated me and uplifted too. After only two such meetings somehow I had the temerity to suggest to Rivers that I should like to discuss a few points from his most recent book *Instinct and the Unconscious*. I say temerity, and must say it was so extraordinary with me that many

times afterwards and even today I wonder at it and its unknown source, because my knowledge of Psychology had then not gone beyond W. McDougall's *Social Psychology* and whatever I had gained from Rivers' own lectures on "dreams". He agreed; I believe it was our fourth meeting at which I enjoyed that privilege. The bold suggestion proved a blessing; for Rivers appreciated very much indeed the way I put some of his thought to him and was surprised to note the two points I had to make. The total result of that *tele-a-tele* if I may use the term for such a situation, was that Rivers told me straight that it was no longer necessary for me to see him regularly to report my studies as was the intention of the regulation and that I could see him only if I felt it necessary for some help or the other.

The next time I called on Rivers was to speak to him about my difficulty in the matter of mathematical treatment of some physical data about caste. He was kind enough to give me a note to his colleague Mr. G. U. Yule of his College. The obliging gentleman talked to me about the formulae and informed me that he saw no objection to the use of Joyce's formula. He went so far as to lend me his Brunsviga hand-operated calculating machine and recommended the use of Barlow's Tables. I had to keep that machine with me for more than six weeks to complete the computations. When I went to Yule to return the machine I called on Rivers too, to tell him how I was attacking the problem of finding out origins of caste.

It was during this discussion, I believe, that the subject of Biology and Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose's contribution to it came up. I had attended at Bombay an illustrated lecture of his, delivered in the Convocation Hall late in the evening about 8 p.m. It had impressed me much. There was then a good deal of talk as to how he was being denied the honour of the Fellowship of the Royal Society in spite of the great significance of his researches in plant physiology. In the conversation that ensued between me and Rivers, I blurted out, as usual with me, the discriminatory treatment meted out to Bose. Rivers said that it was not so, that there was no prejudice or discrimination at work. I ejaculated "it may be". He again repeated his statement; I followed with my previous ejaculation. This was repeated a third time; and then there was an explosion

which frightened me. Rivers bawled out "Do I lie?". Though frightened, I had the presence of mind to reply "no, I never said that" and "I am sorry if I gave that impression". He cooled down and said "I should not have lost my temper". He told me that he was a member of the Council of the Society at the time when the proposal to elect Prof. Bose a Fellow of the Society was made, and it was his business along with the other members of the Council to recommend the adoption or the rejection of the proposal and that as physiologists like Walter Heape, who were the experts of the Society in the particular branch of knowledge, emphatically asserted that the work of Bose could not be considered to be a fundamental contribution to that branch of knowledge, the Council decided to reject the proposal. By that time I had realized that my usual use of "may be" can have the clear implication of suggesting "I doubt it" and I profusely apologised to Rivers before leaving him.

I went to Edinburgh in August (?) to attend the meeting of the British Association. I met there H. J. E. Peake who was a close collaborator of H. J. Fleure, a Welsh geographer about whom I had heard much from Prof. Geddes. The scene of the General meeting in the McIlwen Hall was a grand sight. Sir Oliver Lodge, then favourite with us Indians as the protagonist of the theory of spirit-life and of the belief that one's dear dead relatives can return in spirit to their surviving relatives, struck me most with his heavy figure and heavier big head and forehead. I attended many of the discussions under the Anthropological Section and a few under the Geography section. It was a glorious experience, and what was more for me I received an invitation from Peake to go to his Boxford home and see the small excavation he was carrying out in a nearby village.

H. J. E. Peake's invitation took me to Boxford, I believe, early in September; and I stayed with Mr. and Mrs. Peake for a whole week. I enjoyed their hospitality. They had a woman cook and two other maids. There was another visitor, an Englishman, whose name I forget long ago. He was there for the first two days of my stay. Peake took me round the country and explained to me the layout of the great Roman road, informing me that straightness was such a dominant characteristic of Roman roads that when one came upon some indisputably

Roman section of a road one could almost certainly trace its course to another known Roman town in the neighbourhood and so on. We dug at a place far off enough from Boxford to require us to carry our packed lunch with us from home. Locally the farmer, of course a friend or acquaintance of Peake, in whose field the stone-age, microlithic, site lay provided us with cool and satisfying barley-water. We left home at about 8 a.m. and returned at about 8 p.m. This went on for full four days. My experience with this digging and the handling of the stone artefacts was the first one in my life. It seemed to give almost a new meaning to what I had witnessed in the British Museum and at the Edinburgh museum and prompted me later to do some work of the kind when an opportunity offered itself in 1935-1936.

Almost the first thing I had to do after my return to Cambridge, I had sojourned in London for sometime visiting my favourite institution, the British Museum, was to see Rivers. After a brief talk about the British Association meeting and my archaeological enterprise at Peak's suggestion and guidance, I opened out to tell him how I was financially placed. The University scholarship was, unless prolonged specially, to end in May 1922, which meant that I would have to leave Cambridge and England by the beginning of April. I told him that I was applying for one year's extension. It was clear from the regulations about research degrees or diplomas in Cambridge, that if the scholarship would not be continued I would have to return empty-handed to India. Rivers immediately brightened up and also seemed worried. He said something like this: "I can give you the best testimonial that can be given by anyone to any young man. I have not come across another young man of your ability and training. But I cannot see how I can help you financially. Unfortunately, the India Office recently stopped making such grants to students; otherwise I could have managed a fair amount. Under the circumstances, I can help you by supporting your application for an extension of the University Scholarship." I felt so bucked up that I forgot my worries for sometime and applied myself to my research work with the most dogged spirit.

Rivers' contribution on culture contact and his friend Elliot Smith's theory of diffusion with the help of rude-stone monu-

ments had so caught on me, that I had by then material enough to formulate three separate papers. One of these was named "Funerary Monuments of India" and appears in this collection as "Megalithic Remains of India". My caste-data were being pondered over to see what contribution they could make to a theory of caste.

At last to my great joy I received a letter from the Registrar of Bombay University that my scholarship was extended by one year. It was clear that I could stay on till May 1923; and that would have given me six full terms of the University of Cambridge. The Ph.D. regulations, however, were quite specific and emphatic that nine terms' residence alone could enable an 'advanced student' to submit his work for the award of the Ph.D. degree. The provision of exemption of three terms' residence at Cambridge was available as a special concession to First Class graduates of Cambridge University, provided they utilised them at any other University. But I was so intoxicated with the joy of research and Rivers' opinion about me that I had almost forgotten the regulation, and that was really to my advantage at that time, whatever might happen later. I informed Rivers of the success of his testimonial and told him in fair detail the scheme of my papers, adding of course that the caste paper was still nebulous. That was, I believe about the middle of March 1922.

Since about October 1921 my digestion had begun to give me trouble and I put myself under the treatment of a good physician; but the benefit I got was slight and the expenses were rather heavy. About December, I believe, I found a dead maggot in my plate of roast mutton my landlady served me. The meat tasted like what I was evidently eating for more than a month or so. Then I watched carefully and spoke to the landlady. However, later on I found the same parasites in my meat. I came to the conclusion that my landlady for the past few months was feeding me on imported Australian meat, perhaps a year or two old in storage. It shocked me because I had asked my landlady to give me only pure mutton and no other meat; and I was paying the bills as for English meat. I concluded that my digestion-trouble was the result of the "old" de-vitaminated and perhaps spoiled meat and decided to change my lodging. Also I thought that the atmosphere of the low-

lying neighbourhood was a contributory cause of my ill-health. To be in search of a decent landlady and to find one in an appropriately nice neighbourhood was not an easy affair those days. Advertising and then going about the places opened by the advertisement took away a few days. Finally I and another Indian student fixed up a place which lay at the other end of the town, in the westernmost development and on the higher side of the town. From 1st April, i.e. exactly a year after I had taken my first lodgings in Cambridge, I moved to my new landlady's. I was well served by her, without playing many tricks. And it was in her rooms that I began to write my thesis papers. Things were proceeding well and I sent to a professional typist two of the three papers.

While I was going to the library, one day in June, 1922, I came to know that Dr. Rivers had died and that his funeral would take place that afternoon after a memorial service at St. John's College Chapel. I hurried back to my lodgings put down everything; almost quaking and in tears, I pushed myself in post-haste where I could be present at the service. Then I followed the funeral party, though it was very awkward for one like me to be there, to the cemetery and began to return with very heavy steps to my lodgings, almost reeling with the thought that my search for an academic career was not only going to end in a fiasco but also to land me in an unenviable situation.

Soon I received a letter from the University Registry that I was to see Dr. A. C. Haddon as my research guide. I met Dr. Haddon and I told him about the papers. He allowed me the same privilege as Rivers and I went on with my work. By September, I believe, I had one of the papers ready in final typescript and soon I got another from the professional typist. I believe it was towards the end of September or rather beginning of October that I saw Dr. Haddon with those papers. He looked through them and agreed to send them for publication, one in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and the other in the *Anthropos*.

As there were already two other papers, one of them a fairly longish one, with the professional typist, I began putting into type my paper on the Ethnic Theory of Caste by myself without making a first handwritten draft. When the typescript was

ready I saw Dr. Haddon and informed him that three other papers, including one on Caste would be ready in a week or a fortnight, and that my scholarship-stipend will stop in May or June, so that I will have to leave for home at the latest in the beginning of May and asked him what I should do. Without so much as a thought given to my predicament, Dr. Haddon told me to apply to the Registry for the exemption of three terms' residence to qualify me for the Ph.D. degree and he would see what he could do. I felt assured, went home, typed out a brief application and immediately handed it to the Registry office. And lo! within a fortnight I got a reply which transported me into the seventh heaven. It said that my petition was granted and that I could submit my papers to be considered for the award of the Ph.D. degree anytime. Such was the potency of good opinion about students entertained by their teachers and other dons in that great University that it proved potent even after the death of a teacher!

I believe it was about the last week of January that I submitted my papers. About the third or the fourth week of February, I think, I was informed that I was to present myself at a particular spot in the Fitzwilliam Museum for my oral examination naming my examiners. When I read the names of my examiners my heart began to sink within me. For one of them was a staunchest Tory anti-Indian, Sir William Ridgway, Professor of Greek Archaeology or General Archaeology I forget which, well-known to academics as a writer on the significance of the horse in Greek history and to us Indians in Britain as the anti-Indian writer of letters, etc. to the most anti-Indian Tory newspaper of the day, the *Morning Post*, and the other was Dr. William Crooke, a retired I.C.S., who had received the honorary degree of D.Sc. from Oxford University for his anthropological work on India.

I approached the spot of what I was more than half afraid was to be my 'yupa', the sacrificial post where I was to be sacrificed, with wary and almost trembling steps. I had not seen Sir William before but on my sight of him I was more confirmed in my view that his was the kind of face that would not mind killing me. Dr. Crooke, on the other hand, appeared to me to have a reassuring look of a kindly soft gentleman. Anyway, having no choice in the matter my native spirit began

to assert itself and I sat before my examiners outwardly composed though my heart was thumping. And surprising as it then appeared, and appears today to me, I began to answer the questions put to me well as I thought. And this thought put my heart into its normal beat with the result that, as wonted, my replies began to be even spirited and perhaps more than spirited. At last the question-answer trial ended. I was told what papers my examiners appreciated most. Finally it was Sir William Ridgway as the senior man who said something like this: "Mr. Ghurye you have answered our questions well and that too with some spirit; you will be awarded the degree of Ph.D. I shall be glad if you will come to my rooms at Caius College on such and such a day to have tea with me." I said: "thank you; I shall" and left the hall all joy and bubbling with enthusiasm for my future academics.

To intensify my joy I received a cablegram from the Registrar of Bombay University asking me whether I would like to continue as a scholar in England for another year. Such was the power of Rivers' recommendation of ten months before and such was the predicament Bombay University had found itself in the fourth year of the appointment of Prof. Geddes as Professor of Sociology! But of this latter situation I shall speak later. To continue the tale of myself, I must say that the reply I gave that I should hold such a scholarship now in India and not in England, in the perspective of time and events, is indicative of my defects. It shows my short-sightedness and absence of both tact and masterful use of opportunities of self-assertion and self-aggrandisement. The decision was thus a part of myself in life-action. And it was strengthened by my being ill at ease with the food and ill in body owing to digestive upsets, both of which circumstances had conspired to make me home-sick. I had deserted Hobhouse and London because I was convinced that I could not get anything worthwhile from them. With Rivers' death Cambridge had become a blank to me. My short-sightedness had obliterated for me U.S.A. altogether. On the other hand, we had heard of Calcutta and its University while in India and it was known that it had invited Dr. Rivers to deliver a course of lectures there and that Rivers would have gone there late in 1922. I had, therefore, wanted to work there if possible. As an anthropologist who had tried to imbibe

something from W. H. R. Rivers I eagerly desired to have firsthand knowledge of another sub-nationality of India than the one to which I belonged, and there could not be another choice as good. With all this in view and without any stipulation about later employment, the fool that I was and I have been, I wired my reply with the greatest contentment!

I heard from the Registry about my eligibility for the Ph.D. degree. I then went to see Mr. Readaway, the Head of Fitzwilliam Hall, the then non-collegiate institution to which I was attached, to arrange for my being presented to the degree-giving authority. Mr. Readaway profusely congratulated me. The old gentleman, a student of history, was visibly moved as I had brought some honour to that Non-Coll. Hall, being its first alumnus to secure the Ph.D. degree of the University. I at that time was only recently instituted at fact that Ph.D. degree at that time was only recently instituted at Cambridge the authorities had still more recently instituted both M. Litt. and M.Sc. degrees by research to prevent flooding the stream of Ph.D.s. Mostly First Class Cambridge graduates were being enrolled for Ph.D. and as such graduates tended to get well paid jobs very soon after their graduation, very few of them sought admission to the enrolment. In actual fact I was the third Ph.D. among Indians. From Bombay Province I happened to be the first Cambridge Ph.D. Readaway invited me to tea at his home after I took my degree. After tea he presented me a largish photo of his.

With my degree-paper securely rolled up in my suitcase I packed off as quickly as possible. To enable early passage I paid First Class fare and travelled in the first oil-engined steamer running this side of the world, enjoying the luxury of compressed air blown into the cabin. It was the month of May and the luxury was most welcome. And so I arrived with signal academic success in my pocket only to find that academic success, at least of the middling variety, one which did not lift you up like the election to the Fellowship of the Royal Society, was not good enough to enable one to get his due in the shape of a career without the help of native dash push and 'don't worry' and of influential patrons. And I then realised what a personal loss was Rivers' death; for he was my only likely patron and a very powerful one, too, in the then world of academics.

I had then with me another proof of academic eminence which was not capable of being flaunted. I had a contract with Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. for a book on *Caste and Race in India* to be published in the History of Civilization Series edited by Ogden.

About the end of June, I believe, I heard from the Registrar of Bombay University that I was awarded a scholarship in India with the stipend of Rs. 250/- per month. I should have proceeded to Calcutta with my wife almost immediately. Through a common friend, Mr. V. P. Karmarkar, who later became one of the most well-known of India's sculptors, was to be our host in Calcutta. However, my father who had gone with my professor brother to Junagad, got unwell. My brother's wife and children had stayed behind at her mother's place. So there was nobody to take care of him and give him wonted food. My wife and I had therefore to proceed to Junagad. We had to stop there almost a whole month when my brother's family arrived and we were relieved. My father was getting better; and we left for Bombay. In August I and my wife left for Calcutta. We were very warmly received by Mr. Karmarkar whose wife was away then. With his help we could get a three-room block as sub-tenants in Bhawanipore.

In our journey to Calcutta among many things about myself my plans and her role in our life. I talked about, I made it quite clear to my wife that I considered the usual custom of addressing or referring to one's husband in the honorific plural as an outmoded and derogatory practice and that I want to be addressed by her or referred to by her only in the singular as 'tu' or 'to' in Marathi and not 'tumhi' or 'te' which are the honorific plural pronouns. It took a little more persuading to get her to agree to this than for any other proposal or idea of mine; but she agreed. And once she agreed she has been following the agreement so well that the address has ever appeared to all as natural. Our routine practice in this matter has been so thorough that a highly educated couple, coming from a so-called reformist and sophisticated family, with whom we began to get intimately acquainted about 1938, had concluded from our practice that I and my wife were cross-cousins, i.e. son and daughter of a sister and a brother respectively. We came to know this when we happened to be their guests in

1946-47. And they refused to believe us for some time when we informed them that we were not related even in the 7th or the 10th generation in any line. The couple of course had prided itself on its own practice of the mutual use of the singular!

It is characteristic of me that in Calcutta it did not occur to me to see Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the great Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, even though I had known of his interest in Anthropology. I met, through Mr. K. N. Dixit, then Archaeologist, Western Circle, Mr. Chanda of the Indian Museum. Later I met another Bengali student of anthropology and culture, Mr. B. C. Muzumdar, who knew Marathi. Later I met my contemporary at Cambridge, Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya. My London friend, S. C. Roy, Bar-at-Law, introduced me to some friends of his. Thus I got to know almost from inside Bengali society. Side by side I used to read daily for three hours in the Imperial Library, the National Library of today. Thus I and my wife spent nearly seven months in Calcutta to my advantage as a student of Indian life and history.

In the meanwhile I saw an advertisement in the newspapers inviting applications for the post of Professor of Sociology in Bombay University. Having agreed to hold a small scholarship in India I had devalued evidently myself in the eyes of the authorities of Bombay University. I had thought that those who had the good sense to offer me, who had not taken any degree in England where I was sent to study Sociology, an additional year of scholarship, would have the better sense of offering me the post of Professor. I had earned the coveted Ph.D., acquiring special exemption granted at most to Cambridge First Class graduates — Cambridge First Classes then straight walked into a professor's post in any Indian University — and when further I had also established my eminence as a student of the most complex and troublesome social institution of India. But no; the Registrar did not even inform me that the University would be shortly proceeding to appoint a Professor of Sociology!

Now a few words to explain the predicament which had led the University authorities to extend my scholarship without my asking, and that, too, even when there was no concrete evidence,

in the shape of an English degree, of my having done well academically.

Prof. Patrick Geddes, who described himself commonly as the Director of City and Civic Exhibition, having such a one standing in London, it would appear from about 1914, was engaged by Indore State to advise on the layout of Indore. About 1913 the Government of India had stirred itself about University Education. Soon after, the University of Bombay, in which there were persons like Dr. H. H. Mann who were staunch admirers of Geddes, in the academic year 1914-15, had invited Professor Patrick Geddes, described then as Professor of the University of Aberdeen, to deliver a series of four public lectures on "The Study of Cities". That was I think Geddes' first contact with Bombay University. The lectures were described as largely attended and a great success. Soon thereafter the Government of India had progressed in its interest in University education so far as to suggest to, or ask, the University of Bombay to establish a School of Economics and Sociology for research in the subjects making the ridiculously meagre recurring grant of Rs. 12,000 a year. The grateful University moved at its own slow pace in the matter.

Patrick Geddes, later Sir Patrick Geddes, started as a biologist at Dundee University and had written two or more books on the subject in collaboration with another Scotsman, J. Arthur Thomson. Later he came to London, where in 1903 in collaboration with others he started the Sociological Society. He was in charge of the Civic side of Sociology. There he opened his City and Civic Exhibition in 1914 and came to be known better as its director and as a student of cities. Between 1904 and 1907 in collaboration with Victor Branford he edited and published four volumes of *Sociological Papers* as an annual journal. When the post of the Martin White Professorship at the London School of Economics was instituted Geddes was among the aspirants for it. The selectors' choice, however, fell on L. T. Hobhouse, who was then a don at Oxford. Thereafter Prof. Geddes continued his connection with Sociology through the above-mentioned journal and the Le Play House which was made possible by Mrs. Branford's liberality. With Hobhouse's appointment as Martin White Professor of Sociology the annual 'Sociological Papers' was changed into a quarterly Sociological

Review. However city-development and dissemination of knowledge required for its proper handling were Geddes' main activity. Geddes published his book *Cities in Evolution* in 1913. In India I think he lectured on Sociology at the Calcutta University sometime between 1916 to 1918. In 1919 the University of Bombay at long last fulfilled its obligations to the Government of India by appointing Prof. Geddes to take charge of Sociology, leaving out the Economics part of the Government scheme.

Sociology as one of the courses for the M.A. degree examination was introduced in 1922. In November 1921, Mr. K. T. Shah, who had recently resigned his post of Economics at Mysore, was appointed Professor of Economics. Mr. C. N. Vakil, who had just then returned from London with M.Sc. degree in Economics, was appointed Assistant Professor of Economics. A little earlier Mr. S. N. Pherwani, who was till then the University Librarian, was appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. The Department of Sociology had by then come to be designated the Department of Sociology and Civics. The organization of its administration was nebulous. For years, I believe, till 1929 or thereabouts no fees were charged for persons or students taking advantage of the Departments. With the introduction of Sociology at the M.A. had come in the regulation about thesis and that permitted a candidate for the M.A. degree to submit a thesis in lieu of the four papers in Sociology. He had to submit himself to an examination by papers in the four papers of the other subject which completed his course for his M.A. examination.

Prof. Geddes' contract enabled him to be away from Bombay from April to September or October, so that he was in residence and available to students only for about six months of the year. It appears Mr. Pherwani had no particular training in Sociology, and he was appointed because Prof. Geddes had insisted on his appointment. Whatever the reasons, the authorities of the University were thoroughly dissatisfied with the total work and output of the four years of the existence of the Department of Sociology. And that was the reason why I had had the honour of being offered, without my asking for it and even though I had not yet earned any degree in England, a years' extension of the scholarship!

I had to appear before a committee of the Syndicate as one of the applicants for the post advertised as stated above. When I went to the University, it was some time in March or early April I think, I met Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, who had taken the M.Sc. degree in Anthropology at Cambridge the same year and about the same time that I had taken my Ph.D. in the same subject. The committee, I came to know from a Syndic afterwards, recommended that both Chattopadhyaya and Ghurye should be appointed as Readers in Sociology. It became clear to me that the Committee would have thrown me overboard and recommended Mr. Chattopadhyaya not only as the only Reader but even as the only Professor, if I should have, through the misfortune of not receiving the special treatment, which I received from the Cambridge University in consequence of the good opinion my revered departed teacher Dr. Rivers had come to have of me, got only the M.Sc. degree! I had known in my stay in Calcutta that Chattopadhyaya was related to the great Tagore family through marriage connection. The Tagore influence with such important members of the committee as Dr. H. H. Mann was so great then that I realized, on knowing the inward history of my appointment, what great good Dr. Rivers' opinion of me had done for me and also the stupendous personal loss his untimely death was going to result in! The Syndicate decided to appoint only one Reader; and my name accordingly was put before the Senate in due time. For then it was the Senate that appointed the teachers of the University Departments.

That only one Reader was fixed upon was not entirely due to the Syndicate having seen the awkwardness of two such teachers put up for appointment, one of whom had a lower degree from the same University as the other one. There was also the interest of another person being watched by two or more influential Syndics. My later colleague, Dr. N. A. Thoothi, was then at Oxford working for his D.Phil. degree. He had already put in six terms there and was expected to return with his Oxford D. Phil. in 1925. Dr. Thoothi was a student of Geddes along with me and was naturally my competitor for the foreign scholarship but unfortunately for him I happened to be Geddes' choice for that scholarship. It took a year for Thoothi to arrange for finance to enable him to

proceed to England and Oxford where, at Geddes' advice and recommendation, he had put himself under the guidance of J. L. Myres and R. R. Marett.

The Senate in the plenitude of its power and in the amplitude of its learning discussed the motion, as reported in the papers, fairly long. For one thing many Senators looked at Sociology with a queer eye, particularly as the urge to its cultivation had come from the anti-national British Indian Government at the Centre. Some, I have a shrewd suspicion, went to the length of even confusing it with Socialism. There were some who wanted Technology and nothing else in the University to start with, as they were thoroughly dissatisfied with the way the hugely subscribed Institute of Science was being manned and run. The natural or easy common course for all of them was the rejection of the motion for my appointment. Friends of Thoothi could not have been slow to perceive advantage for their friend in the defeat of the proposal. It seems all kinds of arguments were thrown in. One of the great Senators was reported to have attacked me by describing me to his fellow Senators as a "dark horse". That was the kind of appreciation a section of the Senate then had for academic distinction of the kind I had. It is possible, too, that the executive might not have put all the facts of my academic career before the Senate. Against all criticism, however, the motion for my appointment as Reader in Sociology was carried.

The question of finding suitable rooms within my means was no easy task in those days. The shortages of the First World War were plaguing us in all directions. The Reader's salary was Rs. 500 per month. By annual increment of Rs. 50, the maximum was to be Rs. 750. I had to repay the small loan which I had taken while embarking for England and a personal loan of some size was added during my Indian stay. My Cambridge friend Mr. J. V. Joshi, who because of his 1st Class Tripos in Economics was drafted into the Finance section of the Bombay Secretariat—he later rose to be a Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank—found a small two-storeyed house. I willingly agreed to take a floor of it, he taking the topmost. I, my wife and my elder brother with his family moved into my flat. And our household and home building activity began.

On my return from England I had spoken to my wife on

three matters of domestic concern to know her mind about them and to persuade her to my view. My wife's formal education had stopped after she had passed the IV Marathi standard, and like myself she comes from an orthodox family. First I spoke to her about food and the manner of taking it and disposing off the remnants etc. I was glad to find her perfectly willing to reduce the chilly content of condiments to the minimum and to substitute the red chilly by green wherever possible, to give it first preference in fact. We were to take our meals, when no elderly persons were in the home, side by side. And the last item about food remnants was that there shall be no repeated helpings. The purpose was to ensure that no food was left to be wasted and also to see that overeating was not induced. My wife agreed; as such the procedure involved less work to the lady of the house over and above contributing to rational economy. The mofussil and even Bombay practice in most middle class homes then was to brush the spot under the plate after the food was eaten, with cowdung, which in Bombay was mostly buffalo-dung not infrequently mixed with horse-dung and therefore a filthy thing. I hated it and associated it with the inn-food and inn-atmosphere. I had expected not only reluctance but even some opposition from my wife to the dropping of this procedure, substituting mere water or rather wet-cloth as the brush and cleanser; but I was very much surprised to find that she readily welcomed the proposal with glee. Evidently she was absolutely fed up with her experience of her six years or so in our family, handling that stuff, even though much purer than the Bombay thing as she had to handle it only in the mofussil.

My next domestic matter was the notion of impurity and its strict or even lenient observance, attached, in Hindu society, particularly in high caste society, to menstruation. I had not the least doubt that the practice was abominable in every way. Having read its fancied origin in later Vedic literature and its ramification in the Dharma-literature of later times, and having studied the spread of analogous practices in human groups outside India and Indian civilization, I had come to the definite conclusion that the notion was not only unscientific but was actually superstitious and its acceptance degrading. I wanted that in our home, menstruation should be treated as a natural

phenomenon with no particular notice being taken of it. When I found my wife quite willing to cease observing any pollution about it and to go about the daily business as usual, I felt greatly relieved. I do not know what she would have done and how I would have acted if there were idols of gods kept by us but the fact that we had no idols of our own, nor did we contemplate having any in future enabled us to take the decision to act on it without nervousness or remorse. When the fact of my wife's non-observance of the monthly period pollution became known to our people and the neighbourhood there was very severe criticism of our conduct. My father brooded over it and my other people thought that he would give us up as renegades or fallen persons. My wife's people told her very emphatically that she would have to observe the pollution if she went to them. We could understand that position. As for my father and my people at home, we decided that whenever we were minded to go for visiting we would arrange our visits avoiding the 'period'. Today even in Malvan, Vengurla and other mofussil places what I was criticised for has become a current practice!

The last item I spoke to my wife was about birth control. I showed the pessaries that I had brought from London and with the help of few books on the subject I explained to her the way they can be used to prevent conception. Again I was happy to find her agreeable without much ado. However, our practice of birth control proved defective as will be clear in the sequel.

V

I RUN MY CAREER

In June 1924 on the opening of the 1st term of the academic year 1924-25 I took charge of the Department of Sociology. There were three teachers of the University then, Prof. K. T. Shah, Assistant Professor C. N. Vakil, two years senior to me in the University, the former as the Head of the Department

of Economics, and I as Reader in Sociology and as the Head of the Department of Sociology. Prof. Vakil and I had run the academic courses and University examinations throughout as contemporaries. Prof. Vakil had secured a First Class in P.E. but had failed to secure it in the Inter Arts. Again at the B.A. he secured First Class but failed to secure it at the M.A. At London University he could secure only lower M.Sc. degree. With all the academic disadvantages *vis-a-vis* me and the brilliance of his senior Prof. K. T. Shah in Economics, Prof. Vakil was later appointed Professor of Economics. My appointment was for five years in the first instance and open to renewal or rejection at the end of the period.

We three in a sort of committee, for which as far as I know there was nowhere any sanction, with Prof. K. T. Shah, the seniormost of us, as Chairman, met and decided on any matter connected with the Departments, such as books for the Library, recommendations for scholarships. As against Prof. Shah's brilliance in Economics it needs to be noted here that he was like me a brusque person who could and did cut people with his tongue; he was a nationalist of a rather extreme nature; he was a sort of an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and used to address many a political gathering and he was a highly successful contributor to newspapers on payment of his fees. All this had created a number of enemies powerful in the public and University life of his time. His success, both reputational and financial, as a writer on Economic matters, had procured him enemies in the academic and semi-academic world as was natural, has been even more so in later days, in a society full of jealousy in the company of insensitiveness to academic excellence.

In the lecture hall I found, at the time notified for my first lecture in coverage of the Sociology course as laid down in the University calendar, only three persons. Two of them were new entrants. The third person told me that he attended Geddes' lectures off and on during his attempts at establishing himself in legal practice. No wonder that I found him absent after three or four lectures. He had left. In the meanwhile I think I had at least one new student. One of the first two and this new one had opted out for a thesis, both of them having "History" as the complementary group.

Two other students soon were seeking admission under the thesis provision and I took them on. The presence of six students somehow induced some more to sit for the lectures. The result at the end of the academic year, i.e., in April 1925 was that I could report to the Syndicate in my annual report that there were altogether 16 students preparing for their M.A. degree examination with the four papers of Sociology as one of the two groups forming the entire syllabus for the M.A. degree examination. Of these four were engaged on writing a thesis in lieu of the four papers in Sociology.

Our birth control technique had proved ineffective and our first child, a son, was born in November 1924. He is named Sudhish. At present he is the Head of the Department of Mathematics, being a student of Mathematical Statistics, in a Canadian University.

Sometime early in 1925 or late in 1924 I was particularly invited by my old friends to attend the annual meeting of the Bardeskara Brahmana Fund, an organization for helping poor students of the caste, the subcaste in which I was born. I attended the meeting. However much I thought of the enthusiasm of some of the old friends in the organization I declined to become a member of the organization. And that was the last occasion of my attendance at a caste meeting. As a matter of fact, after 1925 I declined even to speak under the auspices of any organization that was caste-based. The only exception, I remember, is when about 1936 I succumbed to an importunity by a co-resident on behalf of the youth of his caste.

Late in November or early in December I had the good fortune to meet and discuss Sociology with one of the then stalwarts of American Sociology, Prof. E. A. Ross of Wisconsin University. He was on a world tour and was sojourning in Bombay for about a week. Prof. Ross who was one of the four pillars of American Sociology of the time, the three others being Ward, Small and Giddings, told me that he had undertaken the tour to provide eyewitness sharpness to the book he was engaged in writing on the population of the world. Perchance I, too, had been then working at some of the problems of population in general and of India in particular. River's clarion call regarding depopulation of Melanesia, Carr Saunder's book on population and the literature that I had read on

birth-control had conspired to send me tracking some of the problems of population.

I published an article in the soon-to-be-defunct *Bombay Economist* edited(?) by K. T. Shah, on population growth in India, contesting the prevalent opinion of Indian Economists that India was not over-populated, sometime in 1924, and followed it soon with a longish paper entitled "Civilization and Fecundity" published in *Man in India* (Ranchi) 1925. Reprints of the latter paper alone being available I sent one of them to Prof. Ross. His reaction to it, coming so neat and decisive at the very beginning of my academic career, drove away the depression that I had been under during the previous year under the concatenation of circumstances mentioned above. Here is Ross' letter of October 13, 1925:

"The arrival of your paper *Civilization and Fecundity* which you were kind enough to send me makes a remarkable coincidence. Only day before in writing the first chapter of my book 'Population and Migration in their World Aspects' I had been impressed with the argument of Carr Saunders in his fifth chapter that civilized races are more fecund than the primitive races and had written a section for my chapter which embodied his principal points. Even after I wrote it, I began to realize how flimsy several of his arguments were. The very next day in came your paper, dealing precisely with the points which I had written on. The effect of reading your paper was that I struck out the corresponding section of my chapter and shall not undertake to contend that the civilized races are more fecund than the savage races. With this evidence that your work has an effect upon my work I hope you will continue to favour me with reprints of your articles. I greatly valued what you sent me on caste." In his letter of April 30, 1926, Prof. Ross was kind enough to inform me that he had met Carr Saunders, in Madison and that he drew his attention to my paper and lent him his copy of it and that he had received Carr Saunders' comment on it which is: "I prefer to base the argument for the opinion which I expressed and still hold, not so much upon statistics as upon general biological facts based upon a large amount of observations... It is true, as Ghurye says, that much of my evidence is of doubtful value. But then it is the only evidence available and I still think it points to my con-

clusion. His statistical point on page 8 is a good one though of little real weight..." Then goes on Ross: "In your November letter you spoke of a paper of yours which appeared March last in the now defunct 'Indian Economist'. I have not this paper of yours and should be very glad if you care to let me have the type written copy you mention... I venture to enclose a paper which I am giving the 'Jahrbuch fur Soziologie' at their request... If you see anything about it which you deem inexact or one-sided I shall be glad to have you make notes on the margin and return the paper to me. In case I hear from you before very long I shall be able to incorporate the changes before the German translation is sent abroad. I hope that I am not asking too much of you."

Before March 1925 it was getting clear to me that Mr. Joshi who had gone out of Bombay on some Commission work and would be away for a year or so will give up his floor in the house where I was staying. The flat itself was being felt as rather small and my brother started on a search for another place. Having fixed one, the shortage of accommodation was evidently getting made up for, we moved there. My wife was not keeping quite fit since almost December 1924 and she had gone to her mother's place with infant Sudhish. My professor-brother's third son's thread ceremony was arranged at Malvan in late May and my father wanted all of us to go there. After I reached Malvan my wife with Sudhish joined me there.

Monsoon having started a little earlier than usual and some domestic events having prolonged our stay at Malvan, I had to travel overland with my wife and son, accompanied by my brother's family. The whole journey having to be financed out of my pocket, I could not manage anything better than the Inter-class accommodation. And when with all the great inconvenience and exasperation we reached at Poona station, I found that the connecting train had left. I had to wait with all my people for six hours at the station with further exasperation and inconvenience. To make matters worse, the train that we boarded at Poona had so many obstructions that it did not reach V.T. station before 9 p.m. When trains arrive at their destination much later than the scheduled time there arises quite often another situation to plague the overtired and exhausted travellers; and that is lack of sufficient vehicles and even porters.

It took me, a poor manager of such affairs that I was and have ever remained, almost an hour to manage to start off with all of us and our belongings for our new residence in Grant Road-Tardeo area. The entire journey proved such a tiring and exasperating business for my poor nerves that even as I write about it I feel some quivering in me!

My brother's wife was in the family way and in about three months' time my brother had a son. My younger widowed sister had come to help manage the household in the contingency. About a month or so earlier I had discovered that my wife used to have evening rise of temperature. As it persisted for more than a week, I got terrified and ran about in search of medical help. During this it became evident that our birth-control method had again failed and that the slight rise in temperature, was not particularly significant. The household had already begun to show signs of internal disharmony and even mild bickerings. Two or three months later, my brother's wife, his daughter and the infant son, named Ramakrishna or Ramu, went to Malvan for a change.

About January 1927 my father had to come to Bombay for medical examination. At Malvan he got into the steamer in the company of the Head Master of the Topiwala Desai High School, Mr. R. V. alias Rambhau Parulekar. Rambhau Parulekar, who was one of my closest friends since my early days in London and remained the closest friend till his early death in 1962, was known to my father. Our house lay by the way Parulekar and many others had to take to reach the school, and my father, sitting on the verandah of our house, was quite often accosted by my friend to ask about my health etc. My father would treat Parulekar as he would my eldest brother. At the Bombay wharf, Parulekar knowing that we brothers had two separate establishments, asked my father where he should take him, whether to my elder brother's residence or to mine; referring to me in the same designation as the one by which I was known in the family, viz. Aba. Rambhau always used the same designation for me in our conversation since our London days. My father suggested that Rambhau must be knowing my whereabouts well and it would be easier for Rambhau to take him to my residence. Rambhau told him that he knew both the places equally well and that my brother's was

a little nearer. After a moment's reflection my father asked Rambhau to drive him to my residence. Both of us, my wife and I, were delighted to see our father at our place; for it clearly meant that he had overlooked our falling off from the traditional standard of purity regarding menstruation! He was with us for about a fortnight during which there was no discrimination of any kind.

During the monsoon of 1926 Sudhish had suffered from dysentery. Between October and February my wife had got malarial fever of short duration more than once. When my father was with us, one day the old maid-servant, a very kindly but rather absentminded lady, had forgotten to bolt the front door of our flat on the first floor. I was in my study-room—I had a study-room then for myself, though I have none now—my father was inside, doing his morning ablutions and the maid engaged in some work, when Sudhish found his occasion to be an adult man and went on an errand of his own by the front door all alone. He had walked the distance of about half a furlong and got on the high thoroughfare where our maid used to take him daily morning and evening. Fortunately, some maid who used to see him in the company of our maid saw him and stopped him. Almost at that very instant my father who had finished his morning ablutions came out and noticed the wide open door and raised an alarm. Coming out of my study I ran out; and my wife from the kitchen too came out. I found Sudhish where the kindly maid had stopped him just fortunately out of danger. All these events and circumstances, had convinced me and my wife that staying in Bombay was not going to be healthy and nice for us.

My friend from late London days, Mr. S. R. Deshpande, B.Litt. (Oxon.), who was Assistant Commissioner of Labour, or Officer of that rank in Labour Department of the Government of Bombay, had two of his maternal uncles living in the then recently established township of Khar model suburb. While on his occasional visits to them he had taken fancy for the locality, which was near ideal at that time from the point of view of openness, though wanting in the amenities of electricity and underground drainage and sewerage disposal and teeming with mosquitoes. When he had fixed upon a neat little bungalow near his uncle's house, which had fallen just

then vacant, he took me with him to see the place. Though I did not like the layout of that neat cottage, I too immediately fell for the locality in view of the health situation of my family and the past history of my stomachache. We were assured by the uncles of Deshpande that the mosquitoes were not malarial. Within two or three weeks my friend found out a decent cottage which he had come to know was very likely to be soon vacated. He even approached the owner who was resident in Bombay. I inspected the place; and the owner who had received the notice from the occupant already fixed it up for me. Early in May I with my people moved into our new home at Khar, a locality in which at the time of writing I have been living for 43 years in moderate affluence, in more than moderate comfort.

In my academic career, signs of turmoil to come had begun to be apparent. I was more drawn towards K. T. Shah. Dr. Thoothi, who had joined as Reader in Sociology in June 1925, it turned out, was a close friend of Prof. Vakil. Prof. Vakil was showing the effects of inferiority complex. He was made Professor but Mr. Shah being senior was the natural chairman of our Committee. Dr. Thoothi's position, too, was such that Prof. Vakil would have liked to see it improved. Such was the situation; yet I saw no harm in continuing good relations with the latter two colleagues. In the meanwhile, however, a Bill proposing a new constitution for the University, incorporating almost radical changes from the old one, giving University Professors ex-officio representation on the Senate, and creating the Academic Council, an altogether novel unit in the University organization, emphasizing the academic nature of the business of a University, was on the anvil of the Secretariat as per recommendations of a Committee. The ex-officio representation was quite clearly not dictated by purely academic considerations; for it was accordingly to Departments of studies but was based on official status. When the actual Bill was known, however, the ex-officio representation came to be for Head of University Departments, and I would be the beneficiary. It was thought by my two colleagues that Prof. Shah had got the original proposal to be changed into this one, with the double purpose of keeping out professor Vakil, who was a University Professor but not the Head of a University Department, and favouring

me as I would be its beneficiary. This feeling embittered the already frayed relations between Prof. Vakil and Dr. Thoothi on the one hand and Prof. Shah and myself on the other, as I was believed to have put the idea for my benefit to Shah.

A sort of an enquiry committee was got up in the Syndicate by Shah's opponents in that body, mainly the British members with two or three very loyalist Parsis and one nationalist Parsi with whom Shah had quarrelled on some issue and parted company from. Dr. H. H. Mann was soon found peering into our affairs. Shah was questioned by the committee very minutely about his doings, goings and earnings; and his students, too, were, contacted behind his back. And I was informed by Shah that a lady student of his, who sometimes sat late and discussed her work with him, was contacted, most distressing and humiliating even to say or write, to ascertain Professor Shah's dealings with lady students and lady friends, of whom he had, to my knowledge, at least three, all most cultured, dignified, and high-souled ladies! Nothing came out of the committee's quest for gutters in our doings in the Departments but only more bad blood and highly strained relations among us.

I got engaged in my first investigation in the field of socio-economic facts in the company of my then friend Mr. S. R. Deshpande, B.A., B.Litt (Oxon.) We studied four villages in Kolaba District, Jeete, Deghode, Sai and Taki and published a paper in joint authorship in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, 1926-27 (pp. 468-90). It was entitled 'Some Village Studies'. It was well received. The British scientific weekly *Nature* gave a short notice of it. We called in question in it one of Engel's so-called laws about family budgets.

The year 1928, the latter part of the academic year 1927-28, is most memorable in my academic career and my University connection, evoking, however, mixed feelings. I feel very happy when I reflect on the fact that for the first time I forwarded four theses for the M.A. degree in Sociology. Since 1927 it was possible to write a thesis, in lieu of all the eight papers prescribed for the M.A. degree examination, in one subject like Sociology, though the papers prescribed were half and half for Sociology and either Economics or History-Politics. In 1927 I had forwarded two theses, and both were accepted for the award of the degree. One of them, that of Mr. Karandikar, on

Hindu Exogamy was awarded a First Class: Not only classes but even marks were then assigned to a thesis!

Publication of any research was a difficult matter those days. The Syndicate of the University decided questions of publication subsidy, if any, mostly by prestige or through influence. It had made a sumptuous grant to Dr. Thoothi soon after he joined the Department to publish the thesis which had earned him the D.Phil. degree of Oxford University. Dr. Thoothi, besides the Oxford prestige behind his work, had a godfather in the Syndicate. Mr. Karandikar's work, though a solid contribution, however, had no such prestige. He had no godfather; and I had not only none such but actually one or two syndics were already opposed to me. And my habit of not calling on anyone, without being asked or without formal or official business, was not calculated to incline anyone of the "great" distributors of patronage towards me. As a matter of fact since taking charge of my Department till the relinquishment of his position in 1928(?) I had not met the then Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalwad. But Mr. Karandikar fortunately for me had great faith in me and more still in himself. He decided that the work shall be published; but he was a poor schoolmaster and could not possibly find money to invest in a book of research. He went about the business in a perfectly American manner of scientific management. Having spent some time and energy in studying the friendships of the Vice-Chancellor, he got to know a person with extraordinary influence on him, and at last opening the topic to that well-disposed person, had his case presented to the Vice-Chancellor. Lo! Mr. Karandikar succeeded in getting a publication grant of Rs. 1000/-. And Karandikar's *Hindu Exogamy*, became, in 1929, the first of the theses prepared under my guidance and also the first one of the Department of Sociology, to be published as a book. The same year the Bombay Asiatic Society was to make the first award of the Society's Silver Medal which was instituted at its recent jubilee. The Society awarded the medal to Mr. Karandikar for his book *Hindu Exogamy*.

The academic year 1928-29 also left a deep scar on my mind as far as my academic service of the University is concerned. Mr. G. L. Mehta, who was known to me as a member of my

Inter Arts Class at the Elphinstone College, had prematurely returned from London without any degree. I think it was sometime in the first term of the academic year 1926-27 or the last term of 1925-26 that he met me. In the talk that ensued he told me that he was working under Prof. Laksi's guidance in London but had to leave London as his health would not permit his continuing there. He expressed his desire to do some thesis in Sociology for the M.A. degree of Bombay, whose B.A. examination he had passed in 1922 or 1923. I encouraged him in his project and soon Mr. Mehta settled on "Social Thought of Bertrand Russell" as the appropriate subject for his thesis. It seems he had intended to use the political thought of Russell as the basis for his thesis in Politics at the London School of Economics. I thought the topic was excellent for an M.A. thesis. Slowly a tentative scheme of treatment, section or chapter-wise was formulated, and Mr. Mehta began to show to me, for my criticism, section and after section. This continued for two or three terms when Mr. Mehta's employers moved him to Calcutta. From Calcutta from time to time Mr. Mehta sent the drafts of the remaining sections and informed me that he would submit his thesis soon, which would have meant March 1928. I assented as I had gone through and criticised almost more than 4/5ths of the whole.

I did not think it necessary to seek permission of the University, though Mr. Mehta was not resident in Bombay at that time. For the then University regulations required a candidate for the M.A. degree to have passed his B.A. not less than two years before. He could appear from any college; and actually the first M.A. in Sociology with papers had appeared for his examination from Rajaram College. A candidate submitting thesis had to submit a certificate that he had worked under the guidance of a University Teacher. It was even not laid down that he must have done so for two years or four terms. There were no tuition fees charged for receiving guidance or instruction from University teachers. Mr. Mehta sent his form for admission to the examination so late that it was received in the office only on the last day or a day previous to the last day on which forms must be submitted to the University for the examination in March. When the form came to me I saw that the entry for the institution from which the candidate was

appearing was left blank. While signing at the proper place for the signature of the guiding teacher, in view of the time element I filled in the institution entry too, as the University School of Economics and Sociology, and thus obviated Mr. Mehta's losing the chance of being submitted to examination in March. In due time all the three examiners, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Prof. P. A. Wadia and myself reported acceptance of the thesis, Radhakrishnan and I awarding it I think First Class and Prof. Wadia 40 per cent marks, i.e. just Pass Class. In due course Mr. Mehta was declared to have passed in the First Class.

It is the aftermath that created the scar I have mentioned. One fine morning, perhaps a fortnight after the result, I received a stentorious and punishing letter from the Registrar of the University. To the best of my recollection, it, in essence, censured me for having made a false declaration, that Mr. Mehta had taken my guidance. It was pointed out in it, in support of the charge of false declaration, that Mr. Mehta, evidently conscious that he had not taken my guidance, had left open the entry for the institution from which he was appearing for the examination, and it was suggested that I had filled it up in my handwriting in the way I had done, to conceal the fact of the false declaration. It was further stated that the Registrar's office had not found Mr. Mehta's name in the entry book of the School. I was exactly not warned nor was I asked to explain my conduct, but I think a kind of threat of further consequences was implied somewhere in it; otherwise with the judgment already pronounced, I don't think I would have taken the trouble to send an explanation in reply. As a matter of fact one or two persons, I shall not name them, were advising me to cut the matter short in my own interest by apologizing for the error committed!

I, who had received the above-noted treatment from Cambridge University in the matter of attendance and residence, in spite of the regulations in that behalf being stringent and rigid, and full exemption from reporting to the supervisor of studies as per regulations for 'advanced students', did not think that I had done any wrong at all. Much less was there any legally recognizable transgression of any of the existing regulations. What I had committed was only an indiscretion, which, done

in the best interests of the candidate, was but a natural corollary from the fact of my guiding the student. Because I was a teaching member of the School of Economics and Sociology, anyone whom I certified as having been guided by me in his research was *ipso facto* appearing for his examination and that too in Sociology, from the School and from nowhere else.

However, in my reply I did not argue and write out my explanation in the above words or tone. I simply narrated the facts already stated by me earlier, and offered to get all the first drafts of thesis from Mr. Mehta to be inspected by the University authorities in substantiation of my statement. My reply did not evoke any communication from the University. The syndicate did not exonerate me, much less did it apologize for its secret police methods and its conviction of me without giving me a chance to explain if any irregularity was thought to have been committed. It simply kept silent!

I had thought of Mr. Mehta's work well and Dr. Radhakrishnan, also agreed with me, in spite of his being attempted to be brought round to his own view by Prof. Wadia. The thesis I thought would be better off as a book with some modifications and I had entered into correspondence with Mr. Mehta regarding these. One of the letters, though undated, which Mr. Mehta wrote to me, speaks for me even better; and I quote below a few sentences from it including one mentioning Radhakrishnan because it fixes the approximate date of the letter: "My dear Prof. Ghuriye,

Many thanks for your letter I have been receiving numerous letters and telegrams of congratulations I cannot leave this subject without expressing my sincere gratitude to you for your kind help and constant support without which the thesis would never have been finished nor such a satisfactory result achieved. I am obliged to you for your writing to Mr. Dhruva. I am however not seeing Prof. Radhakrishnan for a number of reasons. The first is that I am pretty sure of getting the post but even if that is doubtful, I don't know if Radhakrishnan's testimonial will secure it for me. Secondly, the salary is so low Thirdly, I must frankly say that I didn't like Radhakrishnan's attitude and way of talking when I happened to meet him accidentally in the maidan here. It was before the result was out but he behaved rather eccentrically and even

slightly impolitely (though perhaps he didn't intend it) towards me. Of course, I never broached the subject of the thesis with him but he himself told me that Wadia was creating some trouble and he stopped. I shall tell you all about it when we meet some day. I am sending you the chapter on marriage under a separate cover. It was written in a hurry and needs much more informed treatment. Do you still think it necessary for me to alter my chapters on Psychological and Ethical Basis as well as on the State? Do you think I should drop Education altogether or deal with it at length? The book is already too bulky and I am afraid of increasing the size still more. I am writing to P. S. King as suggested by you and also to Kegan Paul I am thinking of asking Laski to write an Introduction if possible. If I get no reply from him, whom shall I ask? Will you write a small introduction? I have pestered you with many questions. I trust you will be kind enough to reply at your leisure

The new University Act came into force, I think in 1929. I got a seat on the Senate by my office as Head of the Department. It was a great gift to me. For it meant so much, especially for a man of my temperament and in my situation which I have explained above. I am quite certain I would never have thought of seeking election to the Senate through the Registered Graduates Constituency, much less got elected, if I had done, as my colleagues Prof. Vakil and Dr. Thoothi did. Three years earlier the Faculty of Arts, somebody with academic considerations uppermost in his mind having made a proposal at one of its meetings, had co-opted me as its member. In a few weeks thereafter one of its members was to be elected to the Board of Studies in History, Economics and Sociology. I thought that as the Faculty of its own accord, and consequently on the purest of academic considerations, had co-opted me, it would like me to be on the composite Board of Studies where there was no member to represent, i.e. take care of, Sociology. I, therefore, with Prof. K. T. Shah as my proposer and some other member, whose name I have forgotten, as seconder put in my nomination paper. To my surprise, a College Principal who was Professor of History also offered himself for election. To my utter confusion and chagrin the history professor was elected by a large majority! With my temperament, vouched by my conduct in

this election, and my bitter experience of its conduct and final result, I could not be persuaded by anyone to test my electoral ability or luck against such a large and conglomerate electorate as the Registered Graduates Constituency then was.

A seat on the Senate meant so much by way of prestige amongst one's equals and with one's administrative superiors like Syndics even; it further opened many sources of knowledge of what was going on or cooking behind one's back. And all that was a dire need for a man who would not call on peoples, like Vice-Chancellors, Syndics, or such other "important" persons. Things have more often happened to me than I have done them — this appears to me to be the key of my life, including academic career.

If I received the gift of a seat on the Senate from the framers of the Act, my then friend Professor K. T. Shah, with his keen insight and powerful help, made available to me another equally rich inheritance, a seat on the Academic Council. The Act did not provide seats on the Academic Council for the Heads of University Departments, and I could think of the possibility of a seat there for me only through the one seat open to University teachers other than a Professor. However, Prof. Vakil, too, wanted to go to the Academic Council through the same opening. I had thought that with his wider and longer contacts with University members Prof. Vakil would have a fairly easy passage through the other channel. My persistence would have resulted in a stalemate necessitating for final solution drawing of lots by the election-authority. Shah's and my vote on my side and Prof. Vakil's and Dr. Thoothi's on Prof. Vakil's would have meant that. Whatever the verdict of the lot-drawing, there would have been greater exacerbation in the School climate, which was already getting too much polluted with the pursuit of non-academic and self-aggrandising techniques of the kind implied by the reported proceedings of an enquiry-committee I have mentioned above. It was Shah's exhortation that I should not create a new bickering situation, though he was agreed that reasonably speaking my case for seeking to go to the Academic Council from the University Teacher's constituency was strong, that ultimately led me to agree to the suggestion that I should seek election through the Board of Studies. And my colleagues having helped me in my election from that

body I was duly elected a member of the Academic Council in 1929. Since then I continued to be a member of that important unit in University organization in its academic aspect till my retirement from University service in March, 1959.

To implement the new Act a new Vice-Chancellor was brought in. That the old Vice-Chancellor should have gone was but quite proper. As a matter of fact, he had occupied the position far too long, 12 years. With due deference to his abilities as a lawyer and as a public man, I must say that the period, more or less half of his total, of my personal and intimate contact with University affairs does not embolden me to say that his work there reflected anything but an ordinary individual. The new principle or the lack of it demonstrated by the new incumbent of that august office, the late Mr. Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan, did not harmonise with the new and academically highly desirable provisions of that Act. Mr. Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan was a Solicitor and was known for his rather conservatively Muslim outlook. His brother Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, who was then a Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and not only a more illustrious but also educationally much better equipped person and had long connection with students' organizations, was passed over. However, the Vice-Chancellor soon died, being perhaps the second case of a Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University dying in harness, the first having been that of Justice K. T. Telang. While the late Justice Telang had the honour of being the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of this University, Mr. Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan happens to have been the first Muslim Vice-Chancellor of it.

On his death the Government appointed his brother Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan to the office. Justice Mirza was a nice and kindly gentleman but was too soft, and unfortunately was led by the British and other European anti-national group of Syndics in University matters. The concatenation of events, as well be apparent from my brief account, appeared to suggest that Fate had sent him to occupy the high and respected office just to send away Prof. K. T. Shah and to lower the prestige of the University's academic side for long and the dignity of the office of the Vice-Chancellor for some time. That dignity was resorted during V. N. Chandavarkar's first two years of his Vice-Chancellorship and raised higher after his wise and tactful

handling of the uproarious situation, created at a meeting of the Senate in the Convocation Hall by a students' organization in 1936. And the dignity and respectability of the Office of the Vice-Chancellor and of the University as an academic body have never stood higher than in March 1939 when the late Mr. Chandavarkar relinquished his office.

The contracts of Shah, Vakil and me—Vakil and I were appointed on five years contract renewable at the end of the first five-year period—were extended so that their ends synchronized with the end of Dr. Thoothi's contract period in June 1930, and the University would be able to begin anew with a clean slate! Soon after Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar Khan assumed office, Dr. John Matthai was constituted by the Syndicate into a one-man committee to go into the question of the suitability of the existing University teachers for their posts and make recommendations. One knows now what papers the University-authorities placed before Dr. Matthai. To the best of my memory I do not recollect that I or Prof. Shah were informed about the one-man Committee or asked to submit whatever papers we would like to be considered when judging our suitability! Howsoever the question framed and put up and whatever the data presented to Dr. John Matthai, we soon came to know that he had reported that all of us were suitable for our posts academically speaking, unless, it was further stated, if a change was thought necessary on some other ground! To the group of anti-Indian British members of the Syndicate and their loyalist Parsi followers were already added one or two friends of Prof. Vakil, who saw a golden opportunity to advance the academic status of their friend in Shah's removal. This determined group of anti-Shah Syndics was strengthened and enlarged by the accretion of the Vice-Chancellor and two other Syndics whose legal acumen and administrative ability were outraged by Prof. Shah's successful appeal to the Chancellor of the University, under an appropriate clause of the University Act, against their interpretation of certain clauses or sections of the Act during its implementation. Thus, almost the whole Syndicate of the time, with the exception of one or two friends of Shah and another a straightforward independent, was hostile to him. The Syndicate, therefore, took the fateful decision not to renew Prof. Shah's contract.

And thus did they expel him from the University as they thought, but only from the teaching section of the University and that to the detriment of the academic reputation and stature of the University as it turned out later!

My friends S. R. Deshpande and J. V. Joshi had built their houses under the subsidised scheme of the Government—they being Government officers could get, I think, nine-tenths of the cost as loan from Government—on the 14th Road of Khar model suburb, which lay much in the Western and the more open sector of the township. Just nearby a new house was getting ready. It suited my increasing need for room and I acquired it on rent through Deshpande who happened to know the owner. Joshi had by now moved into the higher circle of the India Government and was posted, I think, at Calcutta. Deshpande had just returned from the Labour Commission. I had progressed so far with the writing of my contracted book 'Caste and Race in India' that I could send the typescript to the publishers in the beginning of 1931.

Since about the end of 1930 Deshpande, Mrs. Deshpande, myself and my wife with our common friend Mr. G. A. Kulkarni and my friend Prof. V. A. Gadgil, started to play badminton in the compound of Mr. Deshpande. We used the best shuttlecocks, those of Aiyre's, and with the finest rackets of the time. My wife has still preserved, out of the rackets she and I used, at least three which testify to the quality of those implements of the time. We used to play in the morning between about 7-30 a.m. and 9-30 a.m. or 11 a.m. on Sunday. I had then begun to do some exercises which are described as 'asanas', 'postures', with the help of good charts put upon the wall in front of me during the seven months, when Badminton could not be played, ours being a court in the open space. I had also with me a double set of "mugdals", clubs, one small and one large; and I used to practise with them. Our third son when he was about eight months old and was able to creep or rather go forward anywhere on his belly, used quite often to come near me while I was performing my exercises and used to be so delighted at the operations as to be trying to imitate some of them, which used to be manifested in his illumined face and his quickened up and down motions of his body, balanced on the palms and belly, a sight to see which I had

called my wife from her kitchen downstairs many a time.

Prof. Vakil, having been appointed Professor of Economics in place of Shah, a Reader's post in the Department was created and advertised. Prof. Vakil being the senior teacher and his academic status, Professor, being higher than mine he naturally became the chairman of our teachers' committee and defacto Head of the School of Economics and Sociology. Mr. D. Ghosh, who was a First Class Economics Triposman of Cambridge, came to us as the Reader in Economics. And Vakil, unlike me, was not the man to allow things or aspects of things which might create trouble later, to remain nebulous; and we soon had our Director. While the London School of Economics had Sir William Beveridge as its Director the Bombay School, not only of Economics but also of Sociology, got Professor C. N. Vakil!

I met Mr. D. Ghosh for the first time in our committee meetings. I was impressed by his way of participating in the discussion and the slightly halting but emphatic way of stating. He struck me as an intellectual. I could also sense that he was already befriended by my colleagues and perhaps apprised of my "badness", "cantankerous nature" and "standoffishness". Though Mr. D. Ghosh's chamber in the School was near mine we did not meet each other during the term outside the Committee-meetings. About the end of Ghosh's first term or the beginning of the second, however, we happened to meet in the corridor and later elsewhere, too, but not in our chambers. Ghosh by then was on the look out for a suitable flat in the suburbs. Through one of his students Ghosh got a neat flat at Khar. And then our frequent though unintentional meetings began. I came to know from Ghosh that he had been contacted at his Bengal address by one of my colleagues sometime before he started for Bombay — if my memory is not deceiving me through my prejudices, I think Ghosh told me that he had come to know of his appointment through one of my colleagues before he received an intimation from the Registrar, that he was hosted by one of them and that he had lived there with him for two or three months but had got tired of the queer ways of his host and parted company with him. It was my good fortune that D. Ghosh was such a purely academic man of well-defined and honourable principles of conduct. I felt relieved

at the turn of events. The situation that I was afraid of, that of the School Committee turning into a three against one, i.e. me, affair did not materialise. Slowly but surely I and Ghosh came closer and closer; for Ghosh, a good badminton player had soon joined our club.

I got D. Ghosh's cooperation in the conduct of the Bombay Branch of the Indian Statistical Association (Institute?) of which I and my friend Mr. S. R. Deshpande were secretaries. Besides we ran a small informal group in my chamber for interdisciplinary communication and enlightenment, of which some of Ghosh's Cambridge contemporaries and one or two of my friends, altogether about six or seven persons were members. The group, for various reasons, did not cohere for more than a year. The Statistical Society was successfully conducted by us till my serious illness forced me to go on sick leave for the first term of the academic year 1939-40.

The friendly relations I struck with Ghosh continued even after Ghosh later moved his household to Dadar. The memory of his association took a very concrete form, for me, when in my illness he suggested to me to try Dr. B. G. Marathe, M.B.B.S., practising only Homoeopathy at Dadar, as he had found him very useful. To Dr. Marathe, who has continued to be my physician from that time till today, my physical continuance, though in a dilapidated form, owes not a little. Whenever I go to him or consult him I am reminded of Ghosh. Ghosh's reputation as a teacher of the science of Economics and not mere Economics was very high. His leaving the Department in 1941 (or 1940?) was another severe blow to the establishment of a school of disciplined thought on economic life in our country at the Bombay University!

Early in 1932 my first book, *Caste and Race in India* came out and for summer vacation in March we moved to Lonavala, a hill-station between Bombay and Poona. The sojourn undertaken was really beyond my financial means but the inherent insensitiveness to money and the spaciousness of the time, acting in unison with the dominant passion of my wife's health, made me utterly oblivious to the fact. My wife's health did show considerable improvement; and the almost flattering review of my book in the *Times of India* of May 5, which we read while at Lonavala, bucked me up.

Caste and Race in India received twenty reviews in various dailies, weeklies or monthlies, of which only two from the U.S.A. are known to me; I have been intrigued by this fact as much as by the fact that in spite of almost all the reviews, with the exception of two rather hesitant ones, being highly favourable, the small first edition of only 1000 copies handled by such established publishers as Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. took more than ten years to sell out!

The *Times of India* review occupied three half columns of the middle page—the page of leading article—of the issue. It bore two headings in big letters, the upper one being in much bigger ones than the lower. They were in order: "Caste and Indian Nationhood/A New Book by a Bombay Sociologist." The first paragraph of the review read: "Mr. Ghurye, a sociologist of the Bombay University has attained the distinction of being the first Indian to contribute to that monumental publication edited by Mr. Ogden of Cambridge dedicated to the History of Civilization which has already extended to fifty volumes. But Mr. Ghurye's achievement is even greater than that for his contribution *Caste and Race in India* is a scholarly book containing an historical survey together with a scientific study of the complex subject and at the same time the bearing of the problem in its modern aspects." The review ended with the paragraph: "The problems created by the existing caste system are of vital importance at the present juncture. Mr. Ghurye emphatically urges a strong campaign by all those advanced groups for the abolition of the caste idea if the country is to attain to any measure of nationhood.* But the difficulties in the way seem so overwhelming that nothing short of some kind of cataclysm can bring about the desired result. It is only natural in the political sphere that Mr. Ghurye should be a staunch supporter of the ideal of joint electorates; for it is only by substituting a common national interest in place of caste patriotism that the disruptive and non-progressive forces inherent in the caste system can be obliterated and India can find sufficient strength to compete successfully in a modern world."*

The second review appeared in the then very influential paper the *Statesman* of Calcutta. In its issue of July 27, 1932 the

* Italics introduced for this publication.

paper devoted a whole column and a half headed in big letters "India Through the Ages/A Study of Caste". Its first sentence announced: "This volume in the History of Civilization Series deals with caste from several aspects." At about the third of its length we read: "*In the examination of race and caste the author resorts to anthropometry and introduces a method which I believe has not hitherto been applied in India.*"* Lower down it commends the concluding chapters of the book thus: "In his conclusion the author deals with caste, as it is, from the sociological point of view. In one or two points I think his attitude perhaps open to criticism." However the reviewer concludes: "*The author's book will prove of the greatest value to anyone wishing to study the subject of caste in India, which is treated from points of view as far as I know not obtainable in any other single volume; and it is learned, lucid and thoughtful.*"*

Three weeks after the review in the *Times of India*, *The Listner* of London, dated May 25, 1932 carried a flattering notice of the book. It says: "Dr. Ghurye's book has three high merits. First, it is packed with detailed information about the workings of caste in every part of India. Second, though it is rarely that any book appears that so bristles with technical terms and foreign names, many of them needing diacritical marks, it has not half a dozen misprints, an astonishing feat of proof reading.† *Thirdly, though the writer is a patriot and an enlightened man of the modern world, he writes dispassionately and fairly, neither blaming the British for bad conditions that have not been their fault nor missing the reasons that led to caste and its real services to Society.** Indians under the provocation of the fierce and often contemptuous criticism that the outside world has been turning upon their social customs sometimes retort with dishonest *tu quoque* argument. *Not so Dr. Ghurye, who is a scholar and throughout writes as one His book is scientific in method and judicial in temper;* a fine example of the excellent work that many

* Italics in produced for this publication.

† For this compliment I am obliged to my admirer, the kindly pro-Indian assistant librarian of the time in Cambridge University, the late Dr. E. J. Thomas who read the proofs.

Indian scholars are doing on their own country and its institutions."

Only a week after the notice in the *Listener*, the magisterial *Times Literary Supplement* (June 2, 1932) treated the book to a longish review with: ".....Dr. Ghurye has made a useful contribution to the literature on this puzzling question. His detailed knowledge of the Sanskrit authorities occasionally obscures the course of his argument, but at the same time furnishes a body of relevant information for students less fully equipped. His method of approach differs from that of recent writers in that he apparently accepts the sacred documents and their commentaries as representing an actual rather than an ideal state of society *An instructive comparison is made with similar elements in other civilizations It is a relief to find the nasal index, as a test of caste purity, confined to the Ganges basin.** The pursuit of biometric data led Risley and his school into a jungle of speculation. Dr. Ghurye pays homage to the work done, but points out that the data are drawn from limited areas and can with greater probability, though still with wide room for conjecture, be explained by a theory of six main racial stocks. *Particularly sound is his emphasis on the dissimilarity of the several non-Aryan stocks Politics apart, the author is a careful student of his subject, and his conclusions deserve the attention of sociologists in India and Europe.*"*

The U.S.A. market for this book as well as American journals have remained an enigma to me. I have not been aware of any review of it in the most standard journals concerned with Anthropology, Indology or Sociology. A whole-page review under the signature of P. W. Wilson, carrying two large pictures of Indian scenes, appeared in the *New York Times* of 24th July 1932. It was the kindness of my friend Dr. C. G. Pandit, Director or Deputy Director of Guindy Institute (Madras), who was in New York at the time on some mission, Indian or International (?), that placed this review in my hands. Immediately on its appearance he sent me the whole page of the journal, and it is on that thoroughly-browned-by-age page that I am drawing for my statement. It carried in large capital letters the caption: "Caste in the Worried Life of India" with another

* Italics are introduced for the publication.

below it in capital cursive type as its elaboration "Dr. Ghurye Resents the Cost and the Cruelty of an Age-Old Division". Ironically for me and my country but characteristically for the obsessed U.S.A. of the time, the reviewer treated the book as a commentary highlighting American Miss Mayo's "Mother India" of a few years before! Wilson begins with: "It is five years since Miss Mayo included caste in her celebrated survey of the Indian scene. By many Indians her indictment was fiercely resented and we welcome, therefore, a book which, *within a reasonable length and in understandable language, gives an account of this Indian phenomenon as it appears to an Indian scholar which uses terms to which no Indian can take objection.*"* The volume might have been arranged, perhaps, in a more orderly sequence. But, as a whole, covers the situation." He goes on musing in this vein to remark: "What has been sublimated as a system that enshrines a beatific vision of the everlasting verities is attacked once more as an abomination or desolation that, directly or indirectly, is degrading, impoverishing and embittering one-fifth of the human race."

The *Library Digest* towed the line of the *New York Times* in its issue of 17th September 1932, and though it illustrated its review only with one picture, which being a scene of untouchable women drawing water from a well, was much more relevant, it devoted a page and a half to it. It began: "If it is large enough for a cow to turn around in, a village well in India may be used even by the lowest castes without defiling it. If it is too small for a cow to turn around in, those of the lowest must go elsewhere for their water." This illustrates to the Western mind the absurdity of the caste system which "has blighted India for centuries and impoverished and embittered one-fifth of the human race. Western writers, notably Katherine Mayo, whose book was fiercely resented by many Indians, have described this strange institution which India received as a heritage from her early conquerors. Now we have a native Indian, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, a Ph.D. of Canterbury [Cambridge], a Reader in Sociology in the University of Bombay, describing it for us in his 'Caste and Race in India'. His verdict is much the same as that of Miss Mayo."

* Italics are introduced for this publication.

The Quarterly Review of Biology, in its issue of March 1933, carried a review of the book, which had got clear of the Mayo-obsession and looked at the book as a scholar should do. It begins: "This book, written by an Indian of high scholarly attainments, will find a wide circle of interested readers [did it after all????]." It went on to state: "Mr. Ghurye has nothing to say in favour of the present caste system. Neither does he see a favourable solution of the problem in the near future." It ends with: "Anthropologists will be interested in his section of Race and Caste in which he analyzes and compares bodily measurements made on racial and caste groups of Indians."

In 1933 March again in the interests of wife's health I had to decide to go to some hill-station and I chose the cooler and higher one of Mahabaleshwar, only a little more costly than Lonavla. In the Wilson College there was a junior colleague of Prof. H. D. Velankar who was helping him in the Sanskrit teaching. His name was Vinayak A. Gadgil. He came from a nearby village of Malvan, in fact the same village from which the great benefactor of my English-school-days, Tatya Tulpule, mentioned earlier, came. Having been educated at Malvan he had been known to my friend Rambhau alias R. V. Parulekar; and I was known to Gadgil by repute. About 1925 he contacted me in connection with the help he needed in the execution of a piece of research he was engaged on. And within a year or so somehow we became close friends. The friendship grew through mutual services and genuine admiration for me entertained by Gadgil.

I had joined the Bombay Asiatic Society as a member in 1924. Sometime later, about December, I had met an old gentleman whom we knew as Tatya Bhandarkar. He must have been over seventy-five years of age at that time; yet he used to take active part in the Society's affairs as a member of its Managing Committee. The Bhandarkar family, including the branch of the family headed by the great Orientalist Sir Ramkrishnapant, came from Malvan. Tatya from the time I met him showed keen interest in me as a Malvan youngman and used to call me by my household name 'Aba'. At the time of the election of the Managing Committee, I think in 1926, Tatya almost forced me to stand for election to it. On my

having agreed, he shoved me into it. Gadgil, too, came into it a little later. And our relation-complex had another bridge put up by the decision of Gadgil, who as a frequent visitor to my household at Khar had got enamoured of it, to take a flat at Khar. His participation in our badminton-group from 1930-31 further intensified our relations. In the meanwhile Gadgil had married; and Mrs. Gadgil, too, was friendly to my wife and me. However, the locality could not suit her, and Gadgil by 1933 was back in Girgaum, Bombay, near where he used to live before he had shifted to Khar.

When Gadgil came to know of my decision to go to Mahabaleshwar he, too, showed his eagerness to go there. One day we both paid a visit to Mahabaleshwar and fixed up a nice bungalow at the foot of the highest point, the Wilson point, and returned home. In due time early in April, I and my family accompanied by Gadgil reached our destination. Our stay of about eight or nine weeks at Mahabaleshwar has remained a memorable one for us. Gadgil is no more. He remained a good friend to me till his untimely death from cancer in 1949. Another friend and sort of a pupil, a friend of much earlier days and of much longer duration, the late Prof. T. S. Shejwalkar, who died in 1965 (?), was with us for about a fortnight. My pupil M. M. Desai, who afterwards went to London where after taking a Ph.D. degree in Psychology he established himself as a psychiatrist in a London-suburb and died in 1970, was with us for a fortnight. Both he and Gadgil, whom he knew, were jolly companions. Another pupil of mine Mr. Y. M. Rege, who has remained a great admiring friend till today, and who remembers the morning and afternoon tea he had there in my household even today, as if, in his words, he "tasted it only this morning", was an equally delightful companion but he could stop with us only for a week. My wife's brother, Vishnu came later for a month, and as usual was a very helpful and useful member. Towards the end of our stay my friend Rambhau, alias R. V. Parulekar an eminent educationist, lived with us for a week. And it was during Rambhau's stay with us that all of us who were in the household at that time paid our homage to Shivaji by going over to Pratapgad! Except in our very long walks, which we used to take in the early morning, such as those to Baghdad

point or Gavlan point, my wife and children accompanied us, the children riding on ponies! In such enjoyment, heightened by the luscious strawberries gathered from the gradens in our presence, and the equally covetable green peas served at meals, we lived with nature and earned surplus capital for our health bank.

Next year brought the publication of another thesis of my student, A. N. Welling, who had successfully submitted in 1930 a dissertation on the Katkaris, one of the Scheduled Tribes of today but one of the near criminal groups of British administrators of the other day. Mr. Welling had received in a straightforward manner a publication grant from the University. The then Vice-Chancellor of the University, who was the fifth under whom I have worked, the late V. N. Chandavarkar, was almost more than a year and half in his office. He had given the clearest indication that his was the academic approach to the University affairs; and it was in the fitness of things that good academic and intellectual work received due recognition and appropriate encouragement from his University administration.

Mr. Welling, who afterwards taught Psychology and Sociology in the S.N.D.T. Women's University, turned out a book which has the distinction of having been either quoted or mentioned in one of the debates in the British Parliament when the Government of India Bill, which later became an Act of 1935, was being debated. This book entitled *The Katkaris* has long been out of print. Yet it has remained the only classic on the subject in spite of the fact that the national Government has spent millions and millions on the Scheduled Tribes, their study and their uplift, during the last twenty years. It is a fine study in socio-cultural change.

I shall quote here some sentences from the author's preface to it written on 16th March 1934, nine years before I published my book "Aborigines so-called and Their Future". Says Welling: "Paucity of funds, and want of practical sympathy or rather the right comprehension of the value and importance of anthropological research on the part of the Indian administrative officers has at times proved an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of giving the subject a thorough treatment. For instance, it is a known fact that the *Katkaris*, perhaps for purely administrative purpose, are included in the category of criminal tribes.

From anthropological standpoint this case where a certain class of people is stamped as criminals continuously for a number of years and is governed under this condition, is highly interesting. But my attempt to study the case by collecting reliable data from official records could not succeed. Petty *taluka* officers looked at my curiosity with suspicion, and the bigger ones were too busy to attend to my queries, or could not see their way to give us—or as they thought, to 'a roving commission of a private gentleman' access to official records. As a result I had to neglect the subject altogether I have nothing to grudge against such experiences; they ought to prove only as incentives to sincere Indian anthropologists to show greater perseverance and put in greater labour."

1934 saw me installed as a Professor of Sociology, ten years after I joined the University as the Reader and the Head of the Department of Sociology! And that event happened almost purely as a chance. It could have gone astray or awry during the long process of ingestion and incubation at least at two stages.

The University Act of 1928 gave the Secondary School Teachers some representation on the Senate of the University, making it possible for the better known or/and more dynamic or tactful of them to secure further share in the effective administrative unit, the Syndicate. Two of the Secondary teachers who secured seats on the Senate were Messrs. M. R. Paranjpe and P. A. Dhond. Mr. Dhond, as readers will remember, was one of the great teachers whom I had the good fortune to have in my Malvan educational career. He was a dynamic personality well-known as an excellent Mathematics teacher. Mr. Paranjpe from Poona, though more sedate, was no less dynamic and had greater prestige behind him. He was a friend of Mr. Dhond. It was in 1933, I believe, that Mr. Dhond took interest in me; and he thought that on the publication of my *Caste and Race in India* I should have been raised to the Professor's dignity.

The new Act had laid down that such posts had first to be created by the Senate and to be filled by the Syndicate after a Selection committee had made its recommendation. Mr. Paranjpe was a member of the Syndicate; and Mr. Dhond spoke to him about me and my deserts. The two friends, good students of the University Act, decided that Mr. Paranjpe should move in the Syndicate that there should be a Professor of

Sociology in the Department which has been headed by a Reader for nearly a decade. The Vice-Chancellor was well inclined towards the proposal. A Syndicate Committee was appointed to go through the pros and cons and put up an appropriate resolution.

Friends of Dr. Thoothi and Prof. Vakil in the Syndicate realised that the post to be created, if not quite clearly meant for Ghurye, would certainly go to him in the ensuing competitive selection. Such a situation would not only depress Dr. Thoothi's position but would also tarnish the lonely effulgence of Prof. Vakil. They set to work with the result that Mr. Paranjpe, well-known for his insistence on economy, and for logical educational organization, was being prevailed upon to propose two Professorships of Sociology! The shrewd workers for their friends Dr. Thoothi and Prof. Vakil were certain that such a proposal being absurdly extravagant would be thrown out by the Syndicate itself, and that if at all it could pass there—of course with the meticulous V. N. Chandavarkar in the chair there was no chance of such a proposal being entertained—it would be put out of court in the Senate and the situation would be saved for their friends! But the move miscarried.

At last a proposal to institute a Professorship of Sociology was put before the Senate. The speech by the proposer was a fairly lukewarm one. The first Senator to oppose the proposal turned out to be one of the most influential ones and went on in a slashing manner. I became quite sure that the atmosphere was surcharged with organized opposition. I got out of the meeting and retired to the Library. When I returned after almost an hour, at the door of the Senate house I heard the Vice-Chancellor to say "the result of the ballot is..." but failed to catch the number of votes stated. On my taking my seat my neighbour Senator said: "It is a narrow shave Doctor", and explained by informing me that the proposal was carried by a majority of one. He further told me that in the first open voting the difference in favour was more than ten with a few absentions!

The usual procedure was gone through and I was appointed Professor of Sociology.

At the Indian Science Congress Session of 1934 I was elected

President of its Anthropological Section for its 1935 Session to be held in Calcutta.

It was in 1934, too, that I was elected by the Managing Committee of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society as the Society's nominee on the Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India. Soon after I came to live at Khar, I began to have frequent meets with Mr. G. V. Acharya, who was the Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales' Museum, a member of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Asiatic Society and a resident of Khar. When at the end of 1933 or beginning of 1934, the fresh nomination of the Society's representative on the Board of Trustees became necessary, Mr. Acharya strongly urged me to offer myself for the office. My old well-wisher Tatyá Bhandarkar added his weight to the proposal of Mr. Acharya and even started speaking on my behalf, to some of his contemporary members of the Committee. He took further trouble to report to me the success of his pleading my cause, or rather as he and Acharya put it 'the cause of the Society and the Museum through me'. With so much active good will I am not the person to keep back and I offered myself for the office. I was duly sent up to the Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales' Museum as a representative of the Society in 1934. I continued to fill that office for consecutive 16 years, for the last six or so of which I was not even a member of the Managing Committee. Of this, however, later.

It was, I believe, in 1934 that our morning badminton play was shifted to the Gymkhana grounds, it having come into existence only recently. As a matter of fact the badminton side of the Khar Gymkhana till 1940 was our old group with the addition of three or four other members. The two courts occupied the same spot on the eastern side on which today stands the covered courts. Our courts were open, being partially protected by the Gymkhana building on the West. We, therefore, used to put up 'tatti'-protection about twelve feet high on three sides tied to an iron scaffolding. To preserve the 'tattis' they used to be tarred. Mr. Fazalbhoy, a Solicitor by profession, the owner of the house on the north-eastern side beyond the road took objection and represented to the authorities that his aesthetic sense etc. were outraged by our action and in due

course we had to stop the 'tatti' business. Then we took recourse to the non-tarred tarpolin-blinds; which could be folded up after play. It proved rather a costly game for all of us as the Gymkhana had us pay for all, itself making no contribution. There were a few rifts in our lute too; and soon after my severe illness late in 1939, the section closed for a good few years. With the closure of the badminton section, when I got better in 1940-41, I reverted to my semi-gymnastic postures and 'mudgals' for exercise.

Between the years 1932 and 1938 my gardening activity was at its highest with results only second to those that I am enjoying today. As readers know my professor-brother had already initiated me into gardening delights; and it seems my nature was waiting only for an opportunity to indulge in them. And that opportunity presented itself when I shifted to Khar in 1927 May. First, the owner had already some flowering plants and some papaya and banana trees in the compound. The caretaker peon of the School of Economics and Sociology, Narayan by name, was a man from Devgad side and lived on the spot there. Knowing me to be from Malvan he got somewhat familiar with me and I discovered from his talk that he was well-connected with the 'mali'-group of the area and himself knew a fair bit about gardening. Through him I bought one yellow magnolia, and one white magnolia plant, 'kavthi-chapha' as Narayan called them and Marathi-speaking 'malis' call them. My friend Mr. G. A. Kamtekar, who had a baby-car then, obliged me by bringing the pots to Khar in his car. And thus started my fresh venture in the field of gardening which brought me the realization of Bacon's dictum: "Gardening is the purest of human pleasures, and the greatest refreshment to the spirit of men."

Tatya Bhandarkar, owning a bungalow and occupying a first floor in the Tata Colony at Bandra, though old and all alone, had maintained a neat little garden and looked after it with tender care. His very handling of the few small gardening tools could convince any observer of the master's feelings towards his plants. His example and his readiness, nay missionarism, to help cultivating a small garden by me, strengthened my and my wife's desire to have a small garden in the compound of our rented house. Tatya's two main plant-gifts, "icarus lily"

and another lily with white fragrant flowers much in demand by Maharashtrian ladies for wearing in their hair chignons or plaits, white "sontakka" in Marathi, together with Narayan's presents of the smaller-flowered lily, 'nisigandha' or 'gulchadi' in Marathi, in the two varieties of single and double, had soon made our small garden liked by many friends. In the new house the virgin soil and larger compound prompted me to seek other plants, too, and my new landlord got planted two or three mango grafts of the 'alphonso' variety. I planted banana and payaya plants and enjoyed the fresh fruit yielded by them till about 1937 when the plant colony began to deteriorate and died out in a year or so. I was by then not in a mood and a state of health which make for dynamic and militant approach to problems possible. Between my Narayan and old Tatyia Bhandarkar I got thoroughly practised in the art of plant cultivation through layering, or 'guti' as it is called but known to most 'malis' as "chavade bandhane". I and then my wife and my son Sudhish got so enamoured of the idea that, though the 'guti' cultivation involved persistent and constant attention for at least three months, we indulged in it almost in excelsis on the yellow magnolia in particular. Saplings or young plants of this variety of magnolia were so much liked by our friends and intimate acquaintances that the actual operation of our impulse in the volume it occurred owes much to that circumstance. Though the layering was done in about the beginning of July or the end of June, in our crude way of doing it we had to attend to its being regularly and frequently watered. Not less than eight times between 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. was fixed as the water-ration of each layering and that involved constant and persistent attention.

Between 1932 and 1938 we, our individual operations combined, though very unequal, mine being greater than the combined quota of the other three, took out at least two dozen 'layered' saplings. I should put the number of unsuccessful attempts at about two or three on the parent itself and two or three after transfer in a pot. Of these at least eighteen we gave away to our friends or intimate acquaintances, one of them having to be given as many as eight in three different seasons. When last we had knowledge about his garden in 1949 there were only two of them in good vigour. Six or seven

others of our acquaintances, many of them from Khar, were more successful in their handling of this delicate yet vigorous plant. One of these Khar men sold his bungalow long ago and the new owner has preserved the plant. Though not in great vigour it stands today slightly bigger in size and shape than I used to see when my friend left his house in about 1940. Whenever I pass by that road, the plant reminds me of my associations with that friend and his home of almost forty years before.* That was the first 'layering' that I had distributed and that was in 1932!

In the first week of 1935 I went to Calcutta to preside over the Anthropological Section of the Science Congress Association. On my return I made preparations for a tour of Sind with my Sindhi student Mr. (now Dr.) U. T. Thakur. Another student accompanied us on his own. He was G. K. Sabnis, who too afterwards took the Ph.D. degree but with a thesis on a psychological theme. He was very useful in our work. The gains of the tour later were given publicity through some papers published in the Journal of the University of Bombay and were donated to the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India. Papers on this tour and two of the three others, which I undertook later, are reprinted in this collection, for reasons stated in a brief preface, under the common caption of "Explorations In Pre and Proto Historic Culture in Sind".

A third thesis, one based entirely on empirical field research carried out by Mr. K. T. Merchant, appeared as a book in this year. Mr. Merchant, who had already gone to London and was studying at the London School of Economics with Sociology for B.Sc., got a brief foreword written for it by Prof. Ginsberg. Prof. Ginsberg fully recognised and particularly mentioned in his foreword both the importance of the subject, the correctness of the approach and the method and the excellence of the final product.

In 1936 the Matriculation examination, then conducted by the University, caused a commotion among students and their guardians. The paper in English that year was utterly different in its nature and form and many candidates had failed so miserably

* In the interval between the writing & printing the landmark has vanished, a four storeyed apartment house taking its place.

rably in it that, even after the usual grace-marking consequent on such extraordinary paper-setting, the number of failures remained unusually large. At the Senate meeting in June some senior political workers saw their chance of utilizing the discontent of the younger generation to create trouble and to discredit the University administration. They found willing and all too ready youngmen aspiring to be not only youth leaders but budding political bosses. As the Senate meeting was beginning, in came a torrent of young, excited and vociferous men and boldly and nonchalantly stayed in the Hall, chanting its slogans and creating a deafening din, ever pressing forward, perhaps with the intention of removing the Vice-Chancellor from his chair! Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar in a dignified and calm manner requested the 'invaders' to leave the hall and present a memorial, but to no purpose. Two or three senators got up and tried to make speeches all calculated to embarrass the Vice-Chancellor; one or two sitting by his side advised him to phone to the Police Commissioner and summon adequate police-force. Mr. Chandavarkar, the great constitutionalist, an unperturbed though anxious man, coolly declared that the Senate meeting was adjourned for the day. Immediately there was great consternation among the 'invaders' and their 'inside'-supporters. Senators left the hall. All began to disperse, the police arriving almost only to find that there was not much work for them there. The notice of the Senate meeting having been what it was, the adjourned meeting was to take place the next day at the appointed time. This time, of course, the police had already cordoned the whole area, permitting only the attested Senators to enter the University garden. The meeting proceeded as it should after a few fireworks and angry remarks against the chief paper-setter of that year's Matriculation English paper!

The summer vacation of 1936 is another memorable occasion in our family life. My friend Mr. J. V. Joshi* was at that time posted at Simla as Deputy-Director of Statistics. He and his wife Hirabai were kind enough to invite my family with greatest sincerity and earnestness. Another common friend, Mr. G. A. Kamtekar, who was also similarly invited, decided to go. We did not like to lose the opportunity of so lovable a company:

* Unfortunately he passed away early in 1972.

and we, too, got ready to start with him. Our stay in Joshi's home was one of the sweetest months we remember in our domestic life of more than fifty years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Joshi saw that every particular of living was arranged to perfection. They even declined two or three dinner invitations at their brother-officers', though we importuned them not to do so. We, my family and Kamtekar, of course by ourselves did most of the routine sight-seeing and walking or rickshaw-riding, as Joshi's official duties and Mrs. Joshi's disinclination prevented them from joining in what would have been a boredom to them, as they had done that sight-seeing already far too much and too often. Special tours like the one to the Jakho hill or the Spiti fair they arranged and whole-heartedly joined us in them.

At Simla, Mr. K. N. Dixit who was the Deputy-Director of Archaeology, having known my work in Sindh and wanting me to try my luck at the Rangpur site in Limbdi, recently explored by his Department, introduced me to the Thakoresaheb of Limbdi who was in Simla at that time. The obliging gentleman, on a short discussion of some of the problems facing a proper history of Indian culture, readily agreed to give all facilities including even journey-fare and labour for the work. It was decided that November was the best period for that work. With gain to the health of all the four of us and an opportunity for archaeological and cultural exploration in my pocket, we returned from Simla carrying with us the most pleasant impressions and some of the deepest memories.

The year 1936 is memorable in the history of Bombay University on its academic side, the degree of Ph.D. having been first instituted in that year. It is equally significant in my academic career because the first Ph.D. in the University happened to be my student. The late Dr. G. R. Pradhan, after his graduation, was registered for his M.A. degree examination in Sociology by thesis with me. The dynamic youth was well placed with some voluntary social-work agencies and well-equipped to study some aspects of the life and labour of some of the erstwhile untouchable classes of the Indian society. He chose to make a study of a section of the worker-section of the group in Bombay and presented a revealing view of the section in his work based on it. Having been convinced of its high qual-

ity, I forwarded the thesis, under the then transitory provision permitting the work of a candidate registered for M.A. degree examination to be submitted for the Ph.D. degree, for being considered for the Ph.D. degree. The external referee full-throatedly recommended the work for the award of the Ph.D. degree; and Mr. G. R. Pradhan became, in 1936, the first Ph.D. of Bombay University. Dr. Pradhan, as an employee of the Bombay Municipality later, was its first officer supervising the operation of the first Shops' Assistants Act. He was considered to be so successful an administrator of the social-welfare-piece of legislation that when next the milk-rationing and distribution scheme came in, he was selected to operate it in the Municipal Fort area. Unfortunately the enthusiastic youth died too prematurely in 1953 before he could prove his capacity to implement successfully even wider schemes of social welfare.

In the October vacation my family spent about three weeks in the company of our friend the late Mr. G. A. Kulkarni and his family at Mysore and Bangalore. My pupil, Mr. (later Dr. and Professor) M. N. Srinivas kindly arranged for a small neat cottage at Mysore during the Dassera holidays of the State. His kind offices enabled us to visit all places of interest, and the grand Dassera shows, the great exhibition and the lighted Chamunda hill, the wondrous gardens, etc. in great comfort. He arranged for two good private cars at reasonable hire and made all the trips possible in comfort. The famous zoo, the great exhibition were visited more than once. At Bangalore Mr. Kulkarni's friend was our manager of tours and sightseeing which he did most efficiently. At Bangalore I addressed the Mythic Society. We returned fully contented to our homes.

In November 1936, accompanied by Dr. Pradhan and Mr. Sabnis I went to Limbdi and some other places in Saurashtra for exploration.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar with his flair for recognition of academic needs was soon persuaded, largely by Prof. C. N. Vakil, to institute posts of Research Assistants in the Departments, first one in each in 1937, with a small research grant to be made available for each Department. The grant ever remained small, nay meagre by the standards of today, my usual quota being only Rs. 1000/- a year, but the number of Research Assistants later rose to be two for each Department. The monthly salary

of a Research Assistant did not exceed Rs. 250/- till my retirement in March 1959, and contrasts very sharply with the post-doctoral Fellowships or even Senior Fellowships of Rs. 500/- a month, and much more so with Research Officerships of Rs. 750, none of the incumbents of these latter-day high-sounding offices having better qualifications than the Research Assistants that helped me and the Sociology Department during my Headship of it!

Between October 1937 and October 1938 my activity was almost hectic for a stolid and slow-moving person. During the period I attended the Oriental Conference at Trivandrum to address it as the President of the Folklore Section of it at my own cost; I attended the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association at Calcutta; I went on an exploratory tour to Palanpur. I delivered the R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture at Poona. Working as a Joint Secretary of the Second All-India Population and the First Marriage Hygiene Conference held in Bombay in the summer, I got together and saw through the press its presidential addresses and the papers submitted in typescript, attending all the business meetings of the Committee of Management and the Conference sittings. I despatched all the offprints and the consolidated report published by the Karnatak Printing Press, and ultimately found my health too shaky to be neglected!

To the Oriental Conference I pleaded in the names of F. E. Pargiter, the brilliant synthesizer of Puranic data, and Dr. S. V. Ketkar, the Marathi Encyclopaedist, how the two strands require to be blended together more in the manner of Pargiter to yield correct conclusions on the cultural history of India.

My Kale Memorial Lecture, mainly concerned with some aspects of the social process, put the fact of the completion of a century since the naming of the discipline—which, among other topics of social significance, studies social process—as Sociology by A. Comte. The lecture had the privilege of receiving a longish notice in the Notes and Views columns of *Nature* in its issue of October 1, 1938. The 'lecture' has long been out of print and it is not reprinted in this collection. However, it contains my views on some aspects of the marriage institution and the social process. I, therefore, quote below a few relevant

sentences from the notice in *Nature* as being the most salient features of my views:

"In the R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture 1938 Prof. G. S. Ghurye reviewed the social process in the light of a century of sociology. Social process, he considers, has two aspects; the nature of cultural development as reflected in the trend of thought about man as a living entity, and the process by which the individual is assimilated into the cultural flow of the times... Scientifically, proper planning of a good life must rest on the understanding of life, and the psychological study of the individual and society should precede the study of man as a political and a moral being. In conclusion Prof. Ghurye, discussing the institution of marriage, urged that in view of the importance of the first few years of the individual's life in the social process, if accommodation of the individual into his social mould was to be smooth and harmonious, the environment in those years must be provided by a small group, the individual constituents of which are highly sympathetic. Such a group is only ideally provided in the family unit."

That same year Dr. Pradhan's thesis was published as a book entitled *Untouchable Workers of Bombay*, being the first Ph.D. thesis and also the first of such to be published as books.

Sometime early in 1938, I had sent reprints of some of my recent papers to Prof. R. M. MacIver. I felt happy to receive in acknowledgement a rather liberal appreciation from him about the same time as the above notice. For he wrote as of September 30: "I have found them very interesting in themselves and I am particularly pleased because *they show your effective work in the advance of the cause of Sociology in India.*"*

The Population and Marriage Hygiene Conference, the latter aspect being then the first of its kind and I believe has so far remained the last, was a grand success, though the Congress Government of the day had not thought it fit to sponsor it or encourage it beyond agreeing to put the Town Hall with its

* Italics mine. This has great relevance today, as it establishes beyond doubt the soundness and great national importance of the endeavour we made in 1938, which if it were seriously heeded by the Congress Government, there would have been no occasion for great worry today on the population front!

rooms at its disposal. It was the first and I believe the last of the Population conferences, the non-administrative proceedings of which were available in print almost simultaneously with its end.

The wellknown student of human genetics, Prof. R. R. Gates, took a longish notice of it in *Nature* (July 27, 1940) under the caption, "Population Problems in India". I shall quote from it some sentences. It begins: "The second Indian Population Congress was held at Bombay in 1938 and its results are now published in a large volume. *Practically every aspect of the population problem is examined, with special reference to India. The numerous papers, many of them by men and women of high attainment and expert knowledge, show an increasing interest in what is probably India's greatest problem...* Widely different views are expressed regarding the nature of over-population problem in India, a few claiming that it does not exist. *But most writers recognize that a serious problem needs to be faced without delay...* It is clear that Indian politicians will find plenty of scope for their energies when they begin to consider seriously the vital problems of population and nutrition in India."*

The aftermath of the Conference, however, proved disastrous to my health which had already become delicate under the strain of the activities mentioned above. I shall briefly narrate the events of that aftermath not only because of its effect on my health but also because it exposes the flimsiness of the faith of many of our so-called organizers of such and other conferences and the reasons for our failure to reap the fruit of such endeavours. Dr. A. P. Pillay, the organizing and dynamic Hon. Secretary, with whom lay all the financial and public relations work of the Conference, got ill immediately after the end of the Conference, and could not attend to his work, for a good few days. The winding up work of a conference really means payment of various unpaid or partially paid bills after checking up the sanctions for expenses. The income side of the affair, consisting, in the delegate and other fees, membership and patron fees and donations, if any, is commonly, except

* Italics mine. Unfortunately Indian politicians did not wake, in spite of the clarion call of the Conference till almost two decades after this notice.

for the finalisation of the last item which has to be kept open for obvious reasons, collected before the start or at the latest before the end of the Conference. Evidently Dr. Pillay had done this part of his job quite well; but the accounts files, with bills and 'kacha' or 'pacca' receipts of payments made had got misplaced during the later days of the pre-conference period and much more so during his illness, which came too immediately after its completion.

The bills began to be presented and the Chairman, and executive Chairman, Sir Jehangir Coyajee and Lady Cowasjee Jehangir, began to be pestered by the creditors. In one after another meeting I was questioned about the doings and goings. As I was never, in theory or practice, anywhere near the financial side of the Conference and had never seen a receipt passed, except the one that was my own, I flatly proclaimed my ignorance of the affairs. The burst of diasapproval of the honourable and high-souled ladies and gentlemen was so great that in its violence they even denounced the printed and published volume of the addresses and papers as a scrap of 'raddi', used paper! Fortunately Dr. J. F. Bulsara, who was a member of the Committee, took a different view both of the volume and of Dr. Pillay's doings and of my role in the Conference. Having known Dr. Pillay and his office much more intimately than anyone else—I was among the members the least acquainted with both—he volunteered to ransack Dr. Pillay's cupboards and desks and look into the accounts. While this was going on and meetings of the Committee were being held, my health gave serious trouble—evidently I had received a mild shock at the attitude of the members. In spite of indifferent health, however, I did not keep away from the meetings. And every meeting was adding its quota to my mental disquiet. I had also begun to try my hand at an utterly unwonted job, that of hawking the "condemned" goods, the Report of the Conference. Fortunately for me I soon met with success. The kindly gentleman, who then owned the Karnatak Press, the late Mr. Mangesrao Kulkarni, offered to buy the copies of the so-called "scrap", the Report of the Conference, I believe for Rs. 400/-. At the next meeting of the Committee I got the sanction for sale and the money was paid into the Conference account by Mr. Kulkarni. By then Dr. Bulsara's keen eye had detected that everything

was alright though in a disarray. He soon brought order into it; and the accounts with the addition of Kulkarni's Rs. 400/- became so adjustable that the ire of the Committee subsided. The whole affair thus proved to be a storm in a tea-cup except for me and Dr. Bulsara.

For me the events meant frequent calls on my friend Dr. B. G. Vad, who most readily and painstakingly attended to my complex illness. In spite of my friend's best efforts, however, my health did not show much improvement. In the winter it began to deteriorate and as I felt very weak one day while lecturing, I called on my friend Dr. Vad who advised me rest from work at least for a fortnight which I religiously took. At this stage it was that we were advised to try homoeopathy, and on Mr. D. Ghosh's recommendation I consulted Dr. B. G. Marathe. His prescription, too, did not grip the malady whatever it was, and I kept on losing weight; and sleep, too, was so disturbed that I used to feel drowsy and drooping in the early morning.

My friend Prof. V. A. Gadgil, mentioned earlier, who lived at Dadar at that time was a regular believer in the occult and used to work on the planchet every fortnight on Sundays. He used to tell me and my wife his experiences which looked strange. He also told my wife that the supernatural agency, that visited them when he worked on the planchet, would surely prescribe appropriate medicine; he also hinted that once recently he had himself tapped the source on my behalf and he had learnt that a certain relative was engaged in raising the evil spirits against me and that my continued illness might be the consequence of that evil magic. My wife naturally was coming to have faith in these so-called occult powers. As a matter of fact she had known an old lady at Vengurla, who, it appears, was a religious-minded person and was a good medium, and what that lady in her mystic trance had told my wife about herself and one or two members of her father's family had come so true that my wife had implicit faith in her and her commerce with the supernatural. Even now my wife is quite ready to assert that the position we are enjoying and the kind of comfortable life we are having were assured as our destiny by that old lady before her death!

I know that my mother used to consult such mediums. Both

of them, whom she used one after the death of the other, were widows and came from non-Brahmin groups. The earlier lady though older was more violent and vociferous during her trance than the latter one. To the best of my recollection their readings had satisfied my mother!

When Prof. Gadgil held out good chances of getting correct diagnosis and remedy for my illness from the spirit through his planchet, my wife told me that she would consult the medium at Gadgil's. Though I told her that I did not expect anything from that quarter and further that such occult sources may, on the contrary, create a confusion in our minds, and that I will not act up to the procedure that may come to be suggested by the medium, she went there one Sunday when the seance was to be in session. Fortunately, her experience was not very encouraging. She also became quite certain from my Mephistophilis-like outburst that I consider acting upto any procedure suggested by such an agency as against God's intention and as one calling into doubt God's benign benevolence and mercy and as degrading to human reason; and she gave up her idea of going to the seance again. What is more she did not vow any "Satyanarayan"-worship or any other rite or performance. But I am sure she had vowed some donation, either an article of worship or some cash to the temple that the old lady-medium was maintaining at Vengurla and she must have fulfilled it. I have not inquired of her; for where so much has been conceded to reason against faith it is best to rest content and not press the matter too far.

We decided at the start of the summer vacation of 1939 that as soon as the children's annual examinations would be over we will try a seaside resort to ease my failing health. With the help of Dr. K. M. Kapadia, who had just then successfully completed his Ph.D. work with me, I secured a bungalow at Bordi in Dahanu Taluka, the place having been recommended to me by a good many acquaintances. We shifted there in due course. The place did not quite please us; and the water of the well in the compound was too brackish. The bungalow was not protected against the sand that was being wafted by the sea breeze and the music of the 'suru' trees, the usual denizens of our seaside, without many cocoanut palms intervening, was not particularly pleasing at dead of night to me in that con-

dition of health. Altogether I was getting almost sick of the place even before a week had elapsed. And just after about 7 days of our stay there, there was a great row nearby, where lay the houses of leather-workers and such other labour-class people. My sleep which had got more temperamental than it was in Bombay was naturally disturbed by dreams. Two or three days after the row, I passed a very bad night; terrifying dreams, whose content could not be recalled on waking, almost unnerved me at night. As soon as I awoke in the morning, I looked in the direction of my wife's cot to see if she was also awake. I saw her not only wide-awake but very much tired-looking. I wondered whether she too had bad dreams.

However, my uppermost thought, in the state of the half-asleep and half-awake, early morning hours, came to my lips first; and that was that we should go back to our home at Khar. My wife with unusual alacrity not only agreed but soon suggested that there was nothing to be lost and much to be gained by leaving immediately and repeated the usual saying, "subham cha sigham", "quick is auspicious". At her suggestion I sent for Mr. Save, a nephew of Mr. K. J. Save, one of my research students, who had arranged for our escort to the place of residence from the Railway Station when we went there to live. He energetically proceeded with the arrangement for our departure by an early afternoon train. And we returned to our home at Khar at about 6 p.m. That night I and my wife both slept soundly.

As it turned out our return was a most timely godsend. A day after, our Sudhish developed high temperature and I brought in my homoeopath. By the time he arrived, there were already a few pustules on his body and the doctor diagnosed the case as that of chicken-pox. They turned to be the German variety, which is very troublesome, and Sudhish was down for about ten days, requiring all the care and attention we could pay him only in our home with so many more conveniences than were available in our residence at Bordi. Besides of course we had the great comfort of the services of a competent doctor well-known to us. Thus we were saved at least the great worry that would have been our lot if our Sudhish had got the attack at Bordi, by our sudden decision to leave Bordi and its quick execution. Things have been more often happening to me than

are being done by me in my life!

After Sudhish got well my health which had gone down further began to be attended to. We went to Poona for a change later. On my return through the train-journey I had discovered that I had gone weaker and had added headache to the list of already existing maladies! I decided to go on sick leave for a term, June 1939—October 1939, arguing that the only chance of returning to active life was for me to conserve the little strength I had and not to draw on it for any other work than that of search for and carrying out the remedy for recovery.

On the advice of my wife I decided to try again an allopath. As Dr. Vad's efforts had not borne fruit, it was naturally decided to try another equally good allopath. I could think of none better than Dr. A. S. Erulkar,* who too was a friend, though more recent and less intimate than Dr. Vad*. Not much benefit ensued even from Erulkar's treatment. However, the diet that came to be formulated on the basis of liquid food for about six weeks had stopped the rot of losing weight. After ten weeks or so I actually put on nearly two pounds.

During Dr. Erulkar's treatment I used to visit my homoeopath off and on. The medicament with the administration of which my weight began to show an upward trend and some of the pathological symptoms some relief, gave a clue to him; and after I had stopped Erulkar's treatment, Dr. Marathe tried the new homoeopathic remedy he had come to fix upon. And to our delight it worked fairly well. Better sleep and slow regaining of confidence with steady increase in weight were the welcome immediate results. Diet was being adjusted by my wife with great care, involving much tedious manual labour to her. Of the twenty-five pounds of weight which I had lost by March 1940, I had regained about ten. Later many of the pathological symptoms subsided and remedies were changed by the homoeopath a number of times. With all his sincere and painstaking labour, however, there was no further improvement. I never could revert to normal diet, nor did I regain my former weight.

* Both these gentlemen, needless to say, refused to charge any fees for their consultations, Dr. Vad even administering almost all the injections himself.

I have continued to be, since then, a dilapidated man, who has lived because his wife has taken immense trouble to arrange suitable diet for him and partly because nature or God has provided him with a sharp tongue, which though almost uncontrolled for speech is completely controlled for eatables!

As if to offset the worries and troubles that were my lot during almost two years past, there came into my hands a letter which represents one of the greatest, almost the greatest, joy of an academic career of a teacher. Though written on 17th April 1940 from Bombay, it looks fresh even today, only the foolscap paper on which it was written being browned. It does not bear either specific address or individual signature, the writer signing only as "An Admirer". It reads: "To Dr. G. S. Ghurye. Dear Sir, As one who had the privilege of studying under you, I beg to express my deep appreciation not only for your wide learning and sound scholarship but also for your levelheadedness and balanced judgments. To be a deep student of Sociology the scope of which ranges over all fields of human activity and at the same time to keep one's mental balance calls for mental strength of high order. Secondly, Sociology is a subject teeming with extravagant theories. To evaluate these theories at their proper value and not to be carried away by any one of them requires mental stability in an unusually high degree. For these admirable qualities of the mind you have evoked deep admiration from all intelligent students of yours." Just a year thereafter, my first Muslim student, a North Indian, Mr. H. Haider, succeeded with his thesis on Muslims of U.P. submitted for the M.A. degree. From Allahabad, where he was living, on his receipt of the Registrar's letter informing him of the happy event, he wrote to me a letter. It is dated June 20, 1941: It reads in very clear and neat handwriting: "My dear Sir, I have today received an intimation from the Registrar that my thesis has been accepted. I, therefore, take this opportunity to offer my most sincere thanks for all the kindness you showed me during my stay at Bombay. But for your personal interest and valuable guidance, it would have really been difficult to complete my voluminous thesis [two-volumed] and avoid the many pitfalls that beset a research student. I dare say, your penetrating criticism, useful suggestions, constant encouragement and sympathetic attitude, have truly

earned the everlasting debt of gratitude, not only due from me but from all those who had the privilege of working under you. I must say that I shall always cherish the happy memories of my associations with you. With respectful regards...." Mr. Haider, when 'partition' came, was one of the early opters out for Pakistan, as I had expected from his attitude. A decade after the 'partition', when I got news about Mr. Haider in Pakistan he was already the Rehabilitation Commissioner at Karachi with great powers. He, however, had not forgotten me; for in 1957 he told Dr. G. M. Mehkri, who was my junior Ph.D. student on the eve of Mr. Haider's completion of his thesis, to give me his greetings and respects, when Mehkri was to visit India on business.

In 1942 I was made President of the Bombay Anthropological Society, which position I think I continued to occupy till 1948 when owing to other calls on my energy I had to leave that activity. During these years I delivered annually an address to the Society; and in 1946 I succeeded in resuscitating the Society's Journal which had been defunct for a good many years. However, I remember the year 1942 mainly for three events. First for my wife's fortunate recovery from her first, and by God's grace so far the only, serious illness; Second, for my election as a Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences of India; and Third for the publication of Dr. (then Mr.) M. N. Srinivas' book, *Marriage and Family in Mysore*.

Towards the end of the October vacation of 1941, about the middle of November, my wife one day developed fairly high temperature. For two or three days my local family physician treated it as enteric. However, when she did not have sleep owing to irritation all over the body on the third or fourth night, I got nervous and sceptical and requested the physician to phone to my friend Dr. B. G. Vad for consultation. Vad came to my residence with my local physician at about 4 p.m. Almost without much examination Vad said that he suspected blood-poisoning and prescribed strong and immediate remedies and advised further pathological tests. He assured me after full examination that the poisoning had not gone far and none of the major systems had till then received any and that he expected the "MB" tablets to put the patient soon on the road of recovery. He offered to come again next day if I should then feel it

necessary. I ran about in a taxi for the medicines, they being not available locally, and by 6-30 p.m. administered the first dose of the medicine. As predicted by Dr. Vad, when my physician examined the patient next morning he was satisfied with her condition. After about 48 hours since the first dose of Vad's treatment my wife began to feel relief from irritation. However, it took more than two months for her full recovery and another two months for her to go about doing her daily chores.

In January of the year, I went to Baroda to attend the Session of the Indian Science Congress and to sign the register of the National Institute of Sciences of India, to the Fellowship of which I was elected as a result of the great interest taken in me by my friend, the late Dr. B. S. Guha, who was then, I think, the Director General of Anthropology in India.

Mr. M. N. Srinivas, who was engaged in writing a thesis on Marriage and Family Life among the Kannada Castes of the Mysore State under my guidance, successfully submitted his thesis for the M.A. degree in 1938. Thereafter he joined me for his Ph.D. degree work after a brief halt for his LL.B. degree. In the meanwhile he managed to publish his thesis in 1942 under the title *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, with a foreword of the then Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University, from which he had graduated as a citizen of Mysore. Srinivas' thesis was the 6th or the 7th of the M.A. theses which were prepared under my guidance and had seen the light of day as books. It happened to be the fourth of the theses concerned with marriage and family to be published as books. The reason why, in spite of this non-significance of Srinivas' work among my students' theses, I remember its publication as an event marking the year of its publication, is that it was the first, and I think the last of the theses written under my guidance and published as books, to receive a review in *Nature* and that, too, a highly favourable one.

The October 1942 issue of *Nature* devoted three-fourths of a whole page of its valuable space to the review of Srinivas' *Marriage and Family in Mysore* from which I quote the following few sentences to appraise the reader of its value. "Mr. Srinivas, writing with the valuable equipment of a sympathetic understanding of Hinduism and of the traditional values expressed

in the customs of Mysore relating to the family, and appreciating, with the objective view of the anthropologist, its social structure, has presented readers with a valuable study. The picture of the attitude to marriage current in a Hindu community today shows the trend of changing custom. One would welcome similar studies of different communities made by those belonging to the tradition of the communities, equipped with a scientifically trained mind and a wide knowledge of functional anthropology and social psychology... The book is recommended to those concerned with the place of marriage and the family in the community as a thought-provoking study...."

The Department which had already received its complement, however small or limited, of helpers in the form of Research Assistants, had added to it two Lecturers, one in Social Psychology and the other in Sociology, in 1943. In view of this development the Sociology courses and syllabus for the M.A. was previously modified for the first time since it was laid down by Prof. Geddes in 1922-23. Thenceforward Sociology figured in the University Courses as a full eight-papers-course, capable of being by itself a sufficient subject for the M.A. degree examination, though the earlier combinatory arrangement continued side by side. With the introduction of Sociology as a full M.A. subject the combinatory arrangement however fell into disuse in actual practice. 'Social Biology' was one of the new papers, another being 'Civilization and Culture' and a third 'Comparative Social Institutions'. The year 1943 saw my second book published. Between 1932, the year of my first book, and 1943 I had published a number of papers, all of which, since my return to India in 1923, were sent to Indian Journals and none to foreign ones.

My new book, *Aborigines so-called and Their Future*, I should like to point out, is one of the four books of mine which were written in response to a challenge in the social situation. The challenge was that since the Hutton-census of India of 1931 to 1941 three or four brochures or essays in general symposium were published emphasizing the utter separateness of the many jungle and hill preliterate groups of peoples of India; and vigorous pleading for their keeping more or less entirely distinct from the other Indian groups was carried on. Partial or total exclusion of groups and their territory and the scheduling of

groups or sections of groups and their geographical areas was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. The aim of most of these writings was not only to stabilize the arrangement but even to extend and intensify it so that Independent India, which it was quite clear then would emerge very soon, should present a well-divided chequer-board of humanity rather than a sovereign State, a well-knit nation in the making!

The book raised fairly strong commotion in leading newspapers like the *Bombay Chronicle*, *Indian Express* (Madras), and the *Hindustan Standard* (Calcutta). The opinions expressed described the book as both a learned and valuable contribution and as an able or proper or splendid statement of the position of the "Aborigines" among their brethren of the plains, the lower agriculturists. Final judgement was either "The volume will long remain as one of the most comprehensive and helpful studies on the subject of the Aborigines" or "It is a thought-provoking book, and we recommend it to the Indian readers to get into the inside of a part of the Indian problems."

The reaction of the learned journals was no less favourable. The highly respected science journal of London, *Nature* in its issue of June 3, 1944, published a review of it from which the following states the viewpoint in brief: "Prof. G. S. Ghurye... here examines the position of primitive tribes in India and the question of their administration. He goes into their position with reference to their classification by the Census of India separately from Hindus and other religious divisions, and into the question of their relationship with Hindus proper; he examines their treatment by the Government of India... and recommendations, which anthropologists have made in regard to them; and finally he states the problem which, in his opinion, the present condition of the hill and forest tribes present. Prof. Ghurye is a whole-hearted supporter of the assimilation of the Backward Tracts to the rest of India politically, and has made the best case he could for this view... Prof. Ghurye, wisely [I should say "as a true intellectual who does not go beyond his facts"] for the establishment of his case, avoids dealing specifically with the tribes of Assam."*

The American journal *Sociology and Social Research* in its

* Italics mine.

issue of Sept-Oct. 1944, reviewing the book observed: "The fate of the backward peoples of India has become a controversial issue, owing to the impending transfer of political control from British to Indian hands, and *the findings of the author are therefore of immediate practical value.*"* Since there are millions of other colonial peoples in South-east Asia who face similar problems in the near future, but for whom comparable studies are not available, *this publication may bear enlightenment beyond India to neighbouring colonies.*"**

A belated notice in the midst of a general survey by the Indian anthropologist, who later became the Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, Dr. N. Datta-Majumdar, in the *American Anthropologist* (Jan-March, 1947) well sums up the total reaction to the views expressed in the book. "*The Aborigines — So-called — and Their Future* sought to prove the extent of Hinduisation of the aboriginal tribes and rightly contested the suggestion of Verrier Elwin that the millions of tribal people in India must be segregated so long as they could not be given fair treatment by their advanced compatriots.* ... Prof. Ghurye, however, succeeded in raising the problem of the aboriginals from the plane of anthropology to that of Sociology,* even of politics though much confusion remains in the minds of the public regarding the system of administration to be set-up in tribal areas."

When the time for reckoning came, that is when the Constituent Assembly began to consider the Constitutional provisions for these tribes, the party in power, having rather nebulous and sentimental views as represented in its term for them, viz. 'Adivasi', a question-begging but an evocative term, and the followers of Dr. Elwin having carried out vicious propaganda against my book, instead of giving due weight to my views almost walked into the trap of their opponents. Later, no other Indian Anthropologist or Sociologist having towed my line, the party in power fell into the arms of Dr. Elwin as its saviour in Tribal affairs! And the result is the distintegrative setup that has come about and progressing apace!

In spite of vilification, however, the book sold out. But I could not, for many reasons, think of taking out a second

* Italics mine.

edition. When the second edition appeared in 1959, direct attack by Elwin-supporters was mounted through a review in the *Times of India*, to which to the best of recollection, no review copy was sent. Yet, though the late Dr. D. N. Majumdar and Dr. T. N. Madan, in the meanwhile, had, by their reference to my views in *An Introduction to Social Anthropology**, misrepresented my view, the enlarged book sold out much more quickly, an edition of the same volume as the first having been exhausted in four years as against the ten taken by the first!

I brought out the 3rd edition in 1963, bringing the whole story up-to-date, including the dangerous recommendations of the Dhebar Commission and a well-documented and reasoned criticism of them.

The *Times of India*, which had condemned the views when the book appeared in its second edition, in its issue of March 15, 1964, carried a review of the third edition very much favourable to the book. I quote below a few sentences from it: "Dr. Ghurye's book which is a new edition of an old publication, really contains two themes: one, the relation of the tribal peoples to Hindu society; two, the Government's policy towards the scheduled tribes Dr. Ghurye has a strong case — that the Scheduled Tribes are best described as 'backward Hindus' and that the Constitution has accepted this point of view. He argues convincingly that by departing from the considered policy of the Constitution the Government of India has created serious difficulties for itself." In reality, I went further than the reviewer represents me as having done. I have said in effect almost that the Government has sown the seeds of disintegration of the country.

I shall quote here only two sentences from the 3rd edition of the book to support my statement. On page 339 I say: "This in brief is the tribal situation in the country as it developed, beginning with a small disintegrative dent, widening out into a gap with the NEFA setup and assuming the proportions of a rupture with the appointment of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission." And on page 345 you will read this: "So Assam stands poised for a break-up on

* First published in 1956. Its fifth reprint appeared in 1967, at pp. 280-81 of which occurs the relevant passage.

the score of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes much greater and deeper than was sanctioned by the Constitution."

In due time, in 1943 I had written to the University authorities that the Department of Sociology will complete its first twenty-five years in November 1944 and that the University should celebrate its Silver Jubilee. My letter had to be forwarded through Prof. Vakil, who must have noted on it that the Department of Economics would complete its twenty-five years in November 1946 and also perhaps that the idea of the Jubilee may better be postponed to synchronize with that of the Economics Department. Anyway the Syndicate resolved not to accept my suggestion. The joint Jubilee was later decided upon by the University authorities to be celebrated in 1946. Actually, however, owing to Professor Vakil's having gone on some temporary deputation, it did not take place till sometime in 1947!

In 1943 during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Bomanji J. Wadia there occurred within the University a sensational commotion, agitating the entire Senate and the University teaching world in connection, again, with the conduct of the Matriculation Examination. Owing to Wadia's persistent and undeterred determination to get at the root of reported manipulation of the whole Matriculation marking and final result, the Senate was put into possession of the information of a caucus having in a concerted effort manipulated the results of many of the candidates. Some of the seven or eight persons, on whom the judicial mind of Wadia could fix the responsibility, happened to be members of the Senate or/and of other bodies of the University. Sir Bomanji, without the least care for consequences to himself, got them adequately punished by the Senate or/and the Syndicate in the usual manner of such punishment. One or two of these had to leave, or almost leave, their educational careers because of the shame brought on them. One of them a handsome-looking young man of promise, more sensitive than others, is reported to have committed suicide. There were two other persons, who it was clear from Sir Bomanji's confidential talk, were equally heinously concerned in the affair; but they had so managed that the judicial mind of Sir Bomanji could not fix their responsibility in the way he would like and they got off scot-free! And the 'beauty' of it is that one of these 'escaped culprits' had,

later, the agility to appear and the temerity to parade as a great educationist filling many important posts.

Sometime in 1944 I had made a suggestion to a University Committee that, in view of the large number of Ph.D. theses being turned out, it was desirable for the University to start a Sociological Series. The University authorities having accepted the suggestion, two Series, one Sociological and the other Economics, were decided upon. The preliminaries were worked out in consultation with Prof. Vakil and me. However, for some reason the actual implementation of the scheme was delayed, and even though, I believe, my manuscript of *Culture and Society* was accepted for being included in the Sociological Series, the actual work of getting it out did not start for some time. At this juncture Prof. Vakil went to the Government of India on deputation for a year in the first instance, and I acted as the Director of the School of Economics and Sociology. One of my tasks was to see that the actualization of the Sociological Series was expedited and I did it as much as possible. With all my efforts, however, it was not till late autumn, I believe, of 1947 that my book *Culture and Society* as the first in the University Sociological Series saw the light of day. And on Prof. Vakil's return the University organized a 'public' announcement of the publications at the premises of the Oxford University Press, the Vice-Chancellor performing the meaningless publication. Needless to say I did not attend the function.

The year 1945-46, i.e. the year of my Acting Directorship, was one of great strain for me. The administrative staff was sullen and non-cooperative without being insubordinate. From 1940, i.e. after recovery from my illness, I used to present myself at the Department not earlier than 1 p.m. and used to leave it at 4 p.m., almost sharp. I had now to change that schedule very radically at the risk of my health. I began to attend at the Department at 11-30 a.m. and to remain there till after 5-30 p.m. In 1945 as in 1944 three of my Ph.D. students won their awards. One of the three theses of 1945 deserves special mention here. It is "The Coorgs: A Socio-Ethnic Study" by M. N. Srinivas, who had already earned his M.A. degree by thesis, and had, as mentioned, published the thesis in 1942. The external referee was Prof. Raymond Firth of London University. He says: (I say "he says" in spite

of the plural "referees" in the report, because below Prof. Firth's signature on it I have simply said: "I agree"): "The referees have read this thesis on the Coorgs or Kodagus with great interest, and regard it as suitable for the award of the Ph.D. degree. In putting forward this opinion the referees have been impressed by several aspects of the thesis, in particular: the very able manner in which the citation and analysis of documentary material have been combined with the results of the candidate's own field research; the quantity and quality of original material collected in the comparatively short period of about five months in the field; and the presentation of the data in a way which draws *significant sociological and ethnological inferences from the detailed mass of ethnographic facts set down. Moreover, though the thesis is primarily a study of traditional Coorg institutions, a considerable amount of material is given to show how these institutions are changing and becoming adapted to modern conditions.*" The treatment of the thesis material is scientific in character and modest in tone. The work is claimed as only a preliminary survey to form a basis for more intensive studies, and the referees hope therefore that Mr. Srinivas will be able in due course to pursue these further investigations, especially on the economic side, and so add to the distinct contribution he has already made to Indian sociology

Dr. Srinivas, soon thereafter, went to Oxford to earn the D.Phil. degree of that University, being the third of my research students, who after their research degrees, went to foreign countries for further studies. Whereas the two earlier students had gone after their M.A. degrees, Srinivas went after having published his M.A. thesis as a book, highly valued in the famed scientific journal *Nature*. I was, therefore, more interested to learn from Srinivas as to what he met with in his quest than in the two previous cases. Fortunately, Dr. Srinivas was very communicative. He wrote to me about two dozen letters during his stay at Oxford and I possess some of them till today. In one of them, there is a description of the occasion when he had to confront Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown for his being enrolled as a candidate for D.Phil. to be due with only six terms' resi-

* Italics mine, introduced for this publication.

dence, and not nine as was the regulation. Dr. Srinivas writes: "I am quite certain I can never forget what I owe to you intellectually. *It is mainly due to this training which I received under you that today I am not swept away by Radcliffe-Brown. He must have found me a 'tough nut to crack' as I rejected his anti-historicism and regarded his functionalism as only supplementary to the so-called historical approach. My fundamental point remains the same—it is because I know it to be correct. I also know that I have derived it from 'you'.....* I am reading John Embree's 'Suye Mura' which is in our library. *It is supposed to be one of the developments of new anthropology. It is nothing very different from Bhagat's and M. N. Desai's work. I am quite glad I am getting disillusioned.*"*

About a month or six weeks thereafter, he wrote to me: "R.B. [Radcliffe-Brown] seems to have 'warmed up' a bit. *He read the Coorgs* [of course the thesis on Coorgs which by then had earned Mr. Srinivas the degree of Ph.D. of the Bombay University] *during the 'long vac'. It is this which seems to have changed his attitude. May I thank you as, but for your goading I wouldn't have taken up that subject, and worked it with sustained enthusiasm.*"

Dr. Srinivas was the second of my research students who earned a doctorate in a British University, the first being Dr. M. M. Desai, who had taken his M.A. with his thesis "Instinct and Habit in Society" in 1932. Desai had worked with Charles Spearman at the University College, had received his Ph.D. in Psychology in two years with a thesis on experimental study of surprise and had his thesis published as a monograph in the Psychology Monographs series of the British Psychological Society. I believe that was in 1935 or 1936. The M.A. thesis of Dr. Srinivas, as mentioned above, was published in 1942 and was received as well in scientific circles as the slightly earlier

* Italics mine. 'Single inverted commas are Dr. Srinivas'.

* These are two of my Ph.D.s. Dr. M. G. Bhagat's thesis was entitled, "The Farmer, His Welfare and Wealth" and was accepted for the award in 1941. Dr. M. N. Desai, who is currently the Municipal Commissioner of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay, received his award in 1942, for his thesis bearing the title "Life and Living in Rural Karnatak". Bhagat's thesis was published in 1947 and Desai's in 1945. Both the books have long been out of print.

London Ph.D. thesis of Dr. M. M. Desai. Dr. Srinivas' Bombay Ph.D. thesis on Coorgs in two volumes, the second such two-volumed thesis to be presented in Sociology in the Bombay University, which was highly appreciated, as seen from the report on it by Prof. Raymond Firth of London University quoted above, and which earned Mr. Srinivas his Ph.D. degree of Bombay in 1945, did not see the light of day as Dr. Srinivas left for Oxford immediately after!

Quite clearly Dr. Srinivas recast the same material that had formed his Ph.D. thesis at Bombay University and, submitting it for the D.Phil. degree of Oxford, earned his Oxford doctorate in June 1947, about six weeks short of two years after his Bombay Ph.D. He published this latter work in 1952. The preface that Dr. Srinivas penned to his book, dating it April 1951, opens with an exercise in the art of *suggestio falsi and suppressio veri*. To suit Dr. Srinivas' preface I purposely transpose the two parts of the saying. I take the liberty of quoting the first two paragraphs, which speak for themselves, against the background of what has been stated so far about Dr. Srinivas and his connection with me for almost a whole decade in the University of Bombay.

Says Dr. Srinivas: "In 1940 I was awarded, for a period of two years, a research fellowship in Sociology by the University of Bombay and this enabled me to do the fieldwork on which this book is based. I thank the University of Bombay for making it possible for me to study the Coorgs, and I am grateful to Prof. G. S. Ghurye for advice and criticism during fieldwork and subsequent writing. In June 1942, a few months after returning from Coorg, I was appointed Research Assistant in Sociology in the School of Economics and Sociology in Bombay, and the duties of my new post prevented me from finishing the writing of my field material until the end of 1944." Mr. Srinivas was awarded the fellowship expressly because he was registered as a student, working under my guidance for his Ph.D. degree with a study of the Coorgs as his topic for his thesis. I must also point out that what I had read and criticized was the thesis on the Coorgs, which in 1945 Srinivas submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Bombay and which was reported upon by Prof. Raymond Firth whose judgment is quoted already, and nothing else. The thesis

on the Coorgs must have been submitted early in 1945, and the complete synopsis two or three months earlier to enable the University to appoint the referees.

On my recommendation Mr. Srinivas was appointed Research Assistant in Sociology expressly to help me in my research. And during the two years of his Research Assistantship Mr. Srinivas was to collect data for me and my research projects; but as with earlier Research Assistants with me like the late Dr. G. R. Pradhan I encouraged and even directed him to work on the project of collecting and publishing folk songs. Pradhan had done that for Northern regions. As Srinivas was conversant with the Southern region I directed him to collect and publish folk songs from the South. His collections of these, from the Tamil and Telugu regions formed his main work during the two years of Research Assistantship. The work was published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Tamil Folk Songs in vol. XII, July 1943 and January 1944; and Telugu Folk Songs in vol. XIII, July 1944 and January 1945. The first contribution carries, in its footnote this: "I must thank Dr. G. S. Ghurye for his guidance"; and the second: "Thanks are due to for help in the matter of translation, and to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Ph.D., for guidance." The work of Pradhan and Mrs. C. A. Hate, who preceded Srinivas as Research Assistants in Sociology, in this project of Folk Songs, too, had been published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*. Mr. Srinivas, like his predecessors, Dr. Pradhan and Mrs. Hate, also collected facts for my research-projects in accordance with my scheme of study; and I have acknowledged my debt to these facts, wherever I have had occasion to use them in my books and papers, mentioning the name of the particular Research Assistant concerned. The scheme of Research Assistants was implemented to help the respective teacher; in the Department of Sociology, to me the Professor, and to Dr. N. A. Thoothi, the Reader in Sociology. It was the special arrangement for my Research Assistant, designed by me to secure some benefit by way of the credit that one gets in academic circles through one's publications, and by way of the practice of balanced writing involved in the exercise that made it possible for Mr. Srinivas and his predecessors to figure as independent writers, contributors or authors.

Dr. Srinivas' preface proceeds: "I then came to Oxford (Dr.

Srinivas, to the best of my recollection did not leave for England till June or July 1945. A reprint of his paper "Some Telugu Folk Songs", referred to above presented by him to me "with respectful regards" bears the date 27-3-45 in his hand and his signature), where Professor Radcliffe-Brown's teaching greatly modified my approach to the study of human society. At his suggestion I started applying some of his ideas regarding the interrelation of religion and society to the material I had already gathered. (Be it noted that there was no other material gathered on the Coorgs excepting what had gone into the making of Srinivas' thesis entitled "*The Coorgs, a Socio-Ethnic Study*" which had earned him his Bombay Ph.D. in Sociology in 1945), and this proved exciting and, to me, fruitful, even though I was more an ethnologist than a sociologist at the time of my fieldwork."

By a strange coincidence, almost exactly a year after Dr. Srinivas signed his preface to his book quoted above, and two months before I received a complimentary copy of it from the Oxford University Press, there arrived a letter for me, dated 15th May, 1952 at New Delhi, and signed by Mr. or Dr. William H. Newell, which, being of special interest in this connection, I quote: "Dear Prof. Ghurye, I would regard it as a great honour if I could have the opportunity of meeting you when I pass through Bombay en route to England between May 23rd and May 26th. Dr. M. N. Srinivas of Baroda University, who was with me at Oxford University has so frequently talked about you that I should feel honoured to make your acquaintance. I have been a teacher of social anthropology in China for the last three years. Growing difficulties there compelled me to resign and for the last six months I have been doing fieldwork among the Gaddi people of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. I am now on my way to England for a brief furlough and it is then my intention to return to S. E. Asia for further fieldwork". Mr. or Dr. Newell met me at my residence in due course. I found him a likeable gentleman, evidently endowed with insight and sympathy. At my request he contributed to the *Sociological Bulletin* of the Indian Sociological Society a paper on China.

In 1945-46 there occurred a crisis in my life almost as severe as the one that my illness had created. The house which I

had taken on rent in 1930 was requisitioned by the owner for his own use, and under the very defective law and equally defective administration of it, I was required to vacate it. No help capable of putting me in possession of decent housing was in sight, nor was any flat available and I felt almost forlorn. Fortunately, my landlord, an old acquaintance, proved more human than landlords did or do, and offered me the ground-floor of the house, the whole of which I was occupying and using for about 16 years. Thankful for small mercies and quite disillusioned about friends' helping activity and fully conscious of my inherent inability to wangle things, I embraced the offer with both hands and very warmly.

To accommodate my family and my intimate and valuable possessions in less than half the old space—there was one room which on the ground floor had to be used as a passage and therefore could not count among rooms available for living—I had to sell a few things and give away some others. It was very fortunate under the circumstances that my chamber at the University was big. For I could remove my library there and had not to dispose off my books. The garden had grown so much that there were more than forty pots holding various kinds of plants, as many as fourteen of them being large wooden tubs. Through my student Dr. A. J. Agarkar all of them were accommodated in the compound of a School at Dadar on a written understanding that half the number of pots shall be handed over to me as soon as I asked for them—I cannot but take my readers into confidence and tell them that like Wakefield-Vicar I believed that I would get a decent place very soon and will be able to have a small garden, the returnable pots forming its nucleus. I and my family descended to the ground floor in May 1946. In spite of our sanguine hopes and earnest prayers we had to be cooped up in that crowdedly limited space for full thirteen years. And that period is remembered by my wife and me as "Rama-vanavasa", Rama's forest sojourn!

In 1946 my annual address to the Bombay Anthropological Society was on Kinship Usages in Indo-Aryan Literature. It was duly published in the Journal of the Society, resuscitated after a long lapse. In it I had returned to the topic of kinship after more than twenty years. Not that I had no contact with that topic in the interval; as a matter of fact the kinship topic

was being covered in my lectures on the institution of Marriage and Family delivered for the benefit of the M.A. examination students; but in this paper I had made, as I thought, a new approach to the subject. As usual at that time of my life, I sent a copy of its reprint to Prof. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerjee of Lucknow University. He was good enough to write to me a frank and long appraisal of it. Coming as it does from one who was known to be very strong on the theoretical and conceptual side of Sociology, it deserves to be known to a wider circle than me. Below I quote two paragraphs from it: "You will remember how often I have expressed my great regret at my own ignorance of Sanskrit ... I love ancient literature and have a high regard for those who know it so well. Your strength is Sanskrit, as my weakness is its ignorance. *But the appeal of your address is very modern in the sense that one of the latest tendencies of modern sociological research is to utilize literature. Probably you are the first and the only man to do it scientifically. Your utilisation of Sanskrit literature of the Middle period does not make you ancient and for two reasons, that period reflects a more or less stable order. The second point that has struck me is your Sociological approach, Malinowski veered round to it in his last days, if I have not mistaken his attitude. Yours is genuine Social Anthropology without the errors of an exaggerated Functionalism.*"*

1947, the year of our country's attainment of Independence, saw the publication of my *Culture and Society*, as the first book in the University Series of Sociology. Dr. K. M. Kapadia's *Hindu Kinship*, too, came out about the same time. It was a thesis for Ph.D. written under my guidance, Dr. Kapadia being the second of my pupils to acquire the doctorate of our University. Kapadia's book was hailed as a classic on the subject. It has long been out of print. It makes me particularly sad to state that it will have to be reprinted as it is, being in demand. Dr. Kapadia had told me that he was going to remould it so as to deserve the title of Sociology of Hindu Law. And alas because of his untimely death it cannot be done!

"Culture and Society" had a mixed reception from the reviewing experts. Of the two earliest reviews, February 1948, while

* Italics mine.

the *Times of India* review was wholly condemnatory, that in the *Hindustan Standard*, over and above being highly favourable, added its own flesh and blood to the views of culture and civilization and their likely nurseries. *The Eastern Anthropologist*, March 1948, went all out to welcome the venture of the Series itself and says: "Prof. Ghurye inaugurates the Series by a volume on the future of culture in the society we live ... Prof. Ghurye, in this volume, however, addresses himself to the task as a scholar pure and simple facing the problem of culture in the midst of social disintegration, irrespective of its local habitat, context, and solution." The prestigious journal *Nature* (May 7, 1949) mentioned some of the views expressed in the book in its leading article, entitled "Western Civilization and Freedom of Thought" alongside of Sir Robert Robinson's views, made public in his presidential address to the Royal Society in 1947, and also of those of such thinkers as T. S. Eliot. It observes: "The most important chapter in Prof. G. S. Ghurye's recent book is that in which he deals with this question, and more generally with the part the universities have to play in creating and maintaining civilization and culture at a high level."

By a fortunate coincidence the year 1947 registered four Ph.D. awards for theses prepared under my guidance and one of them was that of G. M. Mehkri, establishing the correctness of the view that Muslims of India are a nationality, or, as Mr. Jinnah had it, a distinct nation!

I have mentioned earlier that, at the insistence of my friends and well-wishers, I had sought and won election to the Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum as the representative of the Bombay Asiatic Society. I continued there doing such useful work as I could. I added to the archaeological collections some finds,* which today assume very great significance. For the prehistoric culture of Kot-Diji discovered by Pakistani archaeologists in the fifties of the century could not have been represented in the Museum but for the artefacts, which, in the company of Dr. U. T. Thakur, I discovered in 1936 and presented to the Museum.

In 1947, I think, a proposal was made on behalf of the late

* Chapter 7 of this book contains an account of these.

Sir Cawasjee Jehangir for building a separate building in the compound of the Museum, more or less at the site on which today stands the Jehangir Art Gallery. In the original plan of the whole Museum, as conceived by the original architects in its architectural aspects and landscape perspective, the western wing of the extension of the Museum was to be of a different kind. The proposed separate structure to my mind was quite clearly a misfit, an architectural outrage. I, therefore, opposed acceptance of such a proposal, along with two others who were like myself, in most matters, quite independent judges. The proposal was accordingly defeated. Sometime later, in 1948 I believe, almost the same proposal came to be put up to my great surprise. The fool that I have been, I felt amused at it, thinking that it being so bad in principle would meet with its former fate again. But lo! when I stated the case against it, I found that the two gentlemen who had strongly supported me were the first to tell the Board about the modifications and the supposed great benefit if the proposal was accepted. And without much further discussion the proposal was put to the vote; and to the best of my recollection I found myself to be the only opponent of it! There and then I decided in my mind that there was no place for me on the Board, and that I must take the earliest opportunity of going out with good grace. The next occasion of representation was to be at the end of 1949. In October of that year I wrote a letter to the Hon. Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society, whose full import can be known from the following reply of the Secretary dated 16th Nov. 1949: "Dear Sir: Your kind letter of 10th October last was placed before the Managing Committee at its meeting held on the 9th instant and as desired by you, another member was nominated on the Board of the Prince of Wales Museum. The member nominated is the Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar. The Managing Committee has also asked me to convey its thanks to you for representing the Society for the last 16 years on the Board of the Museum; and the Committee very much appreciates the spirit in which you suggested the nomination of a younger member; and it was only in deference to your wishes that a change was made."

In the year 1949 three of my pupils won the award of Ph.D.

for their theses. Of these Dr. Chapekar's thesis on Thakurs was later published as one of the books in the University Sociological Series. On the first edition having sold out, the University published its second edition on its own two or three years ago.

The other thesis of 1949 was that of Miss Panna Shah on the Indian Film which was published in 1951. Prof. Dhurjati Mukerjee, who was the external referee, liked it so much that he wrote to me a personal letter about it, parts of which deserve to be reproduced in this context: "Here is my report on the dissertation 'A Social Study of the Cinema in Bombay'. I have read it with great profit and immense interest. I have nothing but praise for this work. I am simply ashamed to offer suggestions in view of what is already incorporated in the thesis. If anything, I would have asked the candidate to slim to give more pages to (a) Economics of the Cinema Industry for showing up the nature of the commercialisation of leisure; (b) reasons for preponderance of musical effects; (c) absence of fantasy — e.g. Walt Disney, suitable for children and the child in us; (d) absence of humour etc. These points have been touched, no doubt, but they could be elaborated only if other parts had been excised, e.g. history of *Am.* films. The strength of the thesis is the candidate's own survey of cinema-reactions. I am sure that you will agree with me in my high estimate By the way, I want to retain Panna Shah's thesis for stimulating my students and myself. Is that possible?"

The third of 'my' theses of 1949 was that of Mr. S. B. Chirde entitled "Industrial Labour in Bombay". Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee of Lucknow University, the external referee, while recommending the award of the Ph.D. degree, wrote the following personal letter which speaks both for Dr. Chirde and me: "I have read with great pleasure and profit Chirde's magnificent work. The research is stupendous and I must congratulate you on this account. I should think that really it is the function of the Ministry of Labour with army of officials to pursue and finish up such kind of enquiry. For one student to carry through the investigation of such scope and with such success it is really very creditable. I am sending you the report with room for your signature on your approval. How are you keeping? An Institute of Sociology, Ecology and Human

Relations has been founded in the University of Lucknow for Sociological research as the result of a donation of Rs. 2.5 lakhs. I am starting the investigation work from next July. It will mainly be a research body. Can you recommend to me a student with knowledge of social psychology and technique of field social research? (Rs. 300 to 500 is the Lecturer's grade) I shall be grateful."

Sometime in 1949, I believe, Mr. G. R. Bhatkal,* the Proprietor of the Popular Book Depot, approached me with the suggestion that a second edition of my "Caste and Race" should be taken out and offered to undertake such a publication, promising that he would see to it that the standard of production of the book would not suffer by comparison with that of its first edition. I thanked him and promised to prepare my manuscript. I went to work to remould the book to conform to my original idea of a thesis on Caste and Class. The book was actually published under the title of *Caste and Class in India* towards the end of 1950. The only reaction to this venture of mine I have with me is a personal letter of Prof. Dhurjati Mukerji of Lucknow University. It is dated 5-12-1950. Mukerji says: "Thanks for your *Caste and Class in India*. I am very happy that you have revised your earlier book and introduced a new treatment of class. As soon as I received your book I gobbled up the last chapter. It is an important addition. So is the rejection of the word 'race'. A student of mine is working on the same topic more or less. I am passing on your book to him. On two points I differ: (a) Marx did mention four or five classes. In the then society, *the classes were becoming two in the process of conflict*. One is therefore justified in saying that Marx spoke of two classes *only* from the point of view of 'motion' or 'movement'. He also mentioned the state of classlessness. This aspect of Marxian sociology is not clear in your statements. Can you really describe the guild and domestic systems production as *finance capital* (ism)? Henri See, Hilferding and Lenin are against you. Max Weber, Pirenne too will not support you. You have described it twice. As you are not the man to say

* This self-effacing and loveable gentleman, with significantly great achievement in the line of an important and independent medium of communication to his credit unfortunately passed away on Nov. 4, 1972.

a thing without first rate evidence I am very inquisitive to know why you did that. I thoroughly enjoyed your sharp comments on vulpine and feline combinations of our 'middle class'. Need I say that I fully endorse your general conclusions about the spurious nature of 'middle class' 'bhadraloks' and our black-marketeers? *My sincere congratulations.*"

The year 1950 saw one of my dreams realized, mainly through the dynamic and friendly admiration of the late Mr. T. P. Nunes. Nunes, then resided at Khar in a house which I had to pass by daily to my work or for any business. A female cousin of his happened to be a member of the M. A. sociology group in 1949. Through her he came to know about me and my intellectual interests; and he was drawn to me more. He was of a kindly and obliging nature which gloried in the old-world-virtue of taking interest in academic writing. One day I believe when I was engaged in arranging some of the pictures I had collected for illustrating my projected or rather ready-in-type-book on Indian Costume he came to me. He was fired by enthusiasm at seeing the whole collection; we got into a talk about getting blocks made and how much it would cost etc. Soon thereafter he came to me with a concrete proposal that he would manage to print the whole book on his hand-worked small printing machine. I was aghast with wonder when I went to his place of work and saw the machine. I was sceptical for a few moments; but Nunes' ebullient enthusiasm was such that it would have borne down the scepticism of a man much less needy of the services of cheap printing and much more stolid than me. And I accepted Nunes' offer with profuse thanks and great zest. Nunes, though the owner of a small press, was, like the tool of his vocation, an old-world man of his word with a firm belief in punctuality. He completed the task in fair competence and made a bill for all, including the blocks, which was, considering the size and kind of work, moderate. I could, therefore, open the topic to Mr. G. R. Bhatkal about its publication, who, when he saw the work and the moderate bill, agreed without much ado. And so my *Indian Costume* saw the light of day as a publication of the Popular Book Depot in 1951, my preface to it being dated Nov. 1950.

The book brought to me another piece of unpleasant experience, two influential newspapers, *The Times of India* (9-3-51)

and *The Hindu* (19-8-51) having carried adverse reviews.

My then colleague, Dr. N. A. Thoothi, who had been keeping rather indifferent health for sometime past, resigned his post in 1950, and the Readership vacancy in the Department was duly advertised. A Committee of Selection in terms of the University Act was appointed, the late Mr. N. H. Bhagawati, then Judge of the High Court of Bombay, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, being its Chairman. The Committee consisted, besides the Vice-Chancellor, of myself, Prof. Dhurjati P. Mukerjee of Lucknow and Dr. B. S. Guha, then Director of the Anthropological Survey of India. Dr. K. M. Kapadia, who had till then been a Lecturer in Sociology for about seven years, was one of the competitors. Another was Dr. M. N. Srinivas who was at Oxford doing some teaching after his D. Phil. degree, holding some foundational Research Fellowship or Scholarship. There were one or two other candidates whom the Committee did not think it worthwhile to consider. Dr. Kapadia stood his interview as well as he was expected to do.

Dr. Srinivas of course could not come, being in Oxford. Mr. Bhagawati suggested that Dr. Radhakrishnan, who was then at Oxford, may be requested to interview Dr. Srinivas, and his opinion may then be passed on to the Syndicate. All the three of us felt the suggestion to be not only outside the four corners of the provisions of the Act but too queer for any Committee to make and even too disrespectful to itself. I wondered how a judge of the High Court could make such a preposterous suggestion. Prof. Mukerjee told the Chairman that he had known Dr. Srinivas and even his M.A. work published as a book. I told him what I knew about Dr. Srinivas and also that no fresh investigation was done by him for his D. Phil. thesis, and that his Ph.D. thesis, which was done under my guidance, though very good, does not reach the same standard of excellence as Dr. Kapadia's thesis, recently published and well received by all. Dr. Guha at this stage told the Committee that recently he had occasion to scrutinize all the credits and work of Dr. Srinivas in connection with his application for a suitable position in the Anthropological Survey of India and that he was of the same view as the other two experts. At this Mr. Bhagwati gave in and prepared a unanimous report that Dr. K. M. Kapadia was the best candidate and that he be

appointed Reader in Sociology in the vacancy advertised.

Dr. Kapadia, being the most concerned person, was on the track of the next Syndicate meeting and came to know that the syndicate, had rejected the unanimous report of the Committee and had resolved to advertise the post again.

If Dr. Kapadia was sorely disappointed I was doubly shocked. I remembered the great contrast of 1943, when the two Lecturers in the Department were appointed. At the Syndicate stage, members, who were influenced by powerful pressure or were friends and partisans of one candidate, who stood lower down in the list of recommendations of the Committee, had raised a great tirade against the report to get their rejected candidate appointed, and the ex-Justice—for he had some years before retired from the Bench—Sir Bomanjee Wadia, the Vice-Chancellor, had stood up for the Report of the Committee and scotched the move of the rejected candidate! Second, my reading, though ostensibly that of a layman—I say ostensibly, because in most of the points of order and the references to the Chancellor that were raised or made under this Act by Prof. K. T. Shah or people working with him, I was deeply concerned and I was looked upon as one who, though not a lawyer, was deeply conversant with its nice points—was that the Syndicate had no power to reject a unanimous report of a Committee of Selection.

Outside the Syndicate and besides the old guard that had by now either fallen away or got deteriorated, there were young men interested in the proper administration of University. One of them, perhaps the most promising and dashing, was Prof. G. D. Parikh working in the Ramnarayan Ruia College. He knew Dr. Kapadia and his work too. When he came to know of the decision of the Syndicate, he began to move in the matter so that when, in his distress, Dr. Kapadia went to him to appraise him of his situation, he was informed that he had already moved in the matter and had even formulated the reference and begun to take ten signatures on it in order to forward it to the Chancellor as early as possible. When Kapadia informed me of the development I advised him to strengthen the hands of Prof. Parikh with the written opinion of a leading counsel of the Bombay Bar. Kapadia saw the force of my suggestion and through a solicitor of his acquaintance, paying the necessary

fees, got the opinion of Sir Jamsetji Kanga. Kanga's opinion was quite flatly against the decision of the Syndicate, and raised very high hopes in our minds that the Chancellor would, on reference, quash the decision of the Syndicate. Prof. Parikh, however, be it said to his credit in more ways than one, had not waited for the legal opinion and had already submitted the reference to the Chancellor.

The Vice-Chancellor in the meanwhile had proceeded with the implementation of the Syndicate resolution and the post was re-advertised. What should be interesting to people, who believe in academics and universities as its repositories, is that the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. N. H. Bhagawati, a sitting Judge of the High Court, one year senior to me at the Elphinstone College, who had, only a month or two before, praised my work on Costume to the Chancellor, Dr. Mahtab, at the social gathering function, while nominating the Selection Committee in the Academic Council dropped me out of the Committee. The occasion was a very serious one in my life; for if I were omitted it was a vote of censure on me. The situation would have forced me into an awkward position; and I, without thinking of the very serious consequences, might have offered to resign my post! Fortunately the late Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, who in the Syndicate, as I came to know from him a year or so later, had spoken in the strongest terms against the verdict of the first Selection Committee and therefore against me, stood up straight and firm for me and said: "Ghurye must be included in the Committee". And the late Mr. Justice Bhagawati kept mum; and I came to be put on the Committee.

I had already applied for study leave for a term which was granted, along with fair allowance. And I thought it would be thoroughly unacademic to drop the plan because of the developments. It was clear to me that the Vice-Chancellor Bhagawati would not defer the meeting of the Selection Committee till my return to duty. Yet I said to myself, "that I cannot help; I must implement the study plan". Trusting to God, I and my wife left for London by plane early in June.

In London at the Victoria Station our daughter Kumud, who had gone to London in August 1950 to qualify for the Bar, was present. When I saw her I thanked my foolhardiness in following up my proclaimed plan of study-leave in spite of the

intriguing situation that had arisen in the matter of the appointment of the new Reader in Sociology. For she was much reduced; and her face was blotched with chillblains or frostbite. My wife and I became nervous, but did not show our nervousness.

Kumud having arranged a small subtenancy flat in a good house far north at Hatch End we lived in a very pleasant, open and sylvan surroundings in London. Kumud came to live with us every weekend, and we used to go to see her once in the mid-week. All this bucked her up; and though she lost a whole year in the illness, we left London in November 1951 with the satisfaction that Kumud was well enough to run the full course of studies, for which she had gone to London. But for the timely moral support and the regular dieting she received from her mother, I think Kumud would have had to return before the end of 1951 without having done anything, a highly depressing contingency even to think of! My Departmental worry was over even before, the Chancellor having ruled the Syndicate action of overriding the unanimous recommendation of the Selection Committee *ultra vires* of the Act, and Dr. Kapadia having been appointed Reader in Sociology.

In London I delivered two lectures to the Sociology group of the London School of Economics. I read in the British Museum, altogether I think for about 6 weeks fairly regularly, so that I could collect whatever information I had wanted for the building-up of three of my books. I also took exploratory walks to see the urban development. My wife, too, looked up books on culinary art, embroidery and such other arts in the Reading room of the Museum. All the three of us went through all the Museums; my daughter took special interest in the National Gallery which she had already visited. My wife much appreciated both the Art Gallery and the Indian, Egyptian and Greek exhibits in the galleries of the British Museum. But she was most impressed by the South Kensington group of Museums, Arts and Crafts, and the National History Museum. We went to the Regent's Park more than once, walk through its grounds being particularly pleasant. We tried to make up for our total abstinence from the visual arts in India by visiting picked out dramatic shows. We netted at least ten good ones. My wife was most impressed by the Shakesperian drama *Winter's Tale*. Sybil Thorndike was acting in one of the plays we saw and my

wife had no words to describe her acting and figure.

One of the purposes of my visit to Europe was to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association of which I was then a member. It was to be held in June at Paris. All the three of us went to Paris in due time, lodging in an English-using hotel not very far from the University centre. Four hours every day in two shifts were occupied in my Committee work. The rest of the time was free, besides one day which was off and Saturday. These two days we utilized to take a trip to the Versailles gardens, and visit such institutions as the Notre Dame and the Louvre. In the Louvre we stood transfixed before the picture of Mona Lisa, which has left lasting impression on our minds. Otherwise, I and my wife would prefer to visit the National Gallery London rather than the Louvre, if we are given another chance to go to Europe.

Between London and Paris my wife and I definitely prefer London. The gentlemanly behaviour of people in the underground, on the foot-paths of the big roads like the Oxford Street, and even at the Piccadilly Circus, and above all the deference which the motorists showed to the pedestrians intent on crossing from one side of the road to the other, met with in London, made such a strong impression on her and my mind that in comparison we speak of Paris as 'jungly' or in Hindi 'gavara', or 'ganvdhala' in Marathi.

In two of the items on the agenda of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association I was personally involved. One of them was a report on the state and status of Sociological sciences in Indian Universities, which I had already submitted to the Secretary. It was discussed and approved with a request for clarification in one or two places. The other was a distressing item, being a protest from Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee against my having been taken on the Committee to represent Sociology in India. When the item was reached, I offered to retire from the meeting so that the question may be freely discussed and decided. The Chairman and the other members too did not accept my offer, and unanimously resolved to reject the protest.

I must record my impression of the attitude of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association which

is not at all favourable. Though an American was its Chairman and a Norwegian its Secretary, the attitude was 'pacca' European and not international. And that showed itself plainly when an invitation from Beirut for the next Conference of the Association was rejected in favour of a European place. I had thought that the Committee, if its fervour for Sociology was real and not race-or continent-based, would accept the invitation with great alacrity and enthusiasm. But no; even when I pleaded for its acceptance there was not the slightest reason offered against it but straightway the other invitation, which was European, was accepted. It left such a strong impression on me then that I began to wonder why and how the Office of the UNESCO had been stationed in Paris. If the Head Office of the UN was in U.S.A., I thought the Office of the UNESCO should have been located in any of the Oriental lands well east of Suez. I felt so convinced of my view that, on my return to Bombay, to one press reporter I opened my mind. That good gentleman did report it in his paper. However, the only result of it was mental and moral relief to me and some opprobrium of me in private dovescotes!

Prof. Louis Wirth of Chicago, who was then the President of the International Sociological Association, in his letter of September 11, 1951, wrote to me: "I enjoyed meeting you personally after having only had the image of you that your publications gave me, and I want to thank you for the excellent co-operation you gave me at our meetings in Paris".

My tour had done me, it appears, a lot of mental polishing; for within a month or so of my return to duty, I was talking to such of my students and ex-students as had given me a hearty send off to London about the need of a Sociological Society. Two of these, Mr. (later Dr.) K. C. Panchanadikar, my fresh research-student, and Mr. Balmukund R. Agrawala, a past student of my M.A. class but one who was more dearly and closely drawn towards me than almost any other research student except the late Dr. K. M. Kapadia, enthusiastically approved the idea. I was then thinking in terms of Life Members because I knew, by the experience of two or three associations or societies or their like, that annual membership involved too much labour and trouble for the managing section and also too much uncertainty and instability for the association or the society.

Life Membership fee it was spontaneously decided to be Rs. 100/-, a fairly moderate sum. Mr. Panchanadikar, who was the first to react, said he would bring in ten such members, and Balmukund that he would bring in twice the number of such members brought by any other member of our group. And the ball began to roll so fast that, when these students and ex-students gave me a tea-party on my next birthday, I could present the registration certificate from the State Official, registering Indian Sociological Society and its Memorandum of Association. Thanks for the expeditious registration were due to Balmukund Agrawala.

On 1st March 1952, in the first floor hall, of a first class restaurant in Churchgate Street, where now stands a six-storeyed building housing a multi-purpose store, at a specially organised function was published the 1st issue of the *Sociological Bulletin*, the six-monthly journal of the Society. Since then till September 1966 the Bulletin appeared almost regularly and punctually every year within the first fortnights of March and September. The Memorandum of Association and the Constitution already registered promised not less than one issue of the journal a year, but I and my colleagues, throughout the period during which the management rested with the Bombay-group, managed to take out two issues a year. Immediately after the publication-function was over, the first meeting of the Society was held in the same place as per notice already issued along with the invitation for the public function.

This very first issue of the *Bulletin* received such an encouraging reception that I and my colleagues decided to bring at least two issues a year. The following letter received by me from Prof. R. M. McIver of Columbia University testifies to the quality and proclaims the kind of the matter we had offered. It reads: "It was kind of you to send a copy of the new *Sociological Bulletin*. It seems a significant and in an important respect a very salutary contrast to our own sociological journals. It is a great pleasure to know you are advancing so well and on such good lines."* Another indication of the impact of the *Bulletin* I received in the letter of the Secretary of the American Sociological Society of October 15, 1952. Its first sentence, addressed

* Italics mine.

to me, I attribute to the impression that the Indian Sociological Society's *Sociological Bulletin* and my role in it must have made on the American sociologists. It is: "You have been recommended for membership in the American Sociological Society and we take pleasure in extending to you the enclosed invitation."

At that time, with my impending retirement, I was cutting off my money commitments all round, and I was in no mood to take on a new one and that too in terms of dollars. So nothing came out of it.

Evidence of continuing impact is provided by the letter of February 25, 1953, of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Rural Sociological Society, which was a similar invitation. It, however, registered a further advance in so far as, in the officials' words, he had "received a recommendation that you be invited to become an active professional member of the Rural Sociological Society".

I was the first President of the Indian Sociological Society and the de jure and de facto editor of the *Bulletin* and I continued to be so till my retirement from the University Department of Sociology in 1959. Thereafter till April 1966, I continued to be the President and de jure editor, and Dr. K. M. Kapadia, the Secretary of the Society from 1954, was the de facto editor of the *Bulletin*. I had felt for sometime during this latter period, especially after the decennial symposium held at Mysore in October 1962, which I was unable to attend owing to reasons of health, that I was not pulling more than my weight in the co-operative endeavour as I had till then done, and that on a suitable occasion I should go out of it, making it easy for younger people to shoulder the burden. Such an occasion offered itself, when in March 1966, at the desire of my son Sudhish, then settled at Bloomington as the Head of the Department of Mathematics of Indiana University, I and my wife decided to fly to the States to live there for some time. Accordingly I resigned my position as President of the Society, I think, as from April 1966.

I should not leave this topic without recording my great obligations to the late Mr. T. P. Nunes, who, in his hand-worked press, turned out neatly and timely the issues of the *Bulletin* for the first six or seven years; for but for his enthusiastic and

economical support our task of getting the *Bulletin* out would well nigh have been impossible or would, in the alternative, have exhausted the total resources of the Society. Equally important and significant was the part played by my disinterested friend, Mr. Balmukund R. Agrawala, who, except for two years during which he was in London qualifying for the Bar, was the main source of energy throughout. Next to him came my late friend and pupil Dr. K. M. Kapadia, not less significant as a co-bearer of the burden. Dr. J. V. Ferreira, bearing with me and Balmukund the burden of the troublesome first two years, deserves my thanks next. Dr. K. C. Panchanadikar's help, though available only in the pre-start period, is remembered by me with particular warmth of appreciation.

The year 1952 stands fixed in my memory on academic grounds too. Prof. W. F. Ogburn of Chicago visited Bombay in 1951 and I had the privilege of presiding over two of his lectures—one public, in the rooms of the Bombay Asiatic Society and the other in the lecture hall of the School of Economics and Sociology and also of a long private talk with him. I could discover from his demeanour that I had been well reported to him by Louis Wirth and also that on his own he had not only a high opinion about me but had known that quite a few of my ex-research students were in the forefront of the younger phalanx of Indian Sociologists. Later I came to know that he had spread this opinion of his in North India when he visited the Universities there.

When I had resumed my lectures after my return from Europe I had seen a non-Indian White lady in the class. During the course of my lecture, twice or thrice she questioned me for some clarification immediately after the lectures. Her questioning made it quite clear to me that she was an American lady. She used to appear interested in the lectures; but I could not guess the effect of my blunt and documented replies to her queries; and I was prepared for a good deal of criticism from her. I was, therefore, most pleasantly surprised to read the interviews two newspaper reporters published in two newspapers at an interval of about six weeks between them.

Here is the earlier one in the *National Standard* (7-2-52): "Miss Marguerite Cook, a U.S. war veteran, now a student of the School of Economics and Sociology, echoed the views of

Dr. Vakil on the pay of Indian university teachers in an interview with the 'National Standard'. *'Our teachers back in the States are millionaires when compared with yours', said Miss Cook, who is a graduate of Iowa University. During the last five years she travelled a lot in the East.** She spent two years in Japan... Miss Cook said that she was very impressed with the work done by Indian universities. She specially mentioned the work of Dr. Gurye [Ghurye], whom she regards as one of the best teachers she has ever met."

The later interview, appearing in the *Bharat Jyoti* (23-3-52), is more personal and direct in the first person and reads: "My four sociology instructors, considering the conditions under which they overwork and their poor pay, were more efficient than their students had the right to expect. One of these, *Prof. G. S. Ghurye, the department head, is one of the few really good teachers to whom I have ever been subjected. The author of well-known books on Indian Caste, Civilization and Costume, he brings to his lectures a Maharashtrian's dramatic ability. Few students will soon forget his lectures on the evolution of man enlivened as they are by Dr. Ghurye's nose and head measuring antics.** A constant source of enlightenment to me were Dr. Ghurye's concept of life in my United States. In one lecture he illustrated how the American home was ceasing its function as a family-dietary centre by referring to automats in the Waldorf-Astoria... my after lecture protests that most Americans still prepare their own meals was met at the next lecture by an imposing amount of statistics from American Sociologists proving that more and more aren't. Still undaunted, I insisted that: 'We still don't have automats in the Waldorf-Astoria'. To which Dr. Ghurye confidently replied, 'Give it time'."

Miss Cook's is an unsought for and behind-the-back appraisal of one part of my academic career, by then more than a generation old. It upholds and testifies to the continuance of its quality mentioned spontaneously by an Indian student a decade earlier in his letter already quoted. And that is why I have quoted Miss Cook's opinion here at length.

In May of that year Dr. R. V. Athaide, one of my ex-research students, who was going evidently for good, to some Communist

* Italics original.

country, and had come to discuss his plans of study(?) with me missed me and was kind enough to leave a letter of farewell. It has remained one of the regrets of my life as a teacher that I missed him; for thereafter I have neither met him nor heard anything about him. In 1951, I had successfully piloted Mr. R. V. Athaide's Ph.D. thesis entitled, "The extent of Rational Thought in Educated India". Prof. Dhurjati Mukerjee who was the external referee had wondered how I could have tolerated such a Communist as Mr. Athaide had shown himself to be, complimenting me on the way I had got him to abide by many of the bourgeoisie dicta of logical reasoning!

In June of the year (1952) I had the privilege of being asked by Prof. B. N. Uppal, Director of Agriculture, State of Bombay, to frame a syllabus in connection with the newly formed scheme of Community Development. Prof. Uppal, acknowledging the syllabus that I sent in response, says: "Many thanks for your letter dated the 25th June, sending therewith a draft syllabus in psychology and sociology for the course of training for the Supervisory Staff for the Community Development Projects. The syllabus is very suitable and will meet our requirements." I wonder, however, if it got a chance to be implemented long enough before the torrential flow of Ford Foundation American experts rushed in the country!

Sometime in 1952 Prof. C. N. Vakil, the Director of the School of Economics and Sociology, sent to the Board of Advisers of the School a proposal for increase of emoluments. He proposed that the maximum salary of a professor be raised from Rs. 1000 a month to Rs. 1250 by an annual increment of Rs. 50. Second, that in view of Prof. Ghurye's having to retire on 12th December 1953, he should be, immediately, on acceptance of the proposal, paid the maximum of the grade, viz. Rs. 1250/- a month. Third, that Prof. Vakil may be given a special allowance of Rs. 300 a month evidently for meritorious service.

As a member of the Advisory Board when I got the agenda, sudden and clear light flashed in my mind on one recent action of Prof. Vakil. About a year or so before, he had instituted the system of service books for us. At the time he introduced the system I wondered at it, as to my knowledge there was no directive from the Syndicate in that behalf nor was it quite consistent with the individual contracts that we had with the

University but I had meekly submitted to it. The reference to my specific date of retirement, or merely to the impending nature of it, gave meaning to Prof. Vakil's action of a year or so before. Prof. Vakil's proposal about my being given the maximum of the grade was not likely to be agreed to in the Syndicate. Whatever it might be, I decided not to be a party to the total proposal and absented myself from the meeting of the Board of Advisers.

The Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education had recommended a raise in the age of retirement of University teachers; and some members interested in educational efficiency, one or two of whom thought very highly of me as a teacher, and some others interested in seeing that the then Registrar and Librarian too were similarly treated, had moved in the matter of getting the Senate's approval for raising the age of retirement for University officers to sixty-five. The procedure to get this sanction was going to require some time. In the meanwhile, the Syndicate, discussing Prof. Vakil's proposal, had resolved to recommend that the maximum salary of a professor should be Rs. 1250, with fifty rupees annual increment, and also that Prof. Vakil, Prof. Ghurye and the Registrar and the then Librarian should each be paid a special honorarium of Rs. 300 a month.

On inquiry with some friends I came to know that the original proposal of Prof. Vakil was blessed as it stood by the Board of Advisers. In the Syndicate there were members who were interested to group the then Registrar and the then Librarian with Prof. Vakil for meritorious service. Under the circumstances it was realised by some fair-minded Syndics that it would not be proper to leave 'Ghurye'. And that is how I got Rs. 300 a month as honorarium for meritorious work, I believe, from 1954 till my retirement in 1959. The special treatment of me in respect of the maximum of the salary grade proposed by Prof. Vakil was of course not accepted.

Interested persons, i.e., persons to whom I was a *persona non-grata*, had begun delaying tactics regarding the proposal to raise the age of retirement to sixty-five, so that the proposal could be pushed through after I retired on December 12, 1953. But genuine appreciators of me, though very few, were determined to see that I did not go out like that. They got the

Syndicate to continue my services for some time till the Senate disposed of the proposal for raising the retirement age. Ultimately the Senate having resolved to empower the Syndicate to continue the services of such of the officers it thought worthwhile beyond 60 but not beyond 65, I was sent to a physician to be certified for fitness to continue on duty. That having been done I got two years' moratorium; and at the end of that period again I was sent for a similar purpose. Having been certified fit to continue I continued in my post till March 1959. This was the first boon of the year 1953 and was a god-send for me at that time, financially situated as I was.

The six years 1953 to 1958 were very eventful in my academic career and I shall proceed with a brief narration of the important events of the period.

The first of the theses in the field of Urban Sociology written under my guidance was assessed and declared worthy of the award of the Ph.D. degree by Prof. W. Ogburn of Chicago, then at Oxford as special professor at Nuffield College, late in March 1953. Prof. Ogburn wrote to me a personal letter (20-3-53) in that behalf. He says: "I have had the pleasure of reading the thesis of Dr. K. N. Venkatarayappa on 'The Social Ecology of Provincial Towns with Special Reference to Bangalore'. I thought it a very fine piece of work and have sent a note to the Registrar approving it for acceptance for the Ph.D. degree in Sociology. I am taking the liberty of writing you and telling you that your student has made a very good contribution to the interesting subject of social ecology. I was specially interested to compare the pattern of Bangalore with American cities. I wish also to extend my congratulations to you for directing so interesting a piece of research. I hope you can direct other students along the same lines...I was particularly interested in his last chapter, chapter on the social ecology, and if he had an extra copy of that I would be glad to have it." This event, of course, is not so significant as either the first boon or even as the second event to be narrated; but it is very significant in my purely academic endeavour.

The second event is the 60th birthday felicitation. Since the birthday of 1951, the day of the Registration of the Memorandum of Association and Constitution of the Indian Sociological Society, till my 75th birthday on December 12, 1969,

my research students, some of my ex-research students and some friends together have entertained me, my wife and my daughter, either to an evening dinner, or to an afternoon tea or to both. on every one of my birthdays. And I and my wife have thought ourselves very much beholden to them for their good wishes and for the great joy we have had to know and see so many good and nice men and women rejoicing at my good fortune in keeping on the stage of life.

For the 60th birthday, Dr. K. M. Kapadia, who was taking the lead with great zest in the birthday affair since 1951 to 1959, was joined by another ex-student. A rather big programme was chalked out by the two, I believe, late in 1952; and Dr. Kapadia, taking his role seriously, and having genuine admiration for me, proceeded apace with it. Little did he dream that the other person, who also was my ex-research student, and who, to Kapadia's knowledge and in his opinion, had received so much and such lift in life through my good offices, would leave him in the lurch. And that is the absolute testimony to Dr. Kapadia's genuine admiration of and affection for me, that when, about three months later, he discovered that the other person, who had joined him and in a manner even egged him on, did not mean to do anything in the matter, he, instead of slackening his efforts, redoubled them and carried out the plan, despite growing ill-health of his, to the last item quite successfully.

Almost the first thing Dr. Kapadia did in connection with the celebration of my 60th birthday was to put together a rather longish and highly flattering account of me and my work and got 32 distinguished men and women to sign it.* He sent it out to a number of people including students, present or past, whose addresses he could get. He also addressed letters to a number of them. Evidently one such letter reached Mr. G. L. Mehta, who was our Ambassador at Washington. The letter (25-9-53) in response to it, which Mr. G. L. Mehta wrote to me, is both important in the context of what I have written about the year 1928 and also generally interesting. I shall quote it in full as below:

"Dear Dr. Ghurye, A Reader in your department wrote to

* A full text of it with the names of the signatories under it is reproduced in Appendix 1.

me about your 60th birthday celebrations. Although we have not met for some time I recollect with pleasure our early association both in the Elphinstone College and *particularly when I worked on the thesis on Bertrand Russell at your School.** It is difficult for me to believe that you are 60! I extend to you my heartiest congratulations and best wishes. During my tours, at the various Universities in this country I met one or two persons who knew you and who told me that you were likely to come to this country this year or next. I do not know if this is true** but if so, I hope you will let me know. I regret it is not possible for me to send an article for the volume which is to be presented to you. I need not say that I shall be happy to contribute to this celebration in any way I can if a suitable letter is sent to me."

On receipt of the letter I felt sorry at poor Dr. Kapadia's efforts at getting up a good volume of papers to felicitate me, meeting with such reception at almost their outset. But my first action happened to be to write a letter to Mr. Mehta offering apologies for Dr. Kapadia's indiscretion, which, I assured him, was due to his having allowed his affectionate enthusiasm for me to take the better of circumspection.

To complete the account of Mehta-episode I may state that thereafter, when the presentation copies of my book *Indian Sadhus* became available in February or March 1954, I sent a copy to Mr. G. L. Mehta. His reply in acknowledgement of it that I received, I must say, gave me an unpleasant surprise. The following unsigned typescript was that reply (June 10, 1954): "Mr. G. L. Mehta thanks Dr. G. S. Ghurye for a copy of his book 'Indian Sadhus' which he appreciates." Need I mention that I never sent a copy of any of my dozen or so books published thereafter, just as I had not sent that of any one before *Indian Sadhus*?

Just a fortnight before my 60th birthday I had the good fortune to be in possession of, what to a teacher must bring the greatest joy and satisfaction of his life, a letter from a

* Italics original.

** To the best of my knowledge it was in 1964 that something that could have taken me to the States was on foot but did not materialise; and I went to that country only in 1966 with my wife to live with our son Sudhish at Bloomington.

former student, giving proof of the interest he creates in his subject among the students to whom he lectures. Mr. D. N. Vesuvala, signing as Doli Vesuwala, wrote to me, from London as of 24th November 1953, the letter which excited in me the feelings I have mentioned. He informed me through it of the then brand new light thrown on the so-called 'Piltdown Man' or 'Eo-anthropus Dawsoni', a supposed early specimen of true man with some features of the ape coming from Piltdown in Sussex as discovered by Charles Dawson; and sent me relevant cuttings from London newspapers. His letter below will speak much better than I can write about the situation. It reads: "Dear Dr. Gurye, Herewith I am enclosing two cuttings from London newspapers about the remains of the Piltdown Man. This is just in case Bombay newspapers have not published already some matter regarding the topic. But hoping that these cuttings will be still of some little use to you I am enclosing them. As your pupil in the School for two years (1950-52) I was much interested in your lectures about the Early 'Men' like the Pithecanthropus erectus and the Sinanthropus Pekinensis and Homo Neanderthalensis etc. and I am afraid, I have not as yet lost my interest in the topics *though I have, by some strange set of social circumstances, ultimately landed up in a Bank and have to make Banking a career!!* I hope, Sir, you are in the best of health. I remain, Sir, Yours obediently...."*

This is quite surely the most sensational discovery of the fifties of our century. It conclusively proved that the so-called Piltdown skull of prehistoric England was an elaborate and a consummate fake, prepared by one of the falsest of men by name Charles Dawson. It had stood as a hindrance to a more or less straightforward reconstruction of the history of man's physical frame. Now it exists no longer in the texts or talks of anthropologists or human historians. I told my students immediately about it, all in glee; and the class joined me in thanking Mr. Vesuvala and sharing my joy. Afterwards when I lectured, it could have been twice or thrice only, on Social Biology, I took care not only to ask my students to score out the so-called Piltdown man from books and note-books but

* Italics mine.

also to mention the fact of the information having been conveyed to me first by Doli Vesuvala from London. Vesuvala sometime in 1955, on his way to Calcutta to take up his banker's post, was kind enough to meet me and thus enable me to double my joy as a teacher. I am sorry I lost all contact with him thereafter.

Dr. Kapadia's final programme for the 12th of December was a tea in the afternoon in the University Gardens with Mr. M. C. Chagla, the then Chief Justice, as the chief-master of the ceremonies, and a dinner in the evening elsewhere. A select group of past-students with Dr. Kapadia and Mr. Y. M. Rege at their head had arranged a morning tea at the Eros Restaurant; but that was a private and closed function. For the first two items Dr. Kapadia had sent out a few invitations. Some of the few invitees, who naturally because of their being rather far away could not attend, wrote either to me or to Dr. Kapadia. I shall quote two or three sentences from two of them only.

Mr. (or better Professor) A. A. A. Fyzee, my friend from Cambridge days, and then member of the Union Public Service Commission, wrote in his letter to me: "...Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to have attended a function held in honour of a scholar whose devotion, independence and fearlessness is much to be admired. My sincere congratulations to you. It is a pleasure that Bombay has the sense to appreciate your work." Dr. B. S. Guha, then Director of the Department of Anthropology and Anthropological Adviser to the Government of India, writing to Dr. Kapadia said: "... There are very few people who have done so much for the cause of Indian Anthropology both in teaching as well as in research than [as] Prof. Ghurye has done. *He has been a pioneer in the field of modern scientific approach towards anthropological problems in this country* and I have the feeling of utmost admiration and friendship for him..."*

At the tea function Mr. Chagla in his speech, while speaking well of me and advising me not to be a recluse in admiration or imitation of the Indian Sadhus, about whom my book of that name was just then released at the function, he referred to my views on 'yogic' postures and on Indian dress. In these

* Italics mine.

references he differed from my views. Stating his views he criticised mine as they were represented in the write-ups which the press had kindly given to me of its own accord the previous Sunday. When my turn to speak came, I of course thanked Mr. Chagla and Sir Naoroji Wadia, who was the Vice-Chancellor and had released a copy of the above-mentioned book at the meeting, and all those who were present. However I did not stop there. Introducing the next part of my speech with a deferential nod to Mr. Chagla, I said something like this: "I being what I am, even on an occasion like this I should not like anybody left in two minds about my views." Then I pointed out that about 'yogic postures'. "I spoke from experience and had informed the reporter that the 'sirshasana', 'standing on the head posture', has not proved beneficial to me; and that I perform daily some 'asanas' or postures by way of exercise. Justice Chagla evidently finds 'sirshasana' very suitable to him; well I know one or two others with whom it agrees; but that does not mean that I should follow them when I actually find my head keeps tingling for a long time after the thirty or forty seconds of such a posture. As for my opinion that Indian men, when they are clad in a 'chudidar pyjama' and an 'achkhan' or 'achkhan'—like coat, remind me of Charlyle's description of man as forked radish, to Justice Chagla's query, it I really said so, I must say I have expressed that opinion in good sober writing in a large illustrated volume, entitled *Indian Costume*, published in 1951 by the Popular Book Depot. Though Justice Chagla may not like my opinion and may consider the dress to be very becoming, I stand by my view. As for Justice Chagla's criticism of the English trousers and closed-collar-short-coat I beg to state that I have recommended that combination as the best for us Indian males in the same book and I see no reason to change it." I have mentioned this here as this episode illustrates a fundamental trait of my temperament and character.

As chance had it, within two months, most powerful support for my opinion about this dress-combination came from the source of political authority and administrative power, the Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru prescribing it as an alternative dress on semi-formal and even formal occasions. In the issue of the *Times of India* of the 6th of February 1954, appeared the whole text of a "memorandum" on the subject

of official dress issued to "all Central ministries and attached officers". It stated: "Instructions were issued in 1949 regarding the dress to be worn by civilian officers on all formal occasions but the choice of dress to be worn on less formal semi-official occasions and during working hours in the office, has hitherto been left to the good sense of the wearers..." It further states how the need at least to make standing recommendations has arisen and that recommendations, though are not orders, are expected to be carried out as soon as possible. In the actual recommendations we read: "For formal or ceremonial occasions black 'sherwani' and white or clean 'choorida pyjama' or a *black short buttoned up coat and white or cream trousers...* For less formal occasions and evening parties — a black, short, buttoned-up coat and black or white trousers....." Thus my choice stands or rather stood vindicated against Mr. Chagla's criticism of it.

I shall desist from quoting from any newspaper the things that were written about me; for after all the reporters who work at this job hardly believe in what they say; and they know too that all that is generally to be taken with a handful of salt. But I must quote three or four sentences from the writing of the editor of the *Economic Weekly* (19-12-53) because of the status of that editor and also because of the nature of his observations which, though meant to applaud me, have a wider bearing and meaning. The editor — I am very sorry that he passed away recently at too early an age — says: "To every people, history sets a particular problem and the problem which this country had to solve in the past was that of working out social relations, reconciling the conflicting interests of a wide variety of peoples and races, in varying stages of development. If India's special contribution in the past, according to some, was particularly rich in this field, her contributions to social sciences in modern times has been particularly poor. Where thought survives the regimentation of foreign tongue, it falls a prey to another kind of domination which is equally oppressive, viz. that of Shastric injunctions. Both become a substitute for genuine thinking. Those who do not run after the discarded clothes of the West are happy to bury themselves in the past. So when a Sanskritist is rescued by a city planner and led on to the rich field of social sciences, the result should

be watched with keen interest and much curiosity. *Few are competent in this country or abroad to assess the contribution of Prof. G. S. Ghurye in the wide field which he has traversed with such conspicuous success in the 60 years of his life,** the completion of which was celebrated during the week by his friends, students and admirers. *Rarely does it fall to the lot of a scholar in this country to evoke such response.** A fest-schrift should be most fitting present for him on this occasion and it is to be hoped that the Committee which organised the celebration of his 60th birthday will not deny this honour to so eminent a scholar. His latest study, published on this auspicious occasion is on Indian Sadhus, which shows, so we are told, that asceticism in this country did not mean withdrawal from life but led to high and meritorious social work. If Prof. Ghurye succeeds in establishing this thesis, he will remove a doubt which besets every enquirer in this field—can a philosophy of withdrawal be a complete and satisfying philosophy of life? No answer is vouchsafed here beyond where it is to be looked for.” Prof. D. G. Mandelbaum, Professor of Anthropology, California University, while sending me his best wishes “on the auspicious occasion” stated: “All of us who are interested in India and in anthropology are your debtors.”

Mr. Chagla’s fears about my going into completely passive retirement I think I have been able to prove to have been wrong. The work I have been able to do since my retirement in 1959 in the 66th year of my life is far from negligible.

The question raised by the editor of the *Economic Weekly* is really the one, whose answer received in my own mind more than twenty years ago, had sent me studying the ascetic orders all over the world. It was one of the topics I closely followed in my hours in the British Museum reading room in 1951. I went through a number of books in that quest. The life of Swami Vivekanand and the active political work of some of the Pontiffs of Sringeri monastic centre in Mysore, too, had impressed me. In the last paragraph of the preface to my *Indian Sadhus*, I had given the conclusion that I had arrived at. And that is: “the ascetic from seeking solitariness has throughout tended to foster group life and render not only religious or

* Italics mine.

spiritual but even political and social service". The last item viz. of social service has tended to be as important in the life and programme of an ascetic order as spiritual or religious service to the people. This clearly must mean that life of renunciation by itself and for itself does not satisfy the largest majority of humans even when they turn ascetic. They fulfil the urge to activity through group organization for the service of their fellowmen.

Second impression of the book with very small additions and few modifications was published in 1964. There is clear evidence of interest in the subject evinced by Roman Catholics as attested by a letter which I received in June-July 1968 from a gentleman from New York. He was engaged on preparing a paper on Hindu Monastic Orders to be read before a Catholic Monastic Order. From his letter it appears he knows a good deal about the South Indian monasteries and the modern orders. It surprised me to know that though the second impression of my book was very well reviewed in the *Social Science* (1965) of Toledo University, the gentleman could not find a copy of it in New York!! It only underlines my experience about my other books. Americans, it appears, even their libraries famous or not, appear not to believe in buying Indian books on Indian subjects. They wait till their own men produce them!

On the 2nd day of 1954 I received a letter from Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee which imparted to me the interesting news that he and others of his University proposed to start a Journal of Sociology from February 1954 entitled "Indian Journal of Sociology and Social Research" to be published thrice a year. He asked me to contribute articles for it and also to be on the panel of co-operating editors. My realization of my limited abilities had fortunately led me to handle only one thing at a time. As I was already committed, by then for full two years to the *Sociological Bulletin* of the Indian Sociological Society, I could not oblige him.

It was about this time, to the best of my recollection, the letter bearing no date, that I received a quite welcome letter, written in the best of spirit, and jolly good mood, by Dr. Eugene P. Link who had met me some months earlier. Dr. Link, who was the Chairman of the Social Science Division of the State Teachers College of New York, with his wife and three children,

had been on a tour of Asia and more particularly of India. Its contents in the context of international citizenship and supranational ties are worthy to be read by a wider public in India. Dr. Link begins thus: "This is a letter of greeting to you and to let you know that the Link family arrived home safely after belting this shrinking globe of ours.... You can be sure we will never forget the eventful year we had with our many new friends in Asia. It was the best year of our lives, and we include the year preceding our marriage. Your country and people taught us so very much and hence deepened our insights and wisdom... This week we are giving our first program, father and the boys in their jabbas and dhotis, mother in her saree, Perry with his South Indian drum, and Martha in dance costume doing Bharata Natyam. It is imperative that my country learns more about yours and becomes more appreciative of the art and culture of the great people of the East. Accordingly, I am trying to 'globalize' our courses (papers) in Social Science... So you see, we feel in debt to you for your patience and kindness to a visiting professor and his family. We shall show our appreciation by working hard to advance in our country knowledge and goodwill toward India."

I was trying to cut all outside professional expenses in view of my financial situation, owing to my daughter, who having been called to the Bar in London, was to try to establish herself as an advocate of the Bombay High Court on her return in August 1954. I therefore resigned my membership of the Bombay Asiatic Society, after thirty years of association with it as its member, having been about twenty years a member of its Managing Committee.

In April, the late Dr. Kapadia, who was then getting the *Ghurye Felicitation Volume* ready for the press, handed over to me the following letter from Prof. Robert K. Merton of Columbia University, which he had received towards the end of March (1954): "Dear Dr. Kapadia, No apologies would be adequate to this occasion. Here it is, many months since your kind letter of inquiry, and I have only now found your letter for hopelessly belated acknowledgement and reply. It's a great pity for I should have liked to be among those paying their tribute to Professor Ghurye. *His work has long been known in this country and has made him a symbol of sociological*

*creativity. This is only to tell you that my inexcusable oversight was not intended and that, in company with sociologists all over the world, I wish Professor Ghurye many more years of sociological contributions.”**

In the last week of November (1954) another addition to the complex of a teacher's joy occurred through a postcard from Mr. S. Swaroop, a former student of Sociology at the School. It reads: “Respected Dr. Ghurye, I hope you will kindly recollect that I was your student during 1941-43. I was in Bombay during the last summer for a few months and I called at your office to see you and pay my respects. But it so happened that each and every time I missed you. I shall never forget as to how kind and good you were to me. Since I left the School I have taught at Aitchison Chiefs College, Lahore and the Doon School and College at Dehra Dun and been a Rehabilitation Officer and also Labour Welfare Officer. I am also a member of the Indian Science Congress Association and hope to attend its session (next) in Baroda. I hope you will also be coming. Any service which I can do from here?”

In the same week of November, I received an apologetic letter from an American student, who had registered himself for the Ph.D. degree of Bombay, working under my guidance, and had, after more than three terms, left me and the University, owing to financial stringency, which it appears, was brought about by the U.S.A. educational authorities in India. It is very interesting for all Indians and illuminating for my dealings with students. I quote almost two-thirds of it for the significant contents: “Seriously, I wish to thank you for all that you did for me while I was at the University. Without your acceptance of me I would not have been able to even start my work in Badlapur, which I feel will be so important. I am sorry that financial reasons made me drop out from the School, but at that time I could see no other choice, for I just didn't have money. I was fortunate in receiving both grants and loans to cover my expenses from January to September. Most of the sources were interested because of the work in demography and

* Italics mine.

family planning which I did.* I do feel that a lot was accomplished which will bring forth fruit later on. I am now busy with my translation of Nanasahib's book. I feel certain that it will be published in English here, for several leading publishers are already interested. I must annotate it and also rearrange some of the materials, plus do a general editing job on it. It will afford Nanasahib the recognition which he has long deserved from the non-Marathi reading audience of the world. I plan it to be the first in a series which I plan on the materials which I gathered in my research work in Badlapur. [This was the material to be worked up into the projected Ph.D. thesis]. *When I say that my stay in your country means a great deal to me, both academically intellectually and personally, I am serious.* I admire India and hope that someday I shall again be privileged by being able to return and renew old friendships [The book Morrison refers to is *Badlapur*, a village study by the late Dr. Nanasahib G. Chapekar. To the best of my knowledge neither of the books of the series promised by Morrison has materialized so far!] If there is anything I can do for you over here, Sir, please do let me know. I shall deem it an honor to be of service... Very sincerely yours, William A. Morrison".

My friend A. A. A. Fyze in response to Dr. Kapadia's invitation again congratulated me saying *inter alia* "Throughout your life you have been an uncompromising critic, a scientific scholar wedded to the highest ideals. I know how difficult it is to do so by my own sad experiences".

On the 61st birthday Dr. Kapadia successfully managed to have the *Ghurye Felicitation Volume* presented to me at an impressively warm function. But I could not enjoy the occasion fully owing to the fact that Kapadia had to be absent. He was, I was sorry to know, down with high temperature. Immediately after the function I went straight to his residence, climbing up three difficult staircases of the building, and was relieved to know from him and Mrs. Kapadia that my friend

* I must point out here that neither Mr. Morrison, the writer of this letter, had informed me of his working for the Family Planning Organization or Unit or Centre, by whatever name it was then known, before taking up that work nor, strange to say or write, had the organization contacted me before or after entrusting their work to a foreigner!

** Italics mine.

Dr. Vad had examined Dr. Kapadia the previous evening and that his medicines had already shown remarkable improvement in his condition. They told me that Vad had assured them that though the attack was severe it was not very serious and that he expected him to be better in four or five days.

The beginning of 1955 brought me two American invitations of membership of two learned societies: the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and American Eugenics Society Inc. My reaction to them, being dictated by considerations of economy, was negative.

A new University Act came into force. Taking advantage of it I successfully got Sociology separated from Economics and Politics. Till then there was in the University only a composite Board of Studies for these three disciplines together. It used to be a hard job to get any change passed, and not infrequently the assessors for theses, too, used to be finally decided by non-Sociologists. My move to get Sociology asunder resulted in Politics, till then the youngest Department in the University, too, being separated. With a separate Board of Studies in Sociology operating in the University, I got the second change made in the syllabus which remained operative till 1970. Industrial Sociology and Urban Sociology figured in the syllabus for the first time with this change.

The year, however, began for me with my active participation in the annual function of the Students' Union in the Convocation Hall, that being my first such participation in the seventeen or eighteen years of its occurrence. Sir Naoroji Wadia was the Vice-Chancellor and T. T. Krishnamachari, of the Union Ministry—I forget if he then was in charge of the Finance Ministry or not but I remember that some newspapers had flashed the news that he was soon going to retire from Government Office—was the Chief Guest. By some mistake or chance I was asked to thank the guest at the end of the function. Prof. Vakil, the Director of the School and the President of the Union welcoming the invitees and in particular the Chief Guest criticised some of the economic programmes of the Union Government. Mr. Krishnamachari in his address as the Chief Guest went all out to prove Prof. Vakil's contentions to be all baseless or wrong. In his gallant defence he dilated very eloquently on the splendid and numerous opportunities of high class employment

and of national service to economists and students of Economics. Mr. Krishnamachari could thereby take his seat amid applause in the satisfaction of having demolished Prof. Vakil's case against Government's economic policy.

And then came my turn to thank the Chief Guest and the invitees. Somehow I felt in me my satirical vein taking a kind of humorous turn. Rising up I began by jocularly bringing together the reported soon-to-be departure of Mr. Krishnamachari from the Union Government and the impending retirement of the Vice-Chancellor as well as my for-the-time-deferred retirement as something like a configuration! Then in the same vein I thanked Mr. Krishnamachari and his Government for the economic and service avenues they had opened out for my colleagues, students and teachers both, in the Economics Department. I congratulated my colleagues, both students and teachers for their good fortune, and assured them with all my earnestness and sincerity that "we, the teachers and the students in the sister Department of Sociology not only feel great joy at the good fortune of our colleagues but also look upon their good fortune as our own, and forget our misfortune in not having similar opportunities in that vicarious delight. We of the Sociology Department wish continuance of the same luck to our colleagues, and go on employing our skill and energies in such tasks as we think important and within our means and capacities. And we pray to God that the national ventures of the Planning Commission, which eschews Sociologists, may not go astray and bring our awry results". While I was on my legs the audience reacted with periodic laughs and when I sat down there was great applause. Mr. Krishnamachari smiled a gracious smile at me and the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Naoroji Wadia, to whose left I was sitting, turned his head towards me and warmly indicated his approval!

The utter neglect of Sociology, in spite of very significant work having been accomplished in the Departments at Bombay and Lucknow had impressed me when I took a survey of the three Social Sciences of Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology for the International Sociological Association in 1950. I had presented my report in 1951 and I believe it got published by the UNESCO in a brochure, along with similar surveys of Economics and Politics by others, sometime in 1954 or 1956 (?). I

must quote here the one paragraph which expresses the situation of Sociology: "India has not had her Martin White or Nuffield; and Sociology has failed to receive any financial help from private munificence. Even the Government has not seen it fit to endow or help forward Sociology. The avenues of employment open to students, who have done sociology by papers or pursued a course of research and turned out a good Ph.D. thesis, are just the same as for students of history or literature. The special fields where sociologists were likely to have openings, are the various social services and welfare activities. With three centres, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi training students in social work, these special fields, which are opening out more and more, have tended to be manned by the trainees of the social work Institutes. Nevertheless there is a great enthusiasm in the student world for Sociology. With Sociology Departments organized under their own Professors as separate units and some financial aid offered it should be easily possible to double the number of learners of Sociology and pursuers of Sociological research in two or three years. The progress of Sociology in the University of Bombay in spite of the fact that it is tacked on to the Economics Department clearly shows this."

In 1951-52 there was an American advanced student, an Assistant Professor in an American University as I came to know later, working on some project in the Economics Department of the School. Very late in his sojourn at the School, almost on the eve of his departure for the States, he had dropped in into my room with someone who had introduced him. He had a talk with me for sometime. I was impressed by him and it appears he had found in me something to attract him to me. For he came once again and had a much longer talk with me, at the end of which, while leaving my room, he had profusely thanked me and had said something like this: "I am very happy to have met you and I am very sorry that it did not occur to me much earlier to contact you. I have found in you real stuff, closer contact with which would have been to my advantage." I had taken it as 'arthavada' as Sanskritists call it, i.e. as formal suavity of a farewell, though it was too emphatically and unreservedly spoken. But later actions of the gentleman conclusively proved that the core of it represented

his conviction. Dr. Morris David Morris, the gentleman, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics, University of Washington, Seattle, not only sent me a letter wishing me long life when he came to know of the celebrations of my birthday but in April 1955 he wrote to me a letter and sent me a most appropriate present. The letter reads: "Dear Professor Gurye [Ghurye], you will probably not recall me, a Fulbright grantee at the School in 1951-52. However, I was brought to you by Dr. Sita Poovaih [I remember her as one of Dr. Thoothi's students, though I think I had met her once or twice at Prof. K. T. Shah's place] and I had the benefit of long discussions with you. I had hoped that I would be able to send you a copy of the volume on which I was working while in India. However, its date of publication gets pushed ever further into the future. Instead, as a token of esteem and respect I have sent you two books by David Riesman, one of our more scintillating sociologists. I hope that you will find them interesting and accept them with my very deep admiration, most cordially yours....."

In the last week of the year (1955) I was very glad to read a letter from my former pupil Dr. M. S. A. Rao, the most unassuming and gentle and one of the most deserving of my students. It brought me the news that at long last he had got what was his due really speaking at least two years earlier. He was appointed a Lecturer in Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics. Dr. Rao, giving me this glad tidings, forgot neither to enlighten me on the kind of syllabus he had to handle, nor to tell me that he was quite well prepared to cope with it. He says: "I find some of the lectures I prepared there quite handy. I remember your saying 'nothing is a waste'..... With kind regards and respects."

The year 1955, however, for me is remembered over and over again for Dr. John Matthai's arrival as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Dr. Matthai has been talked about in my family as the 'saviour' of my academic career from being a failure in spite of all intellectual achievement and of all gratitude of all the students that came to learn Sociology at the School of Economics and Sociology. For it was he who separated the Department of Sociology and thus freed it from its bondage to the Department of Economics. He had given indications to me very soon after he had taken charge of the University, when

I had occasion to meet him, that he appreciated my work and was ill at ease about my situation in the School. It appears he had come to the University more or less determined to separate the Departments. In the turn of events, he having left the University within a year of the separate existence of the Department of Sociology, I and my family concluded that he had come to it almost only to free my Department and enable me to retire with the utmost satisfaction of a fulfilled academic career and not with the distress of a frustrated one, which would otherwise have been my lot!

When Dr. Matthai made his proposal for the separation in the Syndicate I happened to be one of its members. It was clear to me from talks of friends, both in the Syndicate and outside, that gentle pressure was attempted to be brought to bear on the Vice-Chancellor through two rather delicate channels. Dr. Matthai, who had proved impervious to them, had proceeded with his proposal without hesitation or any modification. Friends of Prof. Vakil — Prof. Vakil, too, was a member of the Syndicate — to save the prestige of their friend had decided to fight the proposal tooth and nail. One of them, the leader of a group of five or six in the Syndicate, seeing that arguments about efficiency of an established order etc. would not make any dent in the Vice-Chancellor's front, thought of clinching the issue by calling the proposal for separation Balkanization of the University. At this Dr. Matthai flared up almost red hot; and the Syndic seeing that discretion was the better part of valour kept quiet. As if by previous arrangement, another of his lieutenants came forward to assuage the scene by gently suggesting that the separation, though desirable, can be and should be put off till the Centenary celebrations of the University, which were to take place in February 1957, were over. At this the Vice-Chancellor in an agitated mood declared that the situation brooked no delay and the separation here and now was the only course to adopt. The proposal then was passed; and I felt relief and joy, the kind of which I have experienced only twice or thrice.

The other important event of 1955 is the realization of an intellectual dream entertained the longest as it was coeval with my idea of the *Caste and Race* book. It was also one which had derived its inspiration directly from Rivers' own work.

It was thus much longer unfulfilled than even that of the Caste book and much more so of the Costume book. Unlike both these books the subject of the new book was being handled and studied by me in some of its aspects from time to time, through the preparation for my students' theses. Thus Karandikar's *Hindu Exogamy* thesis of 1927 and Dr. Kapadia's thesis *Hindu Kinship* of 1937, both carried my ideas further and brought me face to face with data relevant for some aspects of the book of my dream and sent me searching for more. The preparation of my presidential address to the Bombay Anthropological Society of 1946 had advanced me still further in the use of literary sources for elucidating the subject I had planned to deal with in my book. My trip to London for reading in the British Museum had furthered my project towards fruition. Thus the book was forming by slow process of accretion and stratification in the matter of data and their synthesis. In its actualization into a manuscript of the book, too, the same process was at work. Three chapters of it were already dictated in 1943 and 1944. To the best of my recollection when I wrote my last chapter, the chapter that stands last in the book, in 1952 or 1953 I had not to change much in the chapters dictated almost a decade before. In actual fact the first chapter was written last, the subject matter of which is such that it can stand by itself and therefore not likely to have caused any occasion for change of what is contained in the other chapters. The manuscript of the book *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* came to be submitted to the University and its publishers in 1954. And the book was published late in 1955. And I felt relieved of one promise to myself made more than thirty years before and of my debt to my teacher W. H. R. Rivers from whose work I had derived my inspiration for it.

The reception that *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* received was spread over the three years 1956-58 and was thus longer in time spread, and, what was gratifying to me, was also more positive and came from much better authorities on the subject than was the case with *Caste and Race*.

Mr. Samuel Matthai, later Vice-Chancellor of Travancore University, writing about the book in the *Leader* of Allahabad (20-5-56) ended his review thus: "[The author] finds that entirely different laws governing family relationships and the

inheritance of property rose in more or less similar Economic backgrounds. If the author's conclusions are not invalidated by further study of this problem it would be an interesting commentary on human nature and would help to disprove the economic determinism which is taken for granted in so much of our thinking about society today. This is not a book that every one could read and enjoy as its style is not intended to be popular. It assumes some acquaintance with the general field of investigation before the reader comes to it. Nevertheless, with some effort, most people can read through this book and find the labour satisfying and rewarding." The review of the book in the *Statesman* of Calcutta (7-10-56) reads: "The book is important, for in it for the first time an Indian scholar has studied the family problems of classical Greece and Rome and related them to those of the Indo-Aryan culture. The book is scholarly, for it is written by Dr. Ghurye, *doyen of Indian anthropologists*, a man of wide reading and profound knowledge. *With this book he will take his place with Maine, de Coulanges, Hearn and Rivers as having made outstanding contributions to the history of the family in the world culture.*"*

June 1956 saw me and my Department settled in a block of five rooms in a row on the ground floor of the East Wing of the University building. And in August I received another letter from a research student who had taken up a teaching post, that of a Lecturer in Sociology in Rural Institute, Vidya Bhavan, Udaipur, which was to train students for a National Diploma in Rural Services. In the four-page letter, Dr. K. C. Panchanadikar, who had worked under my guidance and had successfully submitted his thesis entitled "Causation in Human Society" for Ph.D. late in 1955, detailed the syllabus of the three-year course, going through which the students were entitled to appear for an "All-India Public Examination conducted by the Central Education Ministry" and ended his letter with: "The Rural Institute has started work today [15-8-1956]. The classes have been organised and the lecture work will start from tomorrow morning.....*So on the eve of this occasion I am sort of meditating, over the fund of knowledge you passed on to us, as also the way you gave things such that it liberated the mind*

* Italics mine.

and intellect to reflect over all the thoughts one received, in a critical though modest a manner. I shall always remember that a teacher's job is not just to lead the minds of the pupils with the weight of the accumulated material. Liberation would be induced from mind to mind, only when one has caught up the inspiration, when one has closely reflected and has actually realised knowledge. I shall remember your very tone with which you spoke about the 'soul of Babylon' or 'Hammurabi standing to give his [?] Laws to his people' ... One will try one's best to be a good pupil of Ghurye and like a real pupil would try to blaze the trail still further and brighter... When I ask for your blessing I really meant it; for one had always felt the responsibility of discharging the 'gururina' ['one's debt to one's preceptor'] that one owed you. If one has benefited by taking your name as your pupil one wishes and will try one's best to further enhance your glory by your being called later as one's Preceptor... Oh! I have spoken slightly too much and you may not like this somewhat by-passing of restraint!* ... Once more asking for your good wishes and paying you one's respect and regards, yours sincerely ..."

Mr. William A. Morrison, the American student who as I have mentioned earlier returned to U.S.A. without having submitted his thesis for our Ph.D. degree, had sometime before the above date passed his Ph.D. examinations in his American University in Connecticut. I received a letter from him, dated August 29, 1956, intimating the event, which ended with: "*Every six months when the copy of the Sociological Bulletin arrives is always a happy day for me, for I find the articles therein of such interest. It certainly proves a vehicle of sociological knowledge.*" I hope that both you and Mrs. Ghurye are in the best of health. I remember with great pleasure the tea party at your home. Mrs. Ghurye should certainly exploit her culinary prowess. [My wife had, as a matter of fact, published a booklet entitled "Some Recipes" written in Marathi in 1948, which was already out of print]. My sincere regards to you both. Respectfully yours ..."

In December (7-12-56) I received a letter signed by the Rector—the office created by the University Act of 1954 proved too

* Italics mine.

short-lived as it was abolished in 1968—forwarding a letter which the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Matthai had received from Dr. W. Norman Brown, Chairman, South Asia Regional Studies, the Graduate School of Arts Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, along with its accompaniments and asking me to return them with my remarks. On the 10th December 1956 I sent the following letter to the Rector: "I am in general agreement with the scheme, which is a very ambitious one but worthwhile. I may point out that on a very modest scale I have been trying to do something of that kind in my Haveli Taluka Urbanization study; and Dr. Kapadia's Navsari investigation is also more or less on the same lines. I may remind you that in October 1955, the Vice-Chancellor had asked me to put up a small scheme of research to be forwarded to the Ford Foundation. I prepared one small scheme and submitted it to him; he questioned me on some aspects of it and having felt satisfied, had talks about it with some important personalities in New Delhi. On his return from there, he asked me to elaborate the scheme which I did and it extended over about 20 pages of typescript matter. He took to it very kindly and put it in the hands of the Chairman of the Planning Commission. That scheme was a modest expansion of the scheme of studies above referred to, viz., those of Haveli Taluka and of Navsari area. If the scheme had been implemented, it would have formed an organic part of the more ambitious scheme proposed by Prof. Brown in his letter and its accompaniments.

In this connection I should like to make two observations. First, Prof. Brown is mainly an Indologist, who is known for his work on Jain miniatures, books and manuscripts. Second, at the risk of being personal, I should narrate my personal experience which might have the value of a historical setting for the proposals of Prof. Brown. Towards the end of January 1952, I received a telegram from Shri Chadbourne Gilpatric, Assistant Director of Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation, who was then at Poona, that he wanted to meet me to discuss a scheme of research. He met me in my room in the next two or three days and spoke to me about the scheme and wanted to know if there were adequately trained people whom I can put on the scheme and carry it out. I invited him to meet some of these people, who could be available, the next day or the

day after. I introduced to him Dr. L. N. Chapekar and one or two others, whose names I do not remember now, and Shri Gilpatric was fully satisfied. He wrote to me a letter from New Delhi on the eve of his departure from India, dated March 4, 1952, from which I quote the following relevant passage: "In two days we start back to New York where I'll be in my office after March 20. There are many hypotheses and problems growing out of this interesting four months' visit to India I want to discuss with my colleagues. Prominent on the agenda is the kind of contemporary cultural description for which you are so remarkably qualified. I hope to write you in a month or so about the reactions of my colleagues and give you a more definite response than I was able to in our talks together in Bombay." Four years and nine months have lapsed since the above passage was written and I have not had the communication promised, either from Shri Gilpatric or from the Foundation.

In view of all this, our participation in the scheme should have to depend on the nature and amount of co-operation sought for and the terms and conditions offered. I should like to stress the view that such an investigation must be thorough; for it will be looked upon as the most authoritative source of information. To achieve the veracity and finality that such a work should be assured about, I think the scheme will have to be spread over at least 5 years, if not 7.

If you or the Vice-Chancellor, would like me to discuss any particular aspect of the scheme or the co-operation, I shall be most glad to do so."

The Vice-Chancellor or the Rector did not call me for any discussion or explanation. The Vice-Chancellor must have asked the Rector to write to Dr. Brown to contact me directly. For I received a letter from Dr. Brown, — written from where I cannot say as the letter does not bear any place-name unless the letterhead which reads 'University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4' specifies it — dated December 29, 1956. The first two paragraphs of the letter state the objective and the source of funds: They are: "The South Asia Regional Studies Department of the University of Pennsylvania has for some time been

discussing *the idea of studying India by regions*.^{*} We have felt that a suitable beginning might be the study of two regions, for this purpose we have thought of the regions of Gujarat and Maharashtra. For such a study to be undertaken profitably it is necessary that a good deal of thinking should go into the preliminary planning. A method needs to be worked out which conforms to modern standards of research in the social sciences and the humanities. Further, such a study would have to be undertaken with the cooperation of Indian institutions and scholars, and I should suppose with the approval of the Government of India. *Recently the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant to the University of Pennsylvania* [This would explain why I did not hear from Mr. Gilpatric as I have stated in my letter to the Rector reproduced above!] *to investigate the possibilities of making such a study*.^{*} We have been consulting with various American and Indian scholars on this matter. I am enclosing for you a statement of our thinking as far as it has advanced [This is the longish statement figuring in this book as Appendix II].^{*} He informed me *inter alia* that he would be in Bombay on January 13 and would very much like to meet me on the 14th or 15th. Dr. R. D. Lambert, a Social Scientist of Pennsylvania University, who had been intermittently visiting India during six or seven years before and who was at that time working on a research project of his own at Poona for over a year and had established wide connections with the scholars there, dropped into my room not more than a day after my receipt of Dr. Brown's letter and settled with me that Dr. Brown was to meet me on the 14th in my chamber at the University.

On the 14th Dr. Brown was kind enough to come with Dr. Lambert and we settled down to a talk which went round and round about things other than the one for which the meeting was fixed. The upshot of Dr. Brown's talk was that he would like me to expound and expand the statement of his project that he had sent me. The task I told him was both a big one and a difficult one, difficult because the ultimate purpose that Dr. Brown had in view would determine to a

^{*} *Italics mine.* A copy of the scheme was sent to me. It is reproduced in Appendix II.

great extent both an explanation and an expansion if any. I also told him that it was too much to expect of me to go all out in that manner, without letting me know the role that Dr. Brown wanted me and/or the Department to play in the entire scheme. I also told him that it appeared to me that the scheme as envisaged in his statement would require five years or even more to be worked out. Evidently Dr. Brown was not prepared to divulge much but wanted me to think aloud for him. As I was not prepared to play that role just then, it was agreed that Dr.(s) Brown and Lambert would meet me on the 22nd of January after Dr. Brown had surveyed the Poona field and met the scholars there. I agreed and the meeting ended.

Knowing Dr. Lambert's wide connections in Poona and the advantages of Poona climate I did not expect Dr. Brown to meet me again, unless he was very keen on including in the very first part of his scheme Gujarat region. The expected happened but in a phased manner. On 22nd January at 4 p.m. I received a letter from Dr. Lambert, dated 18th January 1957 postponing the "scheduled discussion" and stating "I think we can more fruitfull[y] discuss the matter further when our own plans and resources become clear. I hope you will permit me to see you again sometime in the Spring". And that "spring" for that "seeing again" did not come. Thus ended abortively for me Dr. Brown's grand scheme. Three or four years later we read in the papers that the Brown mission had established an American School in Poona. I am sorry to say that I have not come across the implementation of Dr. Brown's original scheme and I have not cared to make deep inquiries in the matter.

February 1957 saw the centenary celebration of the *alma mater*. The Department of Sociology, recently freed from its bondage, took a leading part in them. The singing group of the Department carried off the highest honours for group-singing in which groups from most of the constituent Colleges had taken part. Among the special visitors to the University on that occasion there was one American educationist by name Francis J. Brown, designated Staff Associate, American Council of Education. One day as I was just getting ready to leave my chamber to deliver my lecture to the M.A. class, in walked Dr. Brown. After five minutes talk I had to tell him that I had a class to engage and I must leave for the classroom.

Thereupon Dr. Brown expressed a desire to attend the lecture; and I said certainly; come along". I asked for a chair for him to sit but he declined to take it and sat on the students' bench. Through the 45 minutes of the lecture I found him very attentive. After the lecture, as Dr. Brown and I walked into my room, Dr. Brown profusely complimented me and equally warmly I thanked him. With all the thanksgiving of Dr. Brown, which I had believed to be sincere from his attitude in the classroom, I must say I felt a pleasant and mild surprise when I received his letter of April 11, 1957. I will allow it to speak: "Dear Professor Ghurye: The long and very interesting trek is over and I am back again in my office. With the accumulation of work resulting from my long absence, it is only now that I have an opportunity to thank you for permitting me to sit in your lecture at the University. It was extremely interesting and I much enjoyed it. I was also glad to have an opportunity to talk with you afterwards in your office. When my new book, "Sociology, with Application to Nursing and Health Education", is off the press about June, I will ask the publisher to send you a copy for me. You will note that I have given a section of one chapter to the topic that you were discussing the day I had the privilege of visiting your class. If you come to the United States, I certainly hope that I may have the opportunity of renewing our friendship. Sincerely yours . . ."

A week after this very pleasant experience Dr. W. Eberhard, describing himself as of the Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkley, then resident in Lahore, Pakistan, as a Visiting Professor as I recollect, walked into my room about 12 noon without previous appointment. I was, however, unruffled and I welcomed him and we entered into a dialogue. Soon we branched off into the utility of such 'visiting visits', particularly as they were then for the most part, arranged, there being American 'visitors' and 'Indians', 'Pakistanis' and 'South East Asians' being the 'visited'. I put it to Dr. Eberhard that the process appeared to be one-sided like a ship going tilted and I felt that like the latter it would breakup. In the alternative if the 'visited' looked upon these 'visits' as 'colonialism in embryo' what answer can one make, I asked. As Dr. Eberhard's lunch-hour had arrived he nodded assent and left for

the Taj Mahal Hotel posthaste with a sort of a promise or threat to return for a longer talk.

The next day I found on my table an envelope with the 'Taj'-mark and I opened it without waiting to sit down at ease for a minute or two as I do. It was a letter in typescript from my 'intruding visitor' of the previous day, and dated, from Taj Mahal Hotel, April 23, 1957. It read: "Dear Professor Ghurye, I am sorry I cannot stay longer in Bombay to continue the short talk. I was allowed to have with you this morning. The catalogue [The Handbook of the Department of Sociology], which you kindly gave me, has clarified many questions, I had, but there are more and new questions. I would have liked to discuss with you; perhaps, it will be possible another time to do this. Your remarks made me think about several points. *You are right, that a real international understanding and a real exchange of knowledge and experience should be two-sided and not one-sided.** As I said, we come to your country not as 'colonialists' (I do not think, that any American ever felt that way), but in order to learn, to learn from our colleagues in your country, whether what we believe we have found by studying our own society and not all human society."

I may mention that when Prof. E. A. Shils of Chicago University had come, three or four years before, to study the equipment of our 'intellectuals' and the part they play in national affairs, he had to admit to me that no such study was made of U.S.A. 'intellectuals' by any one in the States till then. If Dr. Eberhard had met me again I would have placed this fact before him; but I did not care to spend my time and money to convey that contradiction in American intellectual faith and practice to him by post. The episode of Dr. W. Brown of Pennsylvania I have detailed at length a little before offers another instance.

I would not be fair to American intellectuals if I do not mention that perhaps, before the era of Ford Foundation occupation of New Delhi they tended to practice what Dr. Eberhard contends was the rule then. Here is a letter of April 15, 1951, I had received from Dr. Ralph Turner of Yale, a historian of the new School of History initiated by James Harvey Robinson

* Italics mine.

and J. H. Breasted. "Dear Professor Ghurye: I thank you very much for the kind remembrance which led to your sending me the splendid gift of your book "Indian Costume". Both Mrs. Turner and I find it most interesting. It occupies a place of prominence among a small collection of works we have made in Indian art, literature and folklore. I hope you will give me your views on a problem which concerns me very much. I put it in the following terms: Changes are now occurring in India which gives the individual the right and means to participate in making political decisions. These changes also make possible the easy changing of occupation and profession by the individual, or, in other words, social mobility is increasing. At the same time the state is more and more regarded as a service institution. It is developing new functions such as the providing of education, the protecting of health, the organizing of scientific research, and the planning of economic developments. These functions aim partly to increase national power and partly to raise the standard of living of individuals. These changes move along nationalistic, democratic, socialistic, scientific, and humanitarian lines. The problem which interests me is to find the intellectual justifications which Indian scholars and publicists give for these changes. Are theories being borrowed from the west with regard for their agreement or disagreement with traditional Hindu beliefs and practices? Are Hindu Beliefs and practices, consequently, being abandoned or are parts of them being restated so that they support the changes? Are precedents in Indian history for democracy, social mobility, socialism, and scientific research being brought forward to justify the changes? Are there a few books or articles dealing with such questions? What is the source of the new concern with raising standards of living and education

To return to Dr. Eberhard's letter, Dr. Eberhard continues: "I would certainly enjoy to see Indian scholars and students to come over to us to study our society. You are right, that this is not usually done, and I hope that your Government will find the means to send to our country scholars who will do just this, as our Government and more so our Universities do send people from our country and finance their stay in India. Naturally, Indian and other foreign students, who come to study in our Universities (and the U. of California has some 50 of them

from India alone), could study our country. But they usually prefer to write their theses on India or their home country instead of studying our society. It is so much easier for them: ... It might be, that a change could be achieved, if students before they leave, were told to pay attention to the country to which they go for study. Perhaps, here is a possibility which should be brought to the attention of the authorities, University and others, including the Fulbright Committee. I wish, we could have had the time, to discuss these problems, which are very much at my heart, more in detail. Sincerely yours ..."

One commotion in University circles, much more serious in the academic annals and order than the one that had occurred soon after my entering on my career in the University service, ended tragically in 1957. Dr. Krishna Prasad Mukerjee, who was a Professor in Colombo University, was appointed Professor of Politics and Head of the Department of Politics and Civics in our University in 1952, when the Department was only three years old. He soon got popular both with the students and the teachers of his Department and was on very warm terms of behaviour with Prof. Vakil, the Director of the triadic School. But in 1955, to our outsiders' knowledge very mild, bickerings, Departmental and/or super-Departmental between Mukerjee and Vakil, were taking place. They grew rather loud just before the separation of the Departments in June 1956. Somehow after 'independence' the rupture between Prof. Mukerjee and his two lady-colleagues of his Department convulsed the University. The Vice-Chancellor intervened but to no purpose. The acrimonious quarrel came up to the Syndicate, as a member of which body at that time I got and read all the papers. I do not like the incident. I don't think anyone of those involved in it — and I must most reluctantly include among them the Vice-Chancellors too — comes out quite clear. There was a one-man committee; there was a report by the committee and all the paraphernalia of a condemning procedure. The end of all that labour was that Dr. Mukerjee's contract with the University came to be summarily terminated and Dr. Mukerjee was asked to go with six months' salary, I believe. By the beginning of the academic year 1957-58 Mukerjee was out of the University: If I am correctly informed Prof. Mukerjee within a year or two went back to his old

Ceylonese University and has been doing very well there.

Soon after the Mukerjee episode ended but before its echoes had died down, there arose another storm in the academic sphere, the kind of which, it appears, had not occurred before in the annals of the University. Coming as it did immediately after the official celebrations of the centenary of the University one feels tribulations; for it may forbode the onset of a new era of conflict or commotion! I refer to the incident which soon after I ceased to be in the University service and a member of the Syndicate, ostensibly ended in the University taking disciplinary action against Prof. G. N. Lawande of Wilson College and an accredited teacher of the University, which cost him his job in his College. Later there were repercussions of this action in the High Court of Bombay, Dr. Lawande having filed a suit against the Syndicate. After some hearing, at the instance of the Hon'ble Judge, before whom the case came up for decision, the matter, was more or less amicably and, I think, with honours more or less easy on both sides, settled in Court in 1964. I learn that Prof. Lawande is doing well as a University teacher in Goa.

I celebrated the centenary of my *alma mater* by piloting successfully five Ph.D. theses in 1957, the highest number of such theses submitted successfully in a single year. They were: (1) Social Organization in a Refugee Population; (2) Communication of Ideas through Adult Education in India; (3) Son Kolis of Bombay; (4) Hindu Social Types; and (5) An Ecological Study of the City of Delhi. The last three of these were later published as books.

The last thesis, that on Delhi, apart from being the second one on Urban Sociology done under my guidance, has an interesting history: Its reception, too, was highly favourable. Its author Dr. Albert Bopegamage, a Ceylonese by nationality, came to me through the channel of the Education Ministry of the Government of India. Dr. Bopegamage was a scholar of the Government of India and had taken his M.A. degree in Anthropology at Calcutta. When he came to me he expressed his desire to do fieldwork among the Nagas of Assam for his Ph.D. thesis. I was rather surprised that he should have left Calcutta and come to Bombay, when he could have more conveniently and even efficiently done the work in Calcutta,

wherefrom he could have visited the area of his study quite frequently and tapped the archives in the Assam and Bengal Secretariat. But having accepted the charge from the Union Education Ministry it would have been very bad for me to decline to guide Mr. Bopegamage at that stage. Resigning myself to my fate and blaming my lack of foresight in not getting the Ministry committed to my choice of a topic, I proceeded in the matter in the only manner possible and proper too. I got Bopegamage to read more and more of human geography and in our discussion I went on, in the Geddesian way, to impress upon him the great achievement made or the great defeat sustained by human society in its modification of its habitat in the shape of cities. I discovered during these talks that Bopegamage had not only read about the London post-War reconstruction but also had a superior type of ability in reading maps of cities. At that time I was engaged on my paper, a little later published in the *Sociological Bulletin*, 1956, entitled *Cities: Their Natural History*. Our discussion happily led Mr. Bopegamage to a study of Delhi. And thus was one intending to study the easternmost Nagas turned to a study of an historical city of the North, the present capital of the country.

Dr. Bopegamage's thesis was accepted for the award of the Ph.D. degree I believe sometime late in 1956 but he could manage to take the degree only in 1957 and his thesis has been accredited to 1957 in the records. That Bopegamage was working on some problems of Delhi had got known in Delhi to some of the American specialists, who had by then been requisitioned by the Ford Foundation or the Government for study and advice on Delhi's urban problems. Dr. Bopegamage was approached by two or three persons from Delhi, as he told me later, for a copy of his thesis and he had told them that it was being revised for publication, though by that time the manuscript had gone to the press. When Dr. B. F. Hoselitz of Ford Foundation wrote to Dr. Bopegamage from Delhi about the end of October 1957 for his copy of the work, Dr. Bopegamage wrote to him that he would send him a complimentary copy of the book "when it is out". Evidently the Ford experts did not leave Bopegamage in peace to do the work I had entrusted him with as my Research Assistant when he went to

Poona on account of the assignment. For, Bopegamage wrote to me from Poona as on 18th February 1958 a letter. The following extract from it bespeaks so: "I hope you will kindly take back my thesis from the Reading Room and keep it with you for some time. If not someone may pilfer it. I smell it. It is perhaps for the third time I have received a letter from the leader of the Ford Foundation team asking me to send a copy of my thesis as it is 'urgently required' and is absolutely necessary and if it has not been published he would "make arrangements to obtain access to the thesis" (looks like an American threat)."

Dr. K. N. Venkatarayappa's thesis of 1953, too, got published in 1957 under the title "Bangalore: A Socio-Ecological Study". Both this and Dr. Bopegamage's "Delhi: A Study in Urban Sociology" formed part of the University Series in Sociology. Both of them have been out of print for quite sometime.

The Hindu (Madras) of May 22, 1960, gave a longish review to the two books together. It ended thus: "We heartily commend these two outstanding studies of urban sociology to the attention of sociologists and city-planners in India. It is refreshing to note the stress on the need for rural setting and atmosphere in planning and developing cities in India. We congratulate the Bombay University on having published these two very useful and stimulating studies. We hope that similar studies will be made of other cities and towns."

The last week of August brought me what I think to be the last letter from my affectionate student Dr. G. M. Mehkri, whom I missed and who, too, as all his behaviour during the last 23 years convinces me, has been missing me. Mehkri, a graduate of Mysore University, after taking his Diploma from the Tata School of Social Work came for my guidance. He came to me with the conviction that the theory of Jinnah that Muslims and Hindus of India were two nations was not correct; and he wanted to write a thesis to disprove the theory. Soon a deep perusal of relevant literature raised enough doubts about his conviction in Mehkri's mind and as his reading and discussion with me proceeded, he came to just the opposite conclusion that Muslims and Hindus were *two nations and not one*. The thesis embodying Mehkri's factual evidence and logical arguments was submitted under the title of *Social Back-*

ground of Hindu Muslim Relationship in 1947. Prof. Mujeeb, the present Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Milia of Delhi, who was the external referee, having approved of the thesis, Mr. Mehkri became Dr. Mehkri. Soon, however, he was lost to me.

When the 'partition' came Dr. Mehkri in the light of his discovery opted out for Pakistan just in time to be saved from the holocaust that occurred in the Muslim Mohalla of Delhi where he was living. From Karachi, Mehkri wrote to me altogether about 20 letters which spoke for his bleeding heart. In 1953 or 1954 when on some mission of a seminar or symposium he had at his disposal a few hours at the Santa Cruz airport, he was kind enough to call on me at my residence. He bowed down in his usual fashion and embracing me shed tears and told me his story of departure to Pakistan.

After 1954 Mehkri wrote a few more letters. The one that I have with me and before me while writing this is the one to which I have referred at the outset. It was written from Calcutta where for a year or more he was resident "as a temporary Associate Research Officer in the Research Centre under Prof. Vakil". Besides informing me about M. H. Haider's compliments to me which I have already mentioned, he writes therein: "I can't tell you at all about the feelings arising in me. I so much want to see you and to open my heart to you." What Dr. Mehkri was going to open his heart about to me has remained a secret with him as we have not been able to meet each other. I know this much from the recent evidence I got that Dr. Mehkri still has high regard for me and that still he is not quite at ease in his now-no-longer new surroundings.

One Mr. Gupta from U.P. phoned to me in August 1969 that he had a letter of introduction from Dr. G. M. Mehkri of Karachi and with that he wanted to see me. Well, Mehkri raises such strong emotion in my mind that I told him to come away and that if he came straight at that moment he would be quite welcome. The lad came and showed me the most flattering letter recommending to him me as the one person who can enlighten him on the subject he was seeking enlightenment in a matter of moments. I had a good talk with the lad who very much appreciated the glass of "piyush" which my wife knowing him to be Mehkri's friend gave him to drink.

Mr. Gupta, promising that he would see me next day at the University, went away with profuse praise and ample apology, but did not keep his promise.

My birthday in 1957 brought me, in addition to a warm and sumptuous tea-party from my current students, good wishes and hearty good news from over the oceans. Dr. K. C. Panchanadikar, whose letter from Udaipur I have already drawn upon, wrote to me from Cambridge, Mass. (U.S.A.): "It is really surprising how distance and time give perspective. This time from across the oceans, I have a feeling to greet and wish you on your birthday. So wish you a long, mature creative life... *One of the things that has quite struck me is that every sociologist in India must be India-oriented.** So one of the things I am gradually going to do is to read the work done so far in India and which else could be a good beginning than to start with yours."

In March 1958 I received evidence of appreciation of the work done in the Department of Sociology in South East Asia. Mr. A. Thavarajah, Statistician of the Department of Commerce and Statistics, Ceylon, put it in my hands through his letter of March, 1958. It reads: "I note from one of the United Nations brochures, a reference to '*a number of enquiries in the fields of anthropology, urbanisation and various social aspects of family and community life in India,**' carried out by the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay. I am interested in making a study of urbanisation in Ceylon, and would be thankful to you, if you could kindly send me reports of studies made by you on the subject. I also understand that you are at present *conducting an enquiry into town and country relations as part of a series of studies intended to shed light on the urbanisation process in areas where big cities are situated.** [This investigation it is that gets mentioned twice in my letter to the Rector which I wrote in reply to his query about Dr. W. Brown's proposal and which is reproduced in full above. Later the available data and results were published in two of my books: (1) *After a Century and a Quarter* and (2) *Anatomy of a Rururban Community.*] I would like to

* Italics mine.

have copies of questionnaire used in these enquiries, if a full report of the study is not available."

About the same time, i.e., either in February or March of 1958, I had the privilege of addressing a large audience in the fully packed hall of the Petit Library at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of that institution. Mr. M. C. Chagla, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, was the chief guest and President of the function. Mr. Chagla in a neat inaugural speech, in the midst of an excellent exhortation on the significance of an occasion like that, humourously referred to the kind of coverage it would receive in the newspapers. In his succinct account of the role of the society in the building up of collections like that of the Petit Library he happened not only to belittle but also to deprecate the role of Kings, etc. On my turn to speak I was in a fix because my whole speech I had intended to be a brief resume of the history of the practice of and passion for such collections of books and the great service they have done in the past in the accumulation and dissemination of both knowledge and tradition; and my view supported by history was that kings had played, from early history to about the first decade of the 20th century, a major role in this process. But ere long my ego had decided; and when I rose I began only with a formal expression about difference of opinion between us and straight went to speak of Assurbanipal of Assyria and his palace-library and how it had helped scholars to unravel a whole civilization. Thence on through the Indian kings, Rajput, Vijayanagar, Travancore, Tanjore Marathas, Mysore, to the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad, kings were known to have collected libraries, the manuscripts in which are still being edited and published. This noble business of the creation of Sarasvativilasas or Saradasadans was undertaken by private rich men and temples too. Having spoken on the significance of modern libraries as a fitting institution of a democratic age, I lamented the paucity of such collections in our country. Making a brief reference to the British Museum Library and the relative poverty of our collections, I turned to relate my debt to the Petit Library which, I found, possessed some books which even the Asiatic Society, Bombay, has not. In the end to emphasize the point Mr. Chagla had humourously mentioned I asked the audience to mark carefully the coverage

that the afternoon function of the Jubilee will get in the papers next morning and compare it with that the Filmfare function at the Taj held the other day, at which, too, the Chief Justice was the Chief Guest, had received. I assured them that they will notice a great contrast to the disadvantage of this Jubilee function, and will realize the distorted nature of the values entertained and nurtured by our present society.

In the M.A. class of 1953-54 there was one student whom I marked as having a tendency to do some little things likely to distract my attention and that of the students sitting behind and near him. Such experience was not very novel for me; for among students gathering there, some, coming from two or three colleges, always tended to show that tendency in the first month or six weeks of the first term, but sensing the atmosphere they, generally, used to settle down, eschewing their pranks. But this particular student, like two or three before him during about twenty years, did not give up his tendency. One day, when I found that his prank was much more obvious I called out "Mr. Unwala, that kind of thing, which you have been doing for sometime before this rather mildly, is not done in this class. I do not tolerate any distraction. Please note that I have marked you and that if I find you doing that kind of thing or indulging in any other variety of distraction I shall take drastic steps". Mr. D. B. Unwalla came to my room after the lecture and profusely apologised and promised not to disturb me in anyway and to be docilely dutiful. The lad proved himself as good as his word.

After the M.A. examination result of June 1955, Mr. Unwalla approached me, very timidly and apologetically, to request me to enlist him as a Ph.D. student working under my guidance. I smiled to indicate that though I remembered him as having done some pranks in the class, I thought no ill of him and was willing to give him a trial in research, and I asked him to fill out his 'forms'. He wanted to specify the topic of his research immediately but I asked him to leave that entry alone for the time and sign his papers. The next time he saw me I asked him what topic he was going to specify in his application-form the other day. The topic that he stated was a rather hackneyed one and that, too, in almost pure Psychology. Industrial Sociology had been in mind for a good

few years past. Dr. S. B. Chirde was the first student whose interest in that line had induced me to try out my ideas and to seek at least a partial fulfilment of my dreams. As already mentioned at length, Chirde's thesis had won high praise in 1949 from such a veteran Social Scientist as the late Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee. Some months before Mr. Unwalla approached me, another Parsi student, who was directly connected with a cotton mill of Bombay, had been in contact with me and I had formulated a topic in Industrial Management suitable for him. But for some reason not clear to me, that splendid lad of great promise gave up the endeavour. Quite clearly, from his later presents to me and his talk with Mr. Unwalla, it was not his getting weary of or disillusioned about me that he had given up his endeavour. I spoke to Mr. Unwalla about him and asked him to read one of the, in my opinion the only one then, classics on the subject of Industrial Sociology. Perusal of that work appealed to Mr. Unwalla's psychological bent so strongly that I had not to argue much about the superior modernity and applicability of research in the kind of topics under Industrial Sociology that were adumbrated by me to the Parsi student mentioned above. Mr. Unwalla settled to his topic "Human Relations in Factories" and worked with such zest and vigour, that, in spite of the fact of his working as a temporary Lecturer in the Department during the second year of his Ph.D. registration (1956-57), he was able to submit his thesis of the above-mentioned name, covering about 1000 typescript pages, in 1957. The thesis is credited to the year 1958 in official record because the result came to be declared in that year.

Dr. Unwalla's dynamism is further illustrated by the fact that his book *Textile Technocracy*, which represents a condensed version of the thesis, was actually published in April 1958. Dr. Unwalla was so enthused with his achievement, his confidence in his ability was so well roused in him, that though coming from a very poor family and though his father was dead, he managed to raise enough money within so short a time as to enable him to embark for U.S.A. via England in August 1958.

I have a letter with me, written by Dr. D. F. Pocock, formerly of Exeter College, Oxford, in acknowledgement of the copy

of a new book of mine, which I had sent him by sea mail, which is dated September 25, and mentions Dr. Unwalla as already having left for the States from London. It is in that letter that Dr. Pocock was kind enough to remark: "I see that you continue to constitute yourself the permanent reproach to the world of scholarship as the steady flow of works pricks the intellectual conscience." Of Dr. Unwalla and his doings in and experience of U.S.A. I shall have occasion to write in the last section of this essay in self-exploration.

1958 may be described as the year of my impending retirement. It was, therefore, particularly gratifying to me to note that the number of theses successfully completed and approved for their appropriate degrees by the University happened to be the largest for any single year till then. There were five Ph.D. ones, four of which were those of my students, and four M.A. ones, the total number of successful theses in Sociology that year being thus nine. Though 1957, as mentioned above, happened to be the year of my highest quota of theses, all the five being Ph.D. ones, as there were only two theses of the students of the other members the total was only seven.

As a farewell tribute I received two unsought for testimonials for the excellence of the work that was accomplished and was being done in the Department. About the third week of November 1958, Mr. V. Balagangadharan, Municipal Commissioner of Kozikode (Calicut), who was returning from somewhere in the north after attending a symposium on Problems of Urbanization, called on me at the University and profusely congratulated me on the work in Urban Sociology and other allied topics that I and my colleagues had done, which evidently was talked about at the symposium, and asked to be shown some of it. He was further pleased at the sight of so much that could be placed before him. He told me that he was engaged on mapping out the problems which faced Kozikode in the future and would like to write a thesis under my guidance on the basis of the material already collected and of more to be collected according to any plan that may be developed as a consequence of his receiving guidance from me. I told him that I was to retire within four months from then and that he would have to get immediate permission from the authorities of Bombay University to be registered as my student, who is

permitted to carry on research from Calicut, meeting me at stated intervals. He was satisfied with the condition and left me. I received a letter dated, as at Calicut, 26th November 1958, in which Mr. Balagangadharan informed me that he had sent an application to the University. The University without consulting me straightway rejected his application and killed Mr. Balagangadharan's desire to work under my guidance on a topic that would have benefited the development of Calicut as a city and also perhaps the work itself.

Mr. Balagangadharan's estimate of 'our' work in Urban Sociology and Demography, however, stands and may be quoted as fitting in an essay of this kind. Says Balagangadharan: "I am full of admiration for the high minded manner in which you are carrying on your noble duties. I envy the young men around you for the privilege of working under your inspiring and affectionate presence. I do hope that the merit of the truly sterling work that you are doing practically single-handed will be recognised ere long."

Second week of December brought me a letter from the most unexpected quarter, that from the expert of the Ford Foundation in Delhi, Dr. Carl C. Taylor. Why I call the source the most unexpected quarter is made clear in the letter itself. Dr. Taylor giving his schedule in Bombay, where he expected to be stopping "from 1.05 p.m. December 18 until 7 p.m. December 19", wrote: "I am very anxious to visit with you and while I want to see one or two other persons in Bombay I should like to give whatever time you can give to me priority over everything else I do. You may not know of me personally, although this is the fourth time I have been in India. On all my previous trips I have been studying the community development program, from the villages upward and have made practically no contacts with university people. I am, however, a sociologist, have read considerable of what you have written, and have for a long time cherished meeting you. I hope you will be able to see me and if you could drop me a note saying when, I shall put it on my schedule as first priority for the period of time I am in Bombay."

I wrote to Dr. Taylor offering him the choice of either of the two days for a lecture at 2 p.m. and afterwards tea with me in my room to enable him to ask me whatever he wanted. He

accepted the offer, lectured and had a fairly long talk with me in my room during which I showed him some of the theses, and handing over to him a copy of the handbook, mentioned a number of theses and works which may yield something of interest to him. He was mightily pleased as he showed while taking leave.

On the 5th or 6th of February 1959 I received a letter from Dr. Taylor written from Delhi, which justifies my assessing Dr. Taylor's verbal appreciation as more oriented towards or motivated by his needs than his Sociological valuation. I must quote it in full to enable my readers and particularly my countrymen, if they would condescend to read between the lines, to judge of the attitude of this American expert, who, within my limited experience, appears to be typical of a large number of them. This is the letter: "Dear Professor Ghurya [Ghurye], I will be leaving India on February 6th and want to express to you my great satisfaction in having finally met you and having at least a short visit with you. Incidentally, I wonder whether, if I sent a young fairly well trained sociologist, who at the moment is working for the Ford Foundation, to you whether you would like to have him spend a few days culling from the great mass of unpublished research which you showed me in

* It appears the book entitled "India's Roots of Democracy: A Sociological Analysis of Rural India's Experience in Planned Development Since Independence" by Carl C. Taylor, Douglas Ensminger, Helen W. Johnson and Jean Joyce, published in 1966, is the work. If so the performance is much poorer than what even I was prepared for and more than fully upholds my reference to Ford Foundation experts and Dr. Taylor's attitude in the text. Here is some judgment passed on it in the highly respected professional journal of American Political Science, *American Political Science Review* (1967, pp. 1156-57) by an American, Dr. Donald B. Rosenthal of the State University of New York: "For anyone familiar with India, most of these [eight] chapters are superficial ... One might take exception to the book's treatment of caste and the joint family ... Like tourists visiting an exhibition of ancient artifacts, the authors are aware of the formal features of *panchayati raj*, but they are almost embarrassingly silent about the developmental implications of political conflicts as they manifest themselves at every level of Indian Society ... Because the authors weave an unsteady course between repeating the platitudes of the Indian government and trying to expose to public view some of the real difficulties of administration and motivation in village India, the product of their effort is often unsatisfying ..."

your files, materials which Dr. Ensminger and I should like to use in a book which will probably not see the light of day for a couple of years."

To continue. "If there is a possibility that you may never be able to publish these materials, we at least could give some publicity to them and would of course be delighted to give you and your colleagues complete credit for them and call our readers' attention to their existence. *I am not in any sense making this as a request. I am sure, however, that the materials are very valuable and should not be lost in their entirety.** If you care to respond to this letter address me at the Ford Foundation and Dr. Ensminger will forward your communication to me. Most cordially and Sincerely yours,.....Consultant in Rural Development."

On the 6th February I addressed the following letter to Dr. Taylor: "Dear Dr. Taylor, I thank you for your kind letter of the 4th instant. I am disappointed not to have any observations of yours on our Sociology course in your letter, as you had promised to do when you were kind enough to pay a visit to my Department. I was hoping, though late, before leaving India you would give us the benefit of your observations. May I expect a further communication from you offering me such remarks as you may care to, when you reach the States? I would like you to write to the University, the Registrar or the Rector, for the permission to extract such materials as you may like from the unpublished theses lying in the Library of the Department. It is a matter which I cannot dispose of in my own authority. With kind regards, Yours sincerely....."

I do not know if ever the University was approached for extraction of materials from the thesis. I only know that I did not receive any further communication from Dr. Taylor.

My 1958 birthday was celebrated by students of the Department with great enthusiasm, at a Fort-area restaurant with 65 candlesticks lighted and a huge cake cut up for distribution. The students presented me a brass lamp of artistic nature. Sometime at the end of December 1958 I had a letter from Dr. K. C. Panchanadikar, my ex-research student, who had previously written from Havard, intimating his appointment as

* Italics mine.

Assistant Professor at the Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University. I wrote to him to congratulate him and in my usual way to exhort too. In his reply of thanks of 6th January 1959 he wrote: "I distinctly remember all that you had expressed about lectures and lecturing, when I was still reading for M.A. *For intellectual honesty, analysis and sincere efforts in preparation you are still my model. I shall surely remember the beautiful advice you have given me now.*"*

On the eve of my retirement from the Department of Sociology I received a letter (13-3-59) from Dr. Y. B. Damle, a former research student of mine and now Professor of Sociology, Poona University, in which, after felicitating me and paying his "respects" he ends: "I shall always deem it a great privilege to have been a pupil of a teacher of your eminence. *Indeed your professorial career has been so distinguished that it has almost been unparalleled in India.* As before I shall continue to send to you anything I write. *I need hardly add that we always draw inspiration from you and your work in whatever little work we may be doing.*"*

Here I must record my appreciative obligations to Dr. A. J. Agarkar, who from about 1939, since my illness, had come into contact with me, and has played an important role in removing or lessening a number of worries of my wife and myself in the matter of ordering our household affairs in a way calculated to secure me peace of mind to do my work in fair comfort. From 1951, when he married, his wife Usha, too, having looked up to us in the light of uncle and aunt, added her quota to the comfort-securing activity of her husband till about 1957 or 1958, when, I believe, they left Bombay for Karhati, a village in Baramati taluka, where they have managed an agriculture-based school since then. Even today the couple behaves as if they are members of our household. We are much beholden to them.

There were two farewell functions. One function was held in the Convocation Hall by the students of the Department whereat an oil-colour portrait of me at my table in my University chamber was presented to the University to be put up in the First floor lecture Hall in the South Wing of the University

* Italics mine.

buildings where I had lectured to M.A. students for about 35 years. The other function was organised by the late Dr. K. M. Kapadia on a large scale, ex-research students and a number of admirers and friends having been approached to join in it. It was a dinner at the Radio Club premises. I was presented a magnificent and modernish wooden stand to accommodate an electric bulb. Thus fully equipped with lights for me to guide my onward path I retired from the Department in the middle of March 1959.

I find that at my retirement from the Department I had successfully guided 25 M.A. theses and 39 theses for the Ph.D. degree which was introduced in 1936, i.e. 12 years after I entered on my career. Two students having done both M.A. and Ph.D. theses, the total number of my students with theses was 62 only.

VI

I RETIRE FROM SERVICE-CAREER

I say I retired from Service Career and not from academic career purposely. First, there were a few of my research students, who had yet to submit their theses, though they had already sent their synopses. Such students by a convention could continue to receive guidance from their erstwhile teacher if they so chose, and my students had chosen to have theirs from me. The only difference in respect of these students for me and for them too was that as I had ceased to have a chamber for me at the University the students had to see me at my residence. Second, as it turned out the work I have been able to produce after March 1959 to date is quite large and not less significant than the total of my own work produced during the thirty-five years of Service Career.

In February 1960 the University made me Professor Emeritus of Sociology and placed at my disposal the room which I used to occupy in the University building before my retirement. From about the middle of February I began to attend at the Univer-

sity almost daily in the first few years. Lately I have been going there only two or three times a week.

It was becoming clear to me that my stay in the premises I had been occupying was getting more and more irritating to my landlord, whose needs for room were increasing and for me because the behaviour of the landlord's people was getting haughty. I was also feeling shaky about being able to retain that place with me after my retirement in the face of my landlord's increasing needs and greater manipulative ability and official contacts. And I had come to know that in such matters, for a man of my poor ability and of limited contacts, discretion was the better part of valour.

My son Sudhish finding that he could not get a decent position in any University in India and having found a neat opening in U.S.A. had, after two years of service in Lucknow University as Reader in Statistics, gone back to the States and was very likely to settle there in good financial condition. For me and my wife more room, more open space and a little gardening activity would certainly mean not only more joy of life but also longer life. Under these circumstances I readily took my son's advice that I should invest my provident fund acquisition — my job was a pensionless one and the Provident Fund provision, too, had started after about ten years of service and the University's contribution to that was sub-standard for about 10 years, out of the 25 years or so during which the Contributory P. F. Scheme operated in my case — and decided on owning a house and thus feeling secure of a decent roof overhead and of space for health and joy-giving and time-killing activity so necessary for old age in particular.

Since the year 1956 — my son's suggestion was made in June 1956 when he left for the States — I had kept on the lookout for a plot, of course, at Khar where we had till that time, lived for 30 years — my wife and more so I are lethargic persons, who do not like a change unless absolutely forced upon them, whether of locality, habitation, servant, milkman or dhobi. I contacted the two estate agents who were known to be operating in Khar. For a whole year nothing turned up; one or two plots shown by one of the brokers and approved by me and my wife turned out to be not only very costly but objects of 'title'-troubles. In the meanwhile my sister's son, Mr. Shankar S. Gadekar,

who operates as an estate agent in Bombay, happened to meet me. I told him my predicament. He went about the business in the most enthusiastic manner and very soon showed me a plot which, however, did not satisfy either me or my wife. My nephew then showed me two plots, adjoining each other on the 17th Road of Khar and told me that they were open for sale only because of a possible failure in the market of their owner and asked me to take immediate or near immediate decision before the news goes round. My wife and I seeing the West-facing plot were satisfied, especially as the price was within our reach.

The plot purchase was over late in 1957 and my friend Mr. G. A. Kamtekar, a wellknown engineer-architect, soon put up a plan and got it approved and called for tenders for the building. Having fixed upon a contractor, whose father had given entire satisfaction to Mr. Kamtekar during his architects' practice of 35 years, he started the work in April 1958. We were promised that the building would be ready before January 1959 and that we could go to live in it in February certainly. The young contractor, however, turned out rather different from his father. He began go-slow tactics, designing to use condemned material from other ventures of his in our structure and eventually held up work in the midst of the rainy season. Mr. Kamtekar, however, brought him round to proceed further after about a month and the work proceeded well. But the contractor had a plan in his mind to extract more than he had contracted for and he now, about March 1959, put that in operation. With the roof completed after a great deal of persuasion, with neither plaster on, nor the window grills anywhere in sight, he demanded a large portion of the bill and on being shown the appropriate amount due struck work. Mr. Kamtekar, finding him stubborn discharged his services, but with all his strenuous efforts Mr. Kamtekar did not succeed in persuading any other contractor to handle the structure to completion for full three months. Our Sudhish had written to us that he would come to live with us for two to three weeks in August; and my wife and I were keen that he should live with us in our own house. But the situation presented only bleak prospects of our wish being fulfilled. We both of us, but naturally more I than my wife, felt chagrin and even frustration.

My nervousness about the non-completion of the structure in good time was heightened by my vivid memories of my grandfather's doings and of my father's unfulfilled wishes in that behalf and also, queerly, to some extent by my contact with and dealings in astrology from early youth to the year 1949, whereafter I got completely free from them!

My father had got my horoscope cast by a then wellknown astrologer visiting Malvan very soon after my birth. The horoscope, which is still with me though in a crumbling and tattered condition, was a roll nearly twelve feet in length. That the astrologer had talked about my future in a very hopeful manner is clear from what my mother and father used to say about me when I was a boy of six or seven. The horoscope script promised prosperity and sudden gain and general fame. It is, however, incomplete. My father used to tell me that the man was called away to his village and could not complete the script. However it is clear from the table of 'dasa's or specific planet's ruling periods, which lies in the roll well before its middle, that he was not prepared to go beyond the 63rd year of my life according to the indications of astrology. There was no indication in it of the debilitating illness I suffered; nor of any authorship. My M.A. success was more or less frankly declared by a local teacher-astrologer to be an unexpected event.

My friend Mr. C. R. Chitnis was a sort of an amateur astrologer and used to go by his horoscope readings in most of his activity. He, too, had not seen anything like the intellectual work that happened to get out of me. My co-student and later pupil Mr. S. V. Karandikar was himself an amateur astrologer and had a friend, who too was such but in Karandikar's view gifted with better insight into the niceties of astrology than himself. Karandikar knew an Andhra professional astrologer who used to visit Bombay every year for at least six months and had implicit faith in his readings. Karandikar had, between 1929 to 1937, following the astrological readings, as he used to tell me, of the professional astrologer, dealings in the share-market which had brought him more than two lakhs of rupees; and he had purchased gold out of the gain and deposited it in a bank. Neither Karandikar nor his professional practitioner had predicted my illness. Neither of them was prepared to go beyond 65 years for reading my life potentialities. The latter

astrologer told me generally that I would be well off and that my rise would come through foreign people. He had also told me and Karandikar that though I may not appear religious and may not observe the practices of religion yet I should be concerning myself with religion in later life. Perhaps this part of his prophesy, based on the position of Jupiter in the horoscope, may be said to be a fairly correct hit.

Another correct hit was made by Karandikar's friend astrologer about an event near that time of my life, the one which concerns us here and the one which has made me narrate my experiences to an age, which in India and elsewhere, too, appears to go mad over astrology and astrologers. I was seriously thinking of building a house at Khar in 1935. My friend Mr. Kamtekar had already prepared a plan of the grandiose house I thought I would build. My friend Karandikar knew about the house but nothing about the actual plan and asked his friend-astrologer how my planets stood at the time and when he would expect the house to materialise. That gentleman told Mr Karandikar that the house which is being mooted will stand on paper but will not materialize then and added that he did not thereby mean that there would be no house built by me. As it turned out the cost was too high for me; and what is worse, not being a Government Servant, I could not get by way of loan anything more than three fourths of the cost of the building. I had no money to invest and the plan fizzled out and the house-plan-paper is still in my cupboard!

My friend Mr. V. A. Bhonsule, who was an Assistant Librarian in the University Library, was an amateur astrologer; but he was pretty sceptic about prophesies and desisted from going into details. Another friend of mine, the Cambridge Economics Tripos First Class winner Mr. J. V. Joshi has been a keen astrologer all through his life that I have known, i.e. during the last fifty years. He was very keenly interested in me in the period 1930 to 1945. He used to comfort me during my prolonged illness not by astrological forecasts but good sound commonsense philosophically stated. Dr. N. G. Chapekar, who died in 1968 in his 99th year, published his autobiography in Marathi, sometime in 1944 or 1945. In it I read that he was proficient in astrology. When I met him some time in 1949 I asked him to read my horoscope and he took my planetary

map with him and sent me his reading. It did not promise any more production, nay it positively indicated that my life-work was already done and over. Dr. Chapekar would not go beyond the 68th year of my life for any prophesy.

I consulted these friends and non-friends because, first I was brought up in the atmosphere of faith in astrology. Speaking of family atmosphere I must, however, mention that my people were not such staunch believers in it as not to consider an offer of marriage if the girl offered had no horoscope; and my wife became my wife because my people had the particular attitude to astrology. For my wife has no horoscope. Another urge to consult astrologer friends came from what I had read about some astrologers by no less a critical mind and an exact astronomer than Shankara Balkrishna Dixit. He has not only mentioned two extraordinary persons who could spell out the principal item in an individual's horoscope, the particular constellation that is on the eastern horizon at the birth of an individual, after examining his physical or rather facial features but has even stated that to his own knowledge one of these gentleman, a Marathi-speaking legal practitioner of Kolhapur, had put down correctly that principal item of a horoscope of the son of a person after examination of the physical features of that person! (*Bharatiya Jyotishasatra*, 1896? in Marathi, pp. 479-81).

Though I got readings, I never acted according to them. More than one of them had one year astrologically promised very high sudden gains, and I was advised to buy Derby race tickets but I did not do it; and have never bought any lottery ticket till today. Not only has my action been uninfluenced by astrological considerations but my conviction, too, after my dealings with them in the way narrated above is that, to say the least and to cut the matter short, they should be left alone and not be bothered about.

My nervousness prompted me to greater effort at getting some one to carry on the work on my house to completion and I succeeded with the intervention of a young man. And my house was more or less completed so far that I and mine could move there on 3rd August 1959. Our Sudhish came on the 18th August and lived with us till I think 6th September. Thus all was well as it then ended well.

Within a month of our occupation of our own house our

gardening activity began. Though its tempo has now greatly slowed down it is not yet stopped, in spite of the fact that I and my wife care mostly for non-annual plants. I, in particular have always looked for the cultivation of plants that once planted continue for a long time with only ordinary tending. A number of friends and relatives, among whom I must mention my old friend, a most successful secondary school teacher and conductor of nursery schools, Mr. V. B. Phadnis, who, when he came to know that I had built a house, came with a load of few plants. Our garden, except for mango plants, has so far been a grand success. There are nine coconut palms, seven of which have already begun to yield fruit, though in small numbers. Two of them, the Singapore variety, have been bearing fruit for the last seven years and a half. The fruit of one of these two, of good size, is particularly likeable in all stages including the so-called "paniwala" stage, i.e. the tender coconut. There is a guava tree, a custard apple one and its smoother variety of the bread-fruit type, a jackfruit tree and a 'Jambul' are growing; so is an arecanut palm. There is a "Jamba" tree, *Eugenia jambos*)—pink variety and not the watery white one—which has been yielding fruit twice a year, though the second bounty is very limited—for the last five years, while the 'guava' tree has been bearing fruit for the last seven or eight years. The "jamba"-tree and the yellow-champak tree have grown to a height of about thirty feet. So too the jackfruit tree which as yet has yielded nothing.

Tatya Bhandarkar's 'icarus' lily in its tenth or more generation—I replant them generally every three years or so—is represented by four pot-fulls. Other lilies have been added, thanks to Dr.(s) Mabel Fonseca and Sukhdev Hooda, presenting a contrast and providing a complement. Only four varieties of roses grace the collection. This covetable plant requires a kind of service in seaside localities like mine which I am not in a mood to render and hence I cannot have more of them. Six or seven varieties of *bougainvilleas* in their vigorous growth and foliage, combined with the fragrant-flowered creepers of 'jai', 'jui', 'kund' and 'madhumalati', produce a kind of green-bowered sylvan scene, where a number of birds come and chirp or sing and a variety of butterflies dance about. While all this, and perhaps more, goes to the credit side of the garden

the nightly drone of the crickets that find congenial home in it exposes its debit side. Then come the very covetable magnolias, particularly the yellow variety of it. A neighbour gave me one sapling eight or nine years back. Today it has risen eight or nine feet high and has a broad spread, the extent of which can be judged from the fact that it has on it eleven flower buds at various stages of development. I have taken down three layering-created saplings. One of them, the most recent but the most vigorous at the outset, I gave to my brother's son Ramu who has recently come to own a two-room flat in a cooperative society at Andheri. The two older ones have grown magnificently, though at their beginning they had shown signs of succumbing, one of them being actually treated as dead by my 'mali' and servant. One of these rises today almost 12 feet high and the other though only about 7 feet high, has a wider spread, showing more than half a dozen branches and twigs. The white variety is represented by two plants, both layerings of the one, which my friendly neighbour had given and which, after vigorous growth in pot, died on transfer into the ground. There are two plants of flowering pomegranate, the younger one being a growth out of a cutting from the older one, which is now very widely spread and stands ten feet high. Thus I have every reason to be satisfied with my garden which with its vigorous growth and alround contents has more than assuaged my injured feelings at the loss of my original garden nearly quarter of a century ago.

Just when I was looking up from my depression brought about by the circumstances about my new house mentioned above, I received very heartening news from Chicago where my ex-research student Dr. Unwala was well introduced to the proper academic supervisors by my son Sudhish who was then at Chicago University. Wrote Unwala (23-6-1959): "I hope you will not construe my silence as indifference to you. ...It was with a great sense of guilt that I kept quiet all this time, but now that I have done something I know you will appreciate, I turn to you in all hopes and expectations. I did not tell you that besides doing my research in the department of sociology I was also actively associated with the school of business. **The*

* Italics mine.

school of business on my past performance at the University of Bombay admitted me for a Ph.D. or postdoctoral program in business. This was a real exception and it was made after thoroughly examining the work done at the University of Bombay. In addition, one professor set me several tasks to find out whether I was competent for business training... The University of Chicago at his instance awarded me a postdoctoral certificate. I think this is much more than I could dream of as this will be in addition to what reference I will get from the department of Sociology. Of late professor Hughes [Dr. Everett C. Hughes, one of the professors of Sociology at Chicago University to whom I had in a letter recommended Dr. Unwala for special concession] is taking lots of interest in me and thanks to him I have got some part time job which saves me living expenses...."

Within a fortnight of our shifting to our own house I received my free copies of my book *The Scheduled Tribes*. This was an enlarged edition of my book *Aborigines So-called and Their Future* published in 1943. I had put into it a brief account of the socio-religious life of a number of the tribal peoples, the handling of whose problems was the main theme of the parent book. It had enlarged the original text by about 30 per cent of its volume. I made my position about my views on the Tribals quite clear by stating the conclusion thus (p. 207): "The effective solution of the problem lies in strengthening the ties of the tribals with the other backward classes through their integration. How such integration may be brought about is a matter for practical administration. The theoretical background can be provided by a brief but integrated account of the social and religious life of the tribals." And this last part of the task the additional portion of the text had attempted to accomplish.

I was particularly happy, the book having been attacked by some Elwin-fan, to receive in the October of same year the following letter from the wellknown American scholar, who has visited India and worked among and on tribals, in different parts of India during about thirty years, and who holds the position of the Professor of Anthropology in the University of California, Dr. David G. Mandelbaum. The professor writes: "Many thanks for the copy of your book 'The

Scheduled Tribes' which has just arrived. *I am delighted that you have reissued and added to the earlier version. The statement deserves wide appreciation. I entirely agree with your general position as it applies in India, and indeed throughout the world.*"

However, my countrymen, whether anthropologists, sociologists, politicians, statesmen, not only did not appreciate my position but quite a few of them strenuously attempted to condemn it either with faint praise or clever misrepresentation and occasionally with frontal nonchalance of the type shown by the reviewer of the book in the *Times of India*!

Only one social worker proved an honourable and glorious exception. One lady who has signed the letter and given her name in typescript as Shakuntala Srivastava and her designation as Chairman, Welfare Extension Project, Bishanpur, Ranchi, but has not given indication whether I should write before her name Mrs. or Miss, in her letter dated January 24, 1961 writes: "I have just read with great interest your book *The Scheduled Tribes*, Second Edition, 1959. I have greatly benefited by reading this book. I am glad to find that you have courage of conviction and dare frankly express yourself, *no matter even if it means opposing the views held by Dr. Verrier Elwin** who, somehow, has become High-priest in 'Tribal Affairs'. I did not find myself in agreement with most of the things that he has advocated in his 'A Philosophy for NEFA'"

One of my students, Miss K. L. Mythili, who had submitted the synopsis before my retirement, submitted her thesis after my retirement. Prof. Robert K. Merton of Columbia University, who was the external examiner, was kind enough to write a letter regarding it. It is dated 9 October, 1959. It is a testimony both to the excellence of the work of Miss Mythili and to Professor Merton's appreciation of me. Prof. Merton writes: "I have read with interest and care the thesis entitled 'A Socio-Ecological Study of an Immigrant Community'... In my judgement, Miss Mythili has written a thoroughly satisfying thesis. It is the product of excellent observation in the field, and it shows a decided capacity for sociological inquiry. The candidate is quite evidently familiar with the pertinent literature and,

* Italics mine.

indeed, *has added an informative monograph to it. I was particularly impressed by perceptive account of the demographic structure of the community and its relation to familial institutions.....** I greatly regretted that you were not able to attend the meetings of the International Sociological Association in Stressa. *You were missed* [Truth to say I never once attended any of the meetings of the Association anywhere]." Dr. Mythili appears to have gone to the States; for in 1964 or 1965 I received a cablegram of birthday felicitations from her from Chicago.

The year 1960 registers the last of my joys as a lecturer. Mr. Jayanta Kumar Borooah from Assam who was a member of my last M.A. class suffered from nervousness at the time of examination in April 1959 and sought comfort from me. He later passed his M.A. examination. He got a good job in Assam and he remembered me in his days of joy and wrote: "Respected Sir, All these days I was not writing to you as I had no peace of mind. I was trying to get a good job for nearly a year. Now you will be glad to hear that fortunately I got a job of an Asst. Labour Welfare Officer under two European Shipping Companies. These two companies have got monopoly business for whole of Assam and they are in this trade for more than hundred years.....I stand a good chance for immediate promotion too. For the whole of Assam we two Labour Welfare Officers are working. My senior one is an European Officer. I hope that with your blessing I may be able to march forward on the path of success. I shall be highly obliged indeed if you kindly give me some chances to offer my poor service to you. I pray to Almighty that He should bestow you with more energy and strength so that India will get the contribution of your works for years to come."

Another academic event was the successful completion of a thesis on Textile Labour with special reference to Productivity of a young talented millowner under my guidance. Mr. Mohanlal Piramal Makharia worked on it for more than four years and got his Ph.D. degree. Dr. Makharia has since expanded his industrial ventures a good deal but has continued not only to be respectful to me but has behaved as a close friend of the family. Another such affectionate student is Dr. G. M.

* Italics mine.

Rege who is a specialist in Commercial Art and has profited by his work for his Ph.D. degree done in communication—Sociology under my guidance.

About the same time my new book *After a Century and a Quarter* saw the light of day. It is an account of the changes one meets with in life in the village of Lonikand near Poona over a period of a century and a quarter, prefaced by a longish introduction giving a brief history of village settlements, their growth and their traditional organization. Prof. Everett C. Hughes, to whom I had sent a copy of it, wrote to me (18-10-60): "It is so fascinating that I neglected all other work and read it." Within a month of this appreciation by Prof. Hughes, who later gave a review of the book in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1961), Prof. Robert K. Merton wrote to me about it.

Prof. Merton was invited by the University to examine one thesis of a Ph.D. student of mine. Prof. Merton was unable to accept the assignment owing to pressure of work, and while he informed the University accordingly he was kind enough to address a personal letter to me too. I give the letter (14 Nov. 1960) as it was: "Dear Professor Ghurye: As you will see from the enclosure, I must regretfully forgo the reading of this latest dissertation done under your direction. I hope that I shall be better able to serve as a referee in future. I have been wanting to write to you for some time, first, to thank you for your continued kindness in arranging to have your latest book sent to me. *As you must surely know, we sociologists in the United States join with others in high regard for your work as dean of Indian Sociology. Your latest volume, [After a Century and a Quarter] only underscores the basis for this.** Without any hope of full reciprocation, I am sending you copies of two volumes with which I had something to do and which may not have come to your attention. *I have been wanting to write you also as a result of having had a good talk with your protegee, Dr. Durab Unwalla,* I found him a most impressive young man. He clearly exhibits the benefits of having studied with you and has also been perceptive in selectively acquiring some of the skills and knowledge that are characteristic of present day American sociology. Altogether, he is a most*

* Italics mine.

promising man and I have taken the liberty of urging him to work out some sociological problems of changes in the Indian social structure which might have implications for public policy. With my respect and regards, Sincerely yours,...*"

Dr. Unwalla brought me another covetable testimonial by the letter he wrote to me almost exactly two years after he left India. For his letter of August 18, 1960 accompanied "an outline of analysis" of "a film survey" which he had undertaken at my instance before he left India. Writing in his dramatic way, "...before I go any further I want your blessings, I mean your tearing to pieces this outline,* and giving me some sound advice on this project", he went on in a lauding vein thus: "May I say I always looked upon you as a kind father and I will continue to respect you no matter where I am. *It's not so much that I got a Ph.D. under you that counts, but it's the fact of having learned from you certain academic disciplines which I can cash in any part of the world. I just feel that I could stand behind the every word I used in my dedication** [to his book *Textile Technocracy*]. I trust you keep yourself in a good mood and live a life of leisure for which you have worked so hard all your life. Don't you want me to come back before your birthday? I promise you a beautiful bouquet of flowers. Of course, not without expectations of a beautiful meal the Sunday following your birthday. *Perhaps I never told you that I am happy here. That I have a good job, a beautiful set up for work, a good deal of money for research, and on the personal side a beautiful apartment with automatic dish washer, clothes washer and thermostat, and to top it all I drive a 1959 Chevrolet.** Yet much to my and your surprise I have not yet been trapped by any American girl. They find me too hard a nut to crack. And I don't blame them. Not one has come up to my one-tenth expectation tho' I have dated half a million[???]. It's a funny civilization. Oh I would love to discuss these academically and in terms of your sex book [*Sexual Behaviour of the American Female, 1957*]. What more do I want, and yet I tell you I don't care if I have to leave all this and retire in a small corner in my village. Occasionally I do have differences of opinion, but I fight them and I can

* Italics mine.

assure you that any time I have decided I cannot work here I will not hesitate to take to my monastic life once again [He comes from a Parsi-priest's family]."

In a letter written four months after the above one, in acknowledgement of a copy of my book *After Century and a Quarter*, Dr. Unwalla reverted to his film-survey project thus: "I have been trudging along with my cinema research. I have completed two chapters and I am writing the third one, though I have been trying to get it out faster than the way I do now. Somehow or other I get no where."

In October of 1960, I received an unexpected and in a way most desired proof of my work being appreciated in the great centre of our ancient culture and the would-be modeller of our evolving Indian nation, the Uttara Pradesh. Mr. Shambhoo Ratan Tripathi, Editor of *Samaj Vigyan* ("Indian Journal of Sociology" in Hindi), who described himself as "a young Hindi writer of Sociological books" and who, according to his own statement, had "written about ten books on different branches of Sociology", wrote to me requesting permission to dedicate his forthcoming new book *Bharatiya Samajik Samraehana aur Samskriti* (*Indian Social Structure and Culture*) to me. I believe I wrote to him that I had no objection but that I had no photo of mine to spare as he wanted me to do.

About the beginning of 1961 I had occasion to write to Dr. Unwalla, who was then at Michigan University, regarding the admission of the daughter of a friend of mine. In his letter of March 17, detailing to me how he had arranged for it and how he had to take a circuitous road in the affair, he says at the end: "My dear Ghurye, I do this only out of my love and respect for you and I keep saying that for no reason other than the fact that I like you so much and *I have still not got over the intellectual vacuum created by our separation. Academic life is so dull and people have such little dynamics that it is hard to find one like you again. I don't know whether anyone knows your good qualities but I can tell you that having lived in a pool full of malignant fishes your justness in the academic field is towering.*"*

In March 1961 I wrote the last of my reviews of books.

* Italics mine.

It was originally published in the *Sociological Bulletin* of that year and month and is reprinted in my *Anthropo-Sociological Papers* (1963). It is entitled 'Sociology of Innovation and Mobility'. The previous year the *Journal of the University of Bombay* had carried another of my reviews, viz. 'Style and Civilization', which, too, reappears in the above-mentioned book. My reviewing activity, which had begun in 1925, however in the main was confirmed within the period 1928-1937, during which I contributed about twenty reviews, including review articles to the *Servant of India*. It is likely that this particular intellectual activity of some service to the reading public might have continued longer. But unfortunately the excellent radical weekly journal became defunct. My activity for this journal was pure labour of love, without any consideration whatever, not even the possession of the review copy.

In 1962 I ceased to be the Managing Editor of the History, Economics and Sociology issues of the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, having been removed from that honorary position by the University authorities. The Journal was started in 1931 mainly as a result of Prof. C. N. Vakil's efforts in that direction. Since its inception I was on the editorial board and the Sociology committee of it, and Prof. Vakil was the managing editor, except during one year when, on Prof. Vakil's absence in Delhi, I was in charge of that office. Since Prof. Vakil's going on deputation in 1957, when I was made the managing editor, I acted in that capacity till I was removed in 1962. I had published a number of my papers in that Journal between 1933 and 1960-61. Though I was removed from the Managing Editorship, till 1963-64 I was shown as the Chairman of the Editorial Board for the issues of History, Economics and Sociology. However, I never got any invitation for any meeting of the Committee or had anything to do with the Journal. I did not even get a free copy of the Journal which I used to get till 1962.

The *Journal of the University of Bombay*, unlike the number of its teaching Departments, has, I am sorry to find, shrunk. After 1964 its publication is found to be very spasmodic. The 32nd volume for 1963-64 was published in 1966. Nothing appears to have been published by way of the 33rd volume for 1964-65. For the two years 1966 and 1967, nothing was pub

lished. However, the Journal published in October 1968 is described as the 37th volume, and new categorisation and sectionalization was introduced then. The issue is described as "Arts: Humanities and Social Sciences" and is given as No. 73. No further trace of the Journal could be had in the University Library on August 21, 1970. This history of one of the most important of the academic, i.e. non-administrative and non-examination, activities of the *alma mater* so soon after the celebration of her centenary, one in which I had participated actively for thirty years, has deeply saddened me.

The jolt that the University authorities gave me in 1962, however, was offset in my individual life by the appearance of my book *Gods and Men*, which I consider to be one of my most original books. In it, in attempting to unravel some of the interactions and interconnections between Religion and what is called an idolatrous society with an idolatrous religion, I have turned the light of anthropology and ethics on some of the concepts and episodes occurring in Hindu religious literature.

The same year I issued out a reprint of my book *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture*, with my paper on 'Kinship Usages etc.' as an appendix.

Among my ex-students to whom copies of *Gods and Men* were sent were Dr. M. S. A. Rao of Delhi and Dr. K. C. Panchanadikar, Reader in Sociology, University of Baroda. What they wrote to me in acknowledgement is interesting to me and likely to be instructive to others. Here are some of their remarks or comments: Dr. Rao says (9-2-62): "The book is full of new insights and is rich in material.....The only comparable analysis of the type you have attempted, as I know, is that of Max Weber. I fully agree with you that religiosity in India has been on the increase since Independence."

Dr. Panchanadikar's letter of March 14, 1962 covers much wider area of interest to my readers and I must quote its contents at greater length. Writes Panchanadikar, after thanking me for the copy of the book on behalf of himself and his wife, my former research student Dr. Jalloo P. Mistry: "the feeling of elation we both experienced on receiving your book was a proof to us of our attachment to you as our teacher. It seems to be as fresh even after a whole decade. Whilst reading through the new book [*Gods and Men*] and the new por-

tions of the other book in its new form [*Caste, Class and Occupation*], one had yet another glimpse of Ghurye the academician and Ghurye 'The Indian Sociologist'. You have really set the mark as to how to connect Tradition with the Contemporary in the analysis of Indian society. Starting with *Caste through Ages* this analytical method applied to tradition, has extended to the analysis of Contemporary, based on the empiric material—material in the *Sadhus* and now to *Gods*. Through these works you have applied the needed correction to the narrow academic provinciality, under the fashionable (but really misunderstood) emphasis on empiric work.* ... In a lighter vein I would like to say that the spread and quantum of your present work, must have meant such a threat to the established Indian sociologists! Speaking for those who are striving and junior, I would frankly say that you are putting us to shame and spurring us to work, work well and soon..."

Dr. David G. Mandelbaum on receipt of the copy of *Gods and Men* along with the new impression of *Family and Kin* contented himself and, frankly speaking, tickled me with his observation (18-4-62): "The rich flow of your contributions to our subject continues to evoke the admiration and respect of anthropologists and sociologists in many parts of the world."

I received two letters from my countrymen who happened to read the book which I must mention here to suggest that the interest evoked in the book, though limited, might be deep and penetrating. Both the writers have kindly drawn my attention to the existence of certain images at places where I had thought they did not exist. The later (1967) writer, Dr. (or Mr.?) P. Gururaja Bhatt, Reader in History and Member, Board of Governors, Rashtrakavi M. Govinda Pai Memorial Research Institute, M. G. M. College, Udipi, South Kanara, who evidently was carrying out a survey of the temples in that part of our country, assured me that there are six major temples of Sun belonging to the 10th-11th centuries in his district. He further informs us that two-armed icons of Ganesa are not quite rare in that part of the country and that he has first-hand knowledge of at least eight such in his district, all "perhaps earlier than the 10th century". He mentions also one or two

* Italics mine.

solecisms that he discovered. Thanking Dr. Bhatt for his kindness, I shall quote his appraisal of the book: "I am really happy to inform you that your book '*Gods and Men*' has given me an intelligent reading. I read the book many a time. Indeed such books are for all time."

The other gentleman, Mr. J. M. Majumdar, writing from Baroda, a whole year before Dr. Bhatt, has drawn my attention to a huge Ganapati image in Mehsana District, standing on the bank of a small river, where its worship is still current and to the fact that Brahma temples are still visited in such places as Kamrej and Mota.

Since the publication of the book, I, too, have noted a number of facts particularly about Surya, Ganesa and Skanda and I have either made notes or pasted chits in my copy of the book. But there will certainly be no chance of their being incorporated appropriately, as the extremely slow sales of the book make a second edition impossible. I may, however, mention that they do not disturb the general and broad conclusions stated in the book.

A strong corroboration of my views regarding Ganesa as a member of the Hindu pentadic worship was fortunately placed in my hands just a little over two years ago. It is contained in a letter which I received in February 1968 from the late Dr. N. G. alias Nanasaheb Chapekar, a Marathi litterateur and a modern-style researcher, who has been mentioned above in a letter of the American student Dr. William Morrison. I had written to him for some information of the Gotra-family connection among the Chitpavans and he sent me his reply, written in legible and beautiful hand in Marathi by his son Dr. L. N. Chapekar, and signed by the nonagenarian old gentleman in cursive Marathi naturally much broken and shaky. Unfortunately he died in his 99th year within about three months of that letter.

Rendered in English Dr. Nanasaheb's note reads: "I am writing a paper on Ganapati-Atharvasirsha [a Samskrit text on Ganapati]. Ganapati originally was a deity or god in Siam, Java and Chinese Turkistan. He is called Vratyapati [Lord of the 'Vratya'-people]. Vratyas are people outside one's caste [vratyas are mentioned in Vedic literature and denoted eastern peoples who were outside the pale of Vedic culture]. You must be

knowing that Dr. [S. V.] Ketkar had performed the Vratya sacrifice when he married a German lady. Pramathapati is another name for Ganapati. Pramatha is the troupe of Siva. In the North on the door of a temple, troupes of Siva are sculptured. All of them have the faces of various animals. In their centre Ganapati with elephant trunk is sculptured. In the Ganapati-Atharvasirsha Ganapati is called Boon-giving icon. All these things lead to the inference that He is not a god of the Vedic Aryans. The [text] Atharvasirsha does not occur in the Atharva Veda. Ganapati is first mentioned in the Maitrayani Samhita [of the Yajurveda. Dr. Ketkar, too, had mentioned this fact]. The Samhita is current among the Suklayajurvedi Brahmins. Among them, non-Brahmins [local non-Vedic people?] are represented in fairly large proportion. [Text of] Ganapati Atharvasirsha appears to have been prepared by a hireling in order to get Ganapati incorporated in the Vedic tradition. Ganapati is described like Gajanana[?] to be one toothed. Beasts like the Rhinoceros are one-toothed [?]. He appears to have been the deity of peoples who were moon-worshippers. Ganapati is addressed as Chandrama [moon]. There appears to be great connection between Ganapati and the moon. Well; at present Ganapati has taken the place of Brahma in all religious rites except sacrifice. Mangalamurti [Ganapati is so designated, the group-cry being Mangalamurti, auspicious-imaged one, 'morya'] is a surname among the Yajurvedi Brahmins."

In August 1962 I received from Shambhoo Ratan Tripathi a copy of his newly published book, which, in 1960, he had requested my permission to dedicate to me. The dedication of the book, *Indian Social Structure and Culture*, written in Hindi as the book is in Hindi, reads in its English version: "Respectfully dedicated to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, ex-Head of the Department of Sociology, Bombay University, the founder of Sociology in India, author of numerous scholarly Sociological books, Sociologist of international fame." In the letter which Mr. Shambhoo Ratan Tripathi wrote he explained his relation to me thus: "As you are one of the luminaries of the Sociological world, and of international fame and I, being devoid of the fortune and pleasure of presenting myself personally at your feet, have been worshipping you all along with the same reverence silently as Ekalavya did to Dronacharya of Mahabharata fame, having been

denied the discipleship of the Acharya, but who took the liberty of learning by himself, the imaginary instructions of his course. So in that light I have taken the liberty of *dedicating as Guru Dakshina, one of my latest works, 'Indian Social Structure and Culture' at your feet, and submitting the same for your kind perusal and opinion.*"* Informing me of his plan to make a sociological study of a reputed Hindi novelist he ended his letter thus: "In the end, allow me to beg your Ashirbad [blessing] which will always be a source of pride and encouragement to me."

In December of the year, my *Cities and Civilization* was published. Unfortunately it failed to receive as much notice as it deserved and also to appeal to the reading public to judge by its sales. The only important review it received was in *Hindu* of November 15, 1963. Mr. D. Gnanaolivu presenting a brief neat summary of the book says: "It is heartening to note that the author had recommended, as early as 1950, [As a matter of fact it was in 1946 that I had made the suggestion, vide pp. 242-50, the year 1950 being the one in which some action of the Government indicated that it had seen the need for the creation of satellite towns], the setting of satellite towns around Bombay." He further points out: "On practical grounds, he wisely deprecates the indiscriminate shifting of industry from present location to suburbs in the guise of removing congestion. The planting of trees to make the city 'spacious and gracious' is fervantly advocated... The book, on the whole, is worth studying by all interested in the philosophy of the growth of cities, and in the physical and economic planning of our cities."

December 12, 1963 happened to be my 70th birthday. The special feature of it was that my publisher Mr. Ganpatrao R. Bhatkal arranged a tea party at his new business premises, the Popular Prakashan, and brought out my book *Anatomy of a Rururban Community*. With me another speciality of his birthday is the most detailed letter and I think the last of his letters, I received from Dr. Unwalla. It is dated 8th December and narrates in full his work troubles; troubles arising from collaborated work, and the authorship rights disputes arising from it and the problems that are created by collaborators

* Italics in the original.

through their incompetence or refusal to be honourable. Two cases are mentioned by him. In one case one very well-known author of a first-rate book on Human Relations in Industry—evidently his practice of human relations in society at large had not profited by his deep ponderings over human relations in industry!—another colleague, and Dr. Unwalla were collaborating in a joint study of the American Entrepreneur. At a crucial stage the seniormost partner, shifting from Michigan on a better or higher assignment, declined to fulfil the agreement, thus depriving Dr. Unwalla not only of the glory of authorship but also of stabilizing his status and position in the University. For as Dr. Unwalla points out, "In the States you almost live and die by publication"; and his being unable to claim part-authorship had retarded his "career by a couple or more years". Dr. Unwalla's musing over his misfortune brings me into the picture and it reads: *"Well, I suppose academic life is no better elsewhere. Your four decades at the University were no less eventful. I remember how people have bothered and made you lose your sleep night after night. At least here my other colleagues and Deans do understand my difficulty tho' they cannot help me."**

As the dark side of the academic picture is described it is but fair and necessary to mention its brighter aspect, which operates more actively. Unwalla says in his nonchalant but appreciative mood: "In spite of all the things I must say that *there are enough people in this university and country who value my work even without my publication.*"* Just a few weeks ago not one but three parties invited me to join them on the research. I feel no matter what a sucker they make out of me, it's something of recognition of my work." Rounding up the narration of his grievances there and his accidental failure to show adequate regard for me and my wife in some matter, with "If I were to note all these things down it will be a Ramayan and as a Parsi I don't find myself qualified to get into that kind of things", he turns to my birthday and says: "My most dear Ghuryes, I know and remember too well year after year that 12th of December is your birthday. On an occasion like that as your student and admirer and also as

* Italics mine.

your sincere follower and well-wisher I would like to pray for you and wish you all the happiness in the world. For all your contribution to the academic world we all feel a debt of gratitude and as limited and as human as we all are we will just pray and say that may God fulfil all your heart's desire."

The year 1964 registers the triumph of my another student and is particularly dear to me because that year no book of mine was coming out, and also for the fact that the student, Dr. Mohammad Mohsin, being a purely Nepali citizen, in my mental scheme filled up a lacuna in my pupil coverage. Dr. Bopegamage, who had registered a similar triumph some seven years before, being a Ceylonese, represented the southern neighbour of my country. And now in 1964 Dr. Mohsin, a Nepali, representing the northern neighbour completed the coverage.

Dr. Mohsin had attended my M.A. lectures and had passed his M.A. examination by papers.

He began work on urbanization which interested him. It was not till after June 1959 that his topic was fixed as "Socio-Ecological study of a Workshop Town (with reference to Chittaranjan)". He successfully submitted his thesis in 1963. The condition in which it was submitted was so perfect that Dr. Mohsin's book, entitled *Chittaranjan—a Study in Urban Sociology*, which is nothing other than his thesis named differently, saw the light of day in 1964 (May).

The preface that Dr. Mohsin has written to his book bespeaks his developed mind and testifies to his attitude to his research-venture and to the person whom he chose as his guide. This attitude of a research student—and I am convinced, of all students taking University Education—to his endeavour and towards his teacher is the proper one. If the teacher reciprocates on his plane I think best results are bound to follow both in regard to the dissemination and creation of knowledge and also to human relations within the University. Dr. Mohsin's statement of the position is an echo of the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhuti appropriately and beautifully qualified: Says Dr. Mohsin: "A good teacher is like a skilled potter. As a potter, with a subtle touch of his expert hands, turns a lifeless piece of clay into an object of art, admired and appreciated by connoisseurs, a learned and dedicated teacher leaves an

everlasting imprint of his dynamism on the personality of his pupil. But while the form, structure and style of a piece of art most decidedly speak of the calibre behind it, the extent of its perfection, to a great extent, depends upon the intrinsic worth of the substance that goes into its creation. Hence, the artist should not be held responsible for any flaws arising out of such a situation."

I am happy to know that Dr. Mohsin has flourished in his country; he is high up in the Secretariat, Deputy Secretary or Secretary. He has been showing his regard for me regularly for more than a decade.

The same year another significant academic event from my point of view was the success of Mr. Kunj Bihari Singh, a Manipuri, who wrote a fine thesis on the Meiteis of Manipur and secured his Ph.D. degree. Dr. Singh is remembered by me and my wife as one of the most affectionate, and deferential of my research students, whose smile still stands before our eyes whenever there is occasion that has even a remote reference to him. His deferential temperament and the success of Vaishnavism among his people can be gauged from the fact that never once did he walk into my house with his shoes on but always unlaced his boots outside and entered with only socks on, with folded hands in obeisance. He still sends me greetings on my birthday, not infrequently accompanied by some memento.

Early in 1965 (March 24), I was pleasantly surprised to receive an invitation to enrol myself as member of the International Platform Association. The invitation, signed by Mr. Dan Tyler Moore, the Chairman of the Board, and by Mr. Drew Pearson as the Chairman of Committee on Associates, explained that the restricted membership of the 61-year old organization to which belonged such past worthies as Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, and present ones represented by ten per cent of the members of the U.S. Senate, had decided in July 1964 "to create a limited number of new memberships". It further stated that the "membership includes the talent that appears on the platform, those who book the talent, the chairmen who buy the talent, and, most important, those who though not directly interested in the business of the platform still enjoy the fellowship of and personal contact with its interesting, provocative membership", the members

meeting together once a year and being kept informed and in touch through the I.P.A. magazine *Talent* "mailed quarterly to all members". I was naturally very much excited over the discovery of my greatness through this invitation. However, my priorities having been strictly ordered in regard to my financial situation, which had got more difficult than when I had, earlier, declined the invitations of a number of American Learned Societies, I had regretfully to deny myself the distinction!

Apropos of my financial situation I may mention here that in 1964 or 1965 I found it necessary for the first time to go to the University in a taxi and return too in it. For the bus or the train had become too uncomfortable and physically and mentally taxing to me. The increasing cost of living, too, had to be accommodated. And as I have been doing the family's bazaaring, visiting the market generally thrice a week for the last thirty years, I know the pressure of the screw quite directly. The taxi-fare has increased more than once. Today whenever I go to the University—I have brought the old frequency of five days a week down to two or three days now—my pocket is emptied of not less than twenty-five rupees. Having accepted research students for Ph.D. and having decided to use the powers of intellectual work and of physical trouble, still left by God to me, to their utmost, going to the University has been given almost the highest priority. So that's that!

This priority-ordering it is that enabled me to bear down the disappointment and chagrin percolating into me by the publication of two books, both quite novel and fresh as I look at knowledge and books. One of them, *Religious Consciousness*, published only two months after the above invitation was received and declined, is big enough to form nearly three books of the size of the second one, *Shakespeare on Conscience and Justice*.

Shakespeare on Conscience and Justice was characteristically and intentionally brought out on August 15, 1965, the anniversary day of my country's Independence. I was convinced by my study of many Sanskrit books during almost half a century, by my study of Indian history over almost the same period, and by my experience of a longer duration of our people in their social and political behaviour, that the greatest need of

the time for us was to take due cognizance of and apply our minds to the two concepts of Conscience and Justice. In the introductory chapter of the book I referred only to the world phenomenon of Conscience and Justice being appealed to more and more and being actually more and more needed as the basis of conduct if the international get-together was to develop into an international community. I did not mention the dire need of diligent cultivation and assiduous application of those concepts in the context of our national affairs.

The role played by conscience in the Protestant Revolution particularly in England and by both conscience and justice in English social and political history is so impressive that a sociologist cannot help wondering about the genesis of the power of those concepts in that society. He need not be a very profound student of English literature to detect that Shakespeare is likely to be one of the most potent sources of that genesis. Being somewhat of a student of English literature and having had to study at least six of Shakespearian important dramas in my University education career, I turned to a study of the master's plays with a fresh mind and an interested look. And having done that I widened my knowledge of these concepts by a perusal of some authoritative recent contributions to the elucidation of the concepts of conscience and justice. Thus having satisfied myself that Shakespeare's contribution was significant in the total context of these concepts I made bold to publish the results of my study. I felt really happy when early in December 1965 Prof. Robert K. Merton in his letter of acknowledgement of the receipt of a copy of the book said: "I have only begun to read your present book which you were kind enough to send me but I do want to tell you how much I appreciate your imaginative treatment of the subject. Now that the book is before us, *it seems odd that in all this while no one before thought to search out the recurrent Shakespearian perspectives on conscience and justice.* I look forward with great anticipation to a careful reading of *this significant book.*"*

I received seven reviews of the book in Indian newspapers. All of them, except the one in the *Times of India* were favourable. The *Times of India* reviewer, having lumped up together three

* Italics mine.

publications on Shakespeare, putting my book in the middle position and just tolerated it, his attitude being the same as is conveyed in the words "it could have been worse!"

The earliest and one of the longest reviews was the one which Mr. B. C. Wesley—I take it that Mr. Wesley is a Christian and his passing a favourable judgment is a proof of my assertion about the genesis and spread of the master concepts of Conscience and Justice made above—published in the *Deccan Herald* of 28th November 1965. The review begins with, "The versatility of some eminent men is astounding. A reputed authority on Sociology and Anthropology, Prof. G. S. Ghurye has now written a book on Shakespeare. *It is not just one more book on the Bard of Avon ... Prof. Ghurye has broken entirely new ground and his book deals with a subject untouched by other critics and commentators of Shakespeare.*"* The long review ends with: "A lot of painstaking research has gone into this study. The author's deep learning, his familiarity with Shakespeare and his critics and the soundness and sanity of his judgements are in evidence in every chapter of the book. This book deserves to be widely read."

The Amrita Bazar Patrika of 5th December, 1965, carrying an even more laudatory review of the book, brought out its significance in the wider context in so far as the concepts of authority and power are concerned, and justified or rather upheld my contention regarding the influence of Shakespearean treatment of Conscience and Justice on later generations of England. It ends with: "*This original contribution to the Shakespeare lore will be found most stimulating**, and will be recognised and accepted as a novel and satisfying* study of the impact of Shakespeare's plays on the human mind. *It is besides, a significant contribution to the history of the concepts of Conscience, Justice, Authority and Power, of which, paradoxically, Power is being pushed to the forefront and getting alarmingly more and more dominant, while Conscience, Justice and Authority, which humanity is in dire need of, are forced, unwittingly though, to the back seat.*"*

The Hindu of Nov. 21, 1964, *The Sunday Standard* of January 30, 1966, *Bharat Jyoti* of April 10, 1966, and *The Hitavada* of

* Italics mine.

December 31, 1967 complete the list of reviews I saw. It is clear that for two years the book was being reported upon and was thus being impinged upon the minds of the English-reading public of my country. And inspite of there being in the country nearly one thousand Colleges and a large number of Universities, the book has had so far the poorest sales among my books, hardly two hundred copies having been disposed. I am here thinking of sales not as bringer of money to me, though of course I cannot possibly afford to be indifferent to it, but as an index of the spread and possible percolation of the contents of the book which are declared by so many reviewers as significant and important.

As chance had it—it seems as if it was the will of God to give me a saddening experience that this chance should have occurred—a review of a book entitled *Shakespeare: Time and Conscience* appeared in the *New York Times* of July 26, 1966, when I was living in the home of my son Sudhish in Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A. Under the large-capital-lettered caption "Books of the Times/As a Russian Sees Shakespeare" Mr. Thomas Lask gave a long review of this book by Grigori Kozintsev with an inset fine photo of the author. Unfortunately the date of publication of the book is not given; and I do not find the book in the University Library. The reviewer, who is impressed with "the fruitful insights" Kozintsev has offered "in to the poet's work", tells us that both the insights and Kozintsev's "attempts to bridge the economics of the time with the characters in the plays" which the reviewer asserts "loses him as Kozintsev's reader", are all based on a study of the four plays "Lear", "Hamlet" and "Henry IV" in two parts. Mr. Lask, the reviewer, is lost to the author of "Shakespeare: Time and Conscience" evidently because Mr. Kozintsev's view of even the Conscience that Shakespeare has tried to probe is the standard one of Communist theory. For Kozintsev writes: "The evil that comes to a man is secreted in the heart of social relations" asserting that Goncril, Regan and Edmund are "full of the spark of the period of primary accumulation of capital!"

The year 1966, the year on the 12th day of the month of May of which we were married fifty years before at Vengurla, proved quite memorably eventful. First my wife arranged a limited dinner-party at our residence on the day. The party,

besides my wife, myself, my daughter and her husband and their two daughters, Archana and Sadhana, was joined by nine couples and one lady and one gentleman. All our invitees were delighted to be with us that evening. Most of them brought presents too. My wife, who is a good cook and can concoct a few choice recipes to distinction, had taken special care to provide a proper fare. Dr. Mabel Fonseca, one of my affectionate ex-students, had brought a huge cake specially made for the occasion. However, it proved to be the day of Mr. Y. M. Rege's affection. For he, in his perceptive and dynamic affection, provided for something, which I, in my simplicity or austerity or folly, had not thought about. He brought with him an expert photographer, who, staying through the party, took a dozen fine snaps of the occasion. One who goes out so much cannot forget to make a present of a bunch of the prints. And Rege did very much more. He got all the snaps fairly enlarged and putting them up in a fine album, inscribed at the beginning of it in ornamentally coloured script an appropriate legend and presented it to us a few days later. Rege's perceptive affection has provided us with a nice memento of the golden jubilee of our marriage which enables us to see our joyous friends in our house in our company whenever we open out the album. Our thanks to Rege can only be boundless.

Our Sudhish who pays us a visit every two years or so, on his last visit in August 1965—he emplaned in a Swissair plane on 5th September 1965 and was at the Karachi airport, fortunately for us, only a few hours before Pakistan treated Indians as her war-captives—had told his mother that he wanted us both to live with him in his house at Bloomington for a few weeks at least. My wife was ready but I had my own doubts about myself; for my health between 1951, when we had flown to London, and 1965 had deteriorated very much, leaving me very little choice of food and making me very excitable and prone to nervous attacks. But when, in the latter half of April 1966 Sudhish, without consulting us, sent us tickets to Chicago via Zurich, my hesitation succumbed and my reason asserted itself. I thought “the number of hours that I would have to be in the air would not be more than those in 1951, to reach London; I would be able to rest at Zurich for six hours; and the planes would be much more worthy

and steady". We left for Chicago via Zurich late in June 1966. The planes did prove much more steady than those in 1951. Especially the D. C. giant plane from Zurich to Chicago via Montreal was so steady in its progress that at times we used to wonder whether it had remained at the same spot without motion.

At Chicago Sudhish was waiting for us at the airport. We went in a taxi to another airport to emplane for Indianapolis. Sudhish took his car out of the car-park—I was pleased to see the arrangement which is a crying need for a city like Bombay—paying the dues for accommodation for about two or three hours and drove us to his Bloomington home. When we reached there at about 11 p.m., Charlotte, Sudhish's wife, was standing in the porch waiting for us. As we were tired, we immediately went to bed and slept happily and soundly.

In a plot of about two acres Sudhish's small neat house with a garden in the making pleased us very much. Its central heating arrangement was devised by himself. The country being highly wooded is very pleasant with ups and downs and fine roads through the thickets, which, though narrow by the city standard, are broad enough for a big car to be driven smoothly. Our Sudhish gave us plenty of drives through them. We visited a nearby village with associations of early Colonial days preserved intact and a museum attached to exhibit other items of life in the Colonial days. The most beautiful scene nearby is the spot, where Indiana University's boating club is situated. It is a magnificent site by the bank of a huge riverlike lake, very much bigger than any we have seen here round about, the Kamshet, Valwan or Vihar ones. It becomes a humming, laughing, cooking and eating site of families on Sundays and Saturdays. People go there with their mechanised small crafts carried on the trailer of their cars and enjoy boating in between bathing, eating and singing. The people struck us as rather crazy after this type of pleasure or relaxation. In marked contrast stood the bare surroundings of their houses, many of which have as big as a two-acre compound. Besides a good patch of turf one sees very little of flowering plants or other trees, not to speak of kitchen-gardening. We were struck by the contrast with the English scene in the suburbs of London which came back to our minds, my mind going back further to visualize Cambridge environs of forty five years earlier!

About 15th August we boarded a fast train at Indianapolis, where Sudhish and Charlotte had driven us in their car, at about 5 p.m., bound for the great centre of advanced learning in America of world renown, where one of the Science geniuses of the world, Albert Einstein, had lived and died not many years before. Arriving at Tenton, the nearest railway station to Princeton, we found Dr. Ziemer, a colleague and friend of Sudhish, who was replenishing himself with intellectual stimulation at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton for the year, with his car ready to drive us to the Princeton hotel. The hotel standing on the bank of a small lake still haunts us with Princeton memories, though we stopped there only for twenty four hours. So str king was the scene and its tranquillity!

We were impressed by the sight of the classical buildings in the midst of venerable-looking trees. We saw the Woodrow Wilson Hall and took tea among some of the advanced students who had gathered there for a like purpose as that of our host Dr. Ziemer. We dined with Dr. Ziemer and his wife and two young children. They dine an hour or so earlier in U.S.A. than what was the practice in England. Next morning Dr. Ziemer kindly escorted us to that world's hubbub centre of tall structures and wide one-way streets, where long distance buses stop underground, fairly far removed from a taxi-stand and where, however, neither porters are available nor can a taxi be called in near enough for a traveller to board it easily with his luggage! We would have been half dead, if not wholly so, if we had gone there by ourselves. Dr. Ziemer, a very much younger and stronger man, kindly relieved us of much of our luggage burden and we at last reached a taxi, albeit panting for breath! Dr. Ziemer saw us settled in our room at the Taft Hotel, where Sudhish had previously, through Dr. Ziemer's New York friend, fixed a fine room for us, and left for Princeton.

In New York we fended for ourselves, for almost a week, seeing the museums, the Public Library and visiting shops just to see what kind they are and to experience the behaviour of both pedestrian traffic and salesmanship of the shops. In all respects in our opinion New York and Americans rank below London and her citizens and denizens. Even the great toyshop

of New York was in our view inferior to that of London seen fifteen years before. Restaurants provided food which generally was in the form of a compote. We could not get pure roast or boiled chicken or lamb. The same more or less was the case with vegetables, cabbage by itself was difficult to get but one had to take it compounded with some other vegetables or so. Fruit shops, too, could not offer really ripe fruit which was un-iced. The most memorable fruit of U.S.A. to us is the water-melon we used to get in our son's home in Bloomington. The melon available in the market at Bloomington is the best we have ever tasted anywhere. Even the Malwan melons, which are very much prized on our side and which having been eaten by me since childhood had the halo of old sweet memories, utterly paled before the lovely red, firm but juicy and watery but sweet melons of Bloomington, wherever they might have come there from.

The one item of New York public provision of food for lunch, etc. that has stuck in our memory is the small restaurant, mostly kept it appears by Italians, where very few people can sit inside but where for the most part people standing outside munch their lunch in a tantalizingly zestful manner and put the money on the counter and wend their way. This passing lunch, as I may call it, must really be very nutritious; for it consists mostly of a fairly long sausage used to make a sandwich with a softish bun-like long bread and of a drink to enable it to settle down properly in the stomach. We were most tickled to see that coconut water and buttermilk figured among the drinks, along with milk, most commonly asked for and supplied. Buttermilk we could understand in the context of nutritional advances since the World War II but coconut water, though explicable on theory, caused a great surprise to us. How and whence was it is the question. We were not able to ascertain whether the so-called coconut water was our 'neera' or only water from fresh young coconuts, our 'panivala nariel' or 'sahale' as we call it in Marathi. All these drinks we saw were stored in tapped jars and were drawn, whenever required, from the taps!

At last the day for our departure arrived and we reached the airport, so many miles away, in a taxi. At the booking counter there arose a difficulty. The checker declined to ad-

mit our luggage on seeing our passports. She told me that we had no visas though we would have to stop at Zurich for almost three days. I argued that their agent at Bloomington had made the reservations after seeing our passports and we had booked our hotel accommodation for the entire period of our sojourn at Zurich, when she told us that we would have to leave Zurich by the connecting plane immediately after our reaching there. When she still stood adamant I said, "All-right; you may arrange for our immediate departure. I shall take up the matter of the money loss and mental chagrin caused by the negligence of your Bloomington agent". I do not know what the result of this tete-a-tete by itself would have been. I was glad to find the situation eased and resolved in our favour by a lady, who happened to be in the air-travel arrangement circle and who happened to be a friend of Sudhish's wife Charlotte. She was to have met us at the hotel but when she had happened to call there we were out and we had then missed each other. She arrived at the window in the nick of time. She moved about inside this way and that for about half an hour and our luggage was moved in. She herself escorted us to the last door where all non-passengers by the particular flight are to stop. We thanked her profusely and were soon ensconced in the seats of the giant plane about 5 p.m. of New York.

The plane had travelled for about four or five hours when to our great but momentary surprise signs of sunrise in front were discernible. In about an hour or so thereafter we could see the orange orb of the Sun. About 7 a.m. of Zurich, I believe, we touched down. We had to keep our passports with the police-officer at the airport to be collected on our return to board a plane for Bombay. We went out for a little outing after breakfast. After lunch again we went out and this time we reached the shore of the beautiful lake. The scene we saw so struck us that we recalled all the scenes and sites we had seen in our life since 1932, including the Regent's Park, London and the lake at Geneva, where fortune had taken us while on our return from London in 1951, and the then quite fresh Bloomington one and emphatically concluded that there was no comparison with Zurich and its lake-view in our limited repertory of scenes.

On Sunday about 11 a.m. we left our hotel for the airport and emplaned for Bombay, touching down, I think, at Athens and Beirut on the way. At the Santa Cruz airport we were received by Kumud and her husband along with our grand-daughters. And thus the journey, to go on which I was hesitating even to the extent of displeasing Sudhish, ended in an atmosphere of joy and happiness, thanks to God.

The purely domestic front thus had in 1966 magnificent success. And the academic front had refused to lag behind. For in December, before my birthday anniversary, I received a copy of Dr. Mabel Fonseca's first book *Counselling for Marital Happiness* issued in a charming garb. Dr. Fonseca had successfully submitted her thesis written under my guidance early in 1965, with identical title. I regard the work of Dr. Fonseca as a magnificent success on my academic front for reasons which I cannot explain better than in Dr. Fonseca's words. The following passage from her preface to her book gives her explanation: "It is here [on the background of her work and experience as an Hon. Secretary of the Family Counselling Bureau of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene] that I was fortunate in having Dr. G. S. Ghurye as my guide; and the significance of the role played by him in the lives of student aspirants in search of truth came upon me with all the impact. For it was Dr. Ghurye, my revered *Guru*, who kindled the spark that ultimately resulted in this work. From the little that he heard from me of the work being done by the agencies, his keen and penetrating mind saw rich soil in a raw state, but ample for the sociologist to work on it earnestly. In the process of sifting the material at hand, much would be revealed about the problems, if not the whole truth, and would lead to the ways and means for their solution. *Dr. G. S. Ghurye was the only sociologist some 27 years back, that is, in 1937, to see years ahead and to publish in his monograph 'Sociology and Social Work', the need for counselling services in India of the future. This work I hope will give him the satisfaction of knowing that his is not 'a voice in the wilderness', and that his call has found an echo** ... My only wish is that he will live to see Counselling in India achieve its purpose and goal."

* Italics mine.

The publication of the book brought Dr. Fonseca immediate recognition from international and American organizations and demand for her services from Indian private social service organizations. Today she is the Director of Family Living Institute of the Indian Social Science Institute of Delhi. Her book is already sold out and has found a place in the courses and syllabuses of some leading Social Science or Social Work Schools of the country.

The year 1968 saw the performance of the year 1965 repeated only in so far as my production was concerned. Two of my books, each fresh and novel in its own way, and much more difficult to write and prepare than any one of my books except *Indian Costume* were published that year. *Rajput Architecture*, which really deals not so much with the entire complex of architectural achievements of either Rajasthan or the Rajputs but mainly concentrates on establishing the existence of a Rajput School of Architecture from about the 7th century A.D. to the 19th century and its primacy in about two-thirds of the country, was the first to appear, having been published in March or April of 1968.

Containing as *Rajput Architecture* does 111 pictures, which are the basis for and illustrate the observations made and generalisations stated, it affords rich field for reviewers to be mere carping critics than sympathetic appraisers. The large number of quotations I have thought it necessary to make to support my views, whether appraising the structures or stating the generalisations, from old students of these structures at first-hand on the spot, is another source of irritation to reviewers. Most of them have failed to appreciate the place of such observations in an unorthodox thesis which an author puts forward as his special contribution and is based on many structures, which none of those whose observations are quoted had viewed together but each one of them was almost concerned with a few only and those too confined to a fairly limited area. The nearest approach to a proper perspective on this aspect occurs in the review carried by the prestigious magazine *Marg* (Dec. 1969). It reads: "Unfortunately, in spite of his own accurate conceptions, Dr. Ghurye has not lost the habit of the scholar in quoting extensively other authorities like Cunningham, Burgess, Cousens and the other pioneers. And yet the book

was a necessary compilation, as much material has been made accessible to students from many scattered sources."

However, all the five reviews I have with me, including the above-quoted one, agree in welcoming the book as a contribution to the study of Indian architecture bringing into relief the special role of the Rajputs. *The Hitavada* reviewer (July 28, 1968) goes the furthest and opines: "It is a book that could well be included in the category of those of everlasting interest and it would surely find a place of pride on the shelves of every library of consequence." Regretfully I have to record that the prophesy or wish-portion of the above review has evidently not been fulfilled, so limited have the sales of the book been during these two years!

The other book of the year, the largest of my books, entitled *Social Tensions in India* was brought out on August 15. My publishers had agreed with me that the book, dealing as it does with the acutest of the problems before the Indian people, should be best published on the Independence day and I was very happy to get my first copy of it on that day. It has received many reviews. All the six major reviews appearing between December 1968 and March 1970, may be said to welcome the contribution.

Hindustan Times (29-12-68) putting up the first review is rather lukewarm about it, owing to there being no solution offered, the review ending with, "The book is impressive in content, but how far it will help in solving the problem is in question." The *Hindu* following in 1969 (January 1) is perhaps a little more lenient to it as it rounds off its review with "Even so, the problems raised by the author and the information he has provided are of value, because they relate to many things which merit serious attention everywhere in India today." The reviewer in *The Statesman* (13-4-69) appears to be the most pleased with it, for he gives a neat and lucid summary of the contents after starting with, "Dr. Ghurye is the doyen of Indian Sociologists and *this is perhaps the most definitive, best researched, study on social tensions (problems of national integration, in official parlance) yet produced.*"* The reviewer in *The Times of India* (27-4-69) finds "some three books con-

* Italics mine.

tained in the volume". He describes what in his view forms the first book "As a fascinating study of the Articles of the Constitution which spell out the rights of the individual in the Indian context." The second book, according to him, is "a pessimistic survey of Hindu-Muslim relations during five hundred years". The third book, he asserts, is formed by "a highly critical review of the Government's administrative and educational policies". *The National Herald* of March 8, 1970 carried a long summary-cum-remarks review by Mr. J. P. Singh, introducing the book thus: "He has brought his deep learning to bear on the problem of social tensions in Indian society in this voluminous book."

I have quoted some of the salient points from the reviews of the book only for my readers to be appraised of its contents and their value in the eyes of the Indian public. My own conviction, which alone could have carried me successfully through the venture of writing out about six hundred pages in my handwriting in my condition of health, was that I had done a job in discharging my duty by my country and nation. And my conviction had already, a whole month before the first Indian reaction came, received one of the most competent confirmations. And that was through the pen of Prof. Robert K. Merton of Columbia University, which reads: "Once again my colleagues and I are deeply indebted to you for a *comprehensive and profound sociological analysis of a basic problem*. your *Social Tensions in India* will be a source of new understanding by many social scientists and especially those of us in Western Societies." The notice of the book in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), three months later (27-2-1969) more or less echoed the last part of the judgment when it stated: "This book, large though it is, should be *required background reading for all Western students of India as she is today, for it holds the key to much that would otherwise perplex and even baffle them.*"*

To my surprise, and I must own to my great satisfaction too, my 75th birthday registered the climax of publicity of my career, so well appreciated by students throughout my active career at the University and particularly since 1951. The feli-

* Italics mine.

citation-function which took place at the Taj Mahal Hotel was planned by my student and friend Dr. Sukhdev Hooda, who is an ardent admirer of both Sociology and me. He was ably helped on the publicity side by Dr. Devdas Pillai, who is by now the author of three books on Sociological topics and continues to be a sincere researcher in Sociology. Dr. Pillai was a member of the M.A. class in Sociology along with Dr. Hooda during two years before my retirement from the Department of Sociology. After his M.A. he worked for his Ph.D. degree under the able guidance of the late Dr. K. M. Kapadia, who headed the Department after me. Dr. Pillai contributed to the Bombay paper *The Bharat Jyoti* of Dec. 8, 1968, a column-long article entitled "India's Founding Father of Sociology", paying a glowing tribute to my work for Sociology and bringing out the essential quality of my intellectual and academic stance. This well-written tribute triggered off a chain reaction of publicity for my work. Almost all the leading English Dailies and at least three top Bombay dailies in Marathi carried a contributed article or an interviewer's note on me and my work. The prestigious Marathi daily, one having the largest circulation *Loksatta*, devoted its editorial to me and my work in Sociology. The editor, in his well-polished writing, assumed the standard role and admonished those sectors of society whose business and duty it is to accord appropriate recognition to sincere and great but unattached uncommitted work, for not having done it in my case. *The Times of India* interviewer Mr. O. K. J. was so far touched that he came all the way to Khar and questioned me at my residence "Prasada" for about three quarters of an hour. He stated his reaction in a note in the issue of his paper Dec. 15. He described me as an intellectual titan. The interviewer of *The Indian Express*, who met me at the University, too, devoted an appreciatory note to me in *Sunday Standard*.

In June 1969 my book on caste, first published in 1932, was brought out in its fifth edition. The new edition bears the same title as the original one, *Caste and Race in India*. Having dropped all the chapters which dealt with 'Class' and 'Occupation', I added others designed to make the treatment of Caste and Race complete in itself. They fill up the lacunae in the original work regarding the relations between caste and sub-

caste, kinship and caste, discussing *inter alia* some of the views on caste current among students of the subject between 1910 and 1950. The treatment of caste in the political context is carried out not only to cover the present as was done in the four previous editions but also the past in the Tamilian region. Caste geography of both the key-States, U.P. and Tamilnad, too, finds a place in this edition.

Two other events of 1969 brought me great satisfaction as fulfilment of academic career. Dr. M. S. A. Rao in his letter of March 12, informed me that he was appointed Professor of Sociology in the Delhi School of Economics, and wrote: "I seek your blessings, as my 'guru' on this event. I am also glad to inform you that two of my books—*Urbanization and Social Change: A Study of Village on the Urban Fringe* and *Essays on Sociology of Economic Development and Social Change* are in the press." The other occurrence was Dr. Unwalla's visit with his wife and young son. Dr. Unwalla told me that he had come to India on some business of the institute where he was working partly as a lecturer or research conductor and partly as an executive. He appeared quite well-off. In the course of his giving me the information that he would return not to Michigan but to Florida where he had a new assignment, I gathered that he already owned a fairly big house in Michigan or Lansing. Particularly gratifying to me was his ultimate success in the venture of authorship. He actually presented me a copy of the book "The Emergent American Society, Vol. I, Large-Scale Organizations", which is a joint work of W. Lloyd Warner, D. B. Unwalla and J. H. Trimm.

In June 1970 Mrs. D. J. Desai's thesis entitled "Social Background of Sexual Representation on Mediaeval Hindu Temples", brought me the highest satisfaction of my career as a research guide. It evoked a report from the external referee, Prof. Niharranjan Ray, which stands out among the reports of my research students, though a number of them had earned very high encomium from their external referees. Prof. Ray says in his report: "Reading through this dissertation has been a great pleasure; in the process I have also learnt a great deal. It is not often that a doctoral dissertation affords such a chance. The physical aspects of the dissertation have been so well taken care of that they leave particularly no scope for adverse com-

ment. The theme is of great relevance to the understanding of India's socio-religious situation of the past, as well as of the present; it has often been referred to and discussed but never very adequately, nor critically and scientifically. More often than not all approaches have so far been subjective or idealistic. It is very refreshing therefore to find one taking up the theme once more but from a different point of view altogether, applying to the mass of data an analytical tool which is in the main tool of sociology and social anthropology."

With Dr. (Mrs.) Desai's thesis the number of my research students who earned their Ph.D. degrees between 1959 and August 1970 stood at 14. Of these theses six have been published as books. Their titles are: (1) *The Domestic Servant Class*; (2) *Greater Bombay*; (3) *Rural Labour in Industrial Bombay*; (4) *Chittaranjan: A study in Urban Sociology*; (5) *The Newars of Nepal*; and (6) *Counselling for Marital Happiness*.

Dr. (Mrs.) Desai, having received post-doctoral stipend for two years from the Indian Council of Social Science Research, is at present carrying on further research under my supervision at the University.

About April 20, 1971, I received a letter from the Director, Division of Human Rights, UN, inviting me to contribute a background paper for discussion in a "world-wide seminar" to be held at Nice, France, in August-September 1971. I felt both pleasantly surprised and ruefully upset, the invitation brought pleasantness not so much because it involved the gain of the sumptuous honorarium of about Rs. 3600 for writing down about 30 pages as because it demonstrated the registration of my study of the report on the "Seminar on Problems of a Multi-national Society" held by the same Division in 1965. In my *Social Tensions in India* (1968), in one whole chapter, I have criticised the circumstances of the holding of the Seminar and the so-called contribution of it to the solution of the problems. In the end, I warned the Director and others that the type of irresponsible discussion and its summarization showed such lack of appreciation of the difficulties of new Nations, many or most of which are multi-group ones, that because of it the moral authority of the U.N. will suffer a set-back. The invitation for me to contribute a background paper to the Seminar

to be held at Nice was clear evidence of the registration of my protest by the U. N. authorities. It naturally gave me satisfaction, particularly because I find, from reviews and sales of my book, that in my country the book has failed to evoke much interest in minority problems and their handling by the U.N. and the obstacles that the U.N. through many of its outwardly well-intentioned acts and resolutions, is creating in the path of the new Nations, struggling hard to modernize themselves and knit together their motely populations into a sort of an integrated whole.

The subject of the Seminar was "The dangers of recrudescence of intolerance in all forms and the search for ways of preventing and combating it". Here, I thought if anywhere, was the Roman Nero fiddling while Rome was burning! The unarmed citizens of East Bengal—I think they had even then declared themselves to constitute the Bangla Desh—were being ruthlessly mowed down by West Pakistani Army, which was raping the younger women of that region during about a whole month.

Human rights guaranteed by the U.N. Charter were trodden under foot most egregiously in East Bengal. The Human Rights Division had done nothing, not raised a word of protest to my knowledge. It was to my mind its duty to agitate immediately for the U.N. to take hold of the situation in defence of the rights, if their sanctity was to be preserved and the future progress of mankind was to be safeguarded under a common world-organisation. It was, on the other hand, engaged in arranging a seminar on the philosophy of tolerance, when the Big powers that manipulate the General Assembly of the U.N., in all probability, were blaming the unfortunate but determined citizens of Bangla Desh for intolerance as these powers conceived it in the case of other than themselves and their protegee or pet States! This callous situation aroused in me feelings of anger, sympathy and concern. The situation was in a way the consequence of the hopes and expectations raised by the U.N. itself. The father of the idea of an independent Bangla Desh was the U.N. itself. The U.N. had sponsored and stood for the doctrine of self-determination. If ever there was a perfectly fit case for the operation of this rather unhealthy doctrine, it was that of East Bengal or East Pakistan. The citizens

of East Bengal or East Pakistan formed about 55% of the total population of whole Pakistan. Their language is different from that of West Pakistan. They are separated by more than a thousand miles of foreign land from West Pakistan. And with one voice ascertained by West Pakistan through a properly held election, the citizens of East Pakistan had announced their decision to be a separate independent State. West Pakistan was trying to subdue them by killing and terrorising, though according to the doctrine of self-determination of the U.N. sponsoring, the East Bengalis were entitled to form themselves into a separate State.

I could not, therefore, bring myself to accept the invitation.

A little later, I received a communication from the Secretary of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which gave me a pleasant surprise. The union holds conferences at long intervals of five years or so. Since the first or second conference in about 1935 when I was appointed to the Committee of the Union, I never found it feasible to attend any of the six or so conferences. Yet as the communication informed me I was nominated by the Union to the Committee of Honour of its Permanent Council. I felt grateful to the executive section of the Union for this spontaneous recognition of my work in Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

As I ceased accepting students for embarking on research for a degree some three or four years ago, I have now no student reading under my guidance. The last student has been adjudged eligible for the Ph.D. degree and is awaiting the convocation. So far 80 dissertations have been successfully completed under my guidance and accepted by the University for appropriate degrees, 25 for M.A. and 55 for Ph.D. Of these 38 have been published as books and one is in press. One of my new books: *Two Brahmanical Institutions*, is just out on the market, one is going to press and a brochure has its typescript being corrected. And I have launched on another in the hope that I may be able to complete it.*

* I am glad to state that it is not only completed by now but its typescript too stands corrected and is awaiting my friendly publishers acceptance.

PART II

II



VII

MEGALITHIC REMAINS OF INDIA*

THIS is one of the four papers which secured me, in April 1923, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology of Cambridge University. When I went into residence at Cambridge in April 1921 I was put under the guidance of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S. Rivers was known then as the greatest living anthropologist. He was a great advocate of the historical approach to and ethnological analysis of culture. His presidential address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1911 was entitled 'Ethnological Analysis of Culture'. Soon after, he had contributed a paper to the Volume of Essays presented to Sir William Ridgeway. Its topic was culture contact. That same volume contained Sir Grafton Elliot Smith's paper on the Evolution of the Dolmen. Elliot Smith had further elaborated his theory in one or two books like *The Evolution of the Dragon*, published only one or two years before I had reached Cambridge. Rivers was a close friend of Elliot Smith. W. J. Perry's wild generalizations were yet to come. Naturally when in search of my topic for the coveted Ph.D. degree I turned to a study of Megalithic monu-

* The original of this paper was "Funerary Monuments of India", and was published in *Man in India* in 1926.

ments, a small book on which by T. E. Peet had interested me in them.

H. G. Wells had lent his powerful support to Elliot Smith's theory of heliolithic culture complex by accepting it and utilizing it in his appealing book *History of Mankind*. It was the first book of that significant name, properly and truly applied, for Ratzel's *History of Mankind*, though a very grand book was ethnography and not history. Wells, too, was counted among Rivers' friends.

I decided to bring together the scattered information on megalithic remains discovered in India and to test Elliot Smith's hypothesis and/or to test the diffusionist viewpoint in relation to this complex of culture traits.

I had not forgotten this paper when I published, in 1965, a collection of other papers of mine under the title *Anthropo-Sociological Papers*; but I had thought that republication required a search through the vast archaeological literature that was being produced in post-Independence India. I was aware of the addition to the stock of knowledge of megalithic remains that was being made by anthropologists like Dr. A. Aiyappan but I was not conversant with our archaeologists' contributions. Two or three years back having got relatively free from my other and more pressing commitments I turned to a search in this field. And almost one of the earliest of my encounters occurred with a paper by Dr. V. D. Krishnaswami, whom I remember to have met on his return from England as a fully trained archaeologist. I was surprised to find him embarked on the task of classifying Indian megalithic remains ("Megalithic Types of South India", *Ancient India*, 1949) in complete ignorance of my humble effort in that line, which this paper, published in 1926 in *Man in India*, represented. Aiyappan had referred to my views on the subject of rock-cut tombs in the course of the discussion of his find of similar remains. And that was in 1933, in his paper published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

It was not long before I chanced on Dr. F. R. Allchin's magnificent volume on Piklihal Excavations, which, though published in 1960, was received in the Bombay University Library only in February 1962. I was mightily amused to find Dr. Allchin, a Cantabridgian coming almost 40 years after me,

combating the ghost of the theory, which even in its slightly milder form had led me to the study of megalithic remains. Allchin says (p. XIV): "This word ['megalithic'] carries with it such overtones and associations with theories of Diffusionism, etc. that we shall use it only rarely and then chiefly to describe large stone monuments. Its use as an epithet to describe pottery, an archaeological culture, a civilization (!) etc. and even more remotely the people who built the graves, is at best unhappy. Thus, what is sometimes called the megalithic culture we follow Foote in naming South Indian Iron Age; ... the graves we shall ascribe to the Southern Grave or Burial complex. The Celtic words menhir, dolmen, cistaven, etc. we shall not use preferring simple descriptive terms, standing stone, stone cist, etc., nor shall we talk of menhir avenues, but rather of stone alignments, as this better describes the monuments of the Deccan". And again he insists (p. 137): "Once again, this is not the place to discuss the affinities of the stone cist-graves, alignments, and other monuments to 'megalithic' remains elsewhere, still less to discuss their relationship with a mysterious 'megalithic civilization'."*

I discovered K. S. Ramachandran giving, two years after Allchin's publication, a bibliography on Indian megaliths, in the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, (1962), of course unmindful of my endeavour in that line published 36 years before!

In the seminar on Indian Prehistory, 1964, I found Dr. N. R. Banerjee (*Indian Prehistory: 1964, 1965*, p. 186) rediscovering Vedic parallels to cairn-burials of Allchin's Southern Iron Age in later Vedic literature like *Satapatha Brahmana*, oblivious of my distinct and specific use of the same passages made in this paper forty years before him. For Vedic parallels Dr. Banerjee referred his seminarists to the authority of Macdonell and Keith, 1912, I, 8-9 (i.e. *Vedic Index*), and Kane, 1953 (i.e. Vol. IV of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasutra*), p. 246. At least one of the seminarists had enough preliminary knowledge of the practices attending disposal of the dead recorded in early

* I find that very recently, two years back (?), Prof. A. Thom, Emeritus Professor of Engineering Science at Oxford in his book "Megalithic Lunar Observations" speaks of megalithic man without reserve!

Sanskrit literature, to send him tracing the original source. P. C. Pant, the above-referred to seminarist, pointed out in his note of criticism (ibid, p. 208): "I am afraid this statement is also inaccurate. A detailed description of post-cremation burial (Smasana) is given in the *Satapatha Brahmana* and *Pitri-medhasutra*. But nowhere is there any reference to an urn burial surrounded by a circle in either of these works. *Satapatha Brahmana* simply records two traditions—one of the worshippers of gods (Vedic) and the other of the Asuras, Easterners and the like people (non-Vedic). It further says that the former made their burials four-cornered and the latter round ... It should be noted that actual pot was never kept in the burial. Then it should be covered by stone rubble. Let me also inform you that the megaliths of Banimilia-Bahera, in Mirzapur District explored by us to a great extent agree with the description given in the *Satapatha Brahmana*."

Apropos of Pant's statement I place before the readers what appears in my paper published in 1926, put hereunder in italics to draw pointed attention: "*The 'Satapatha Brahmana' ascribes to the ungodly Easterners not only the round sepulchral mound but what looks like a cist with such a mound. It says that the godly people, i.e., the Aryans, when they dig a pit for depositing the burial do not interpose anything between the earth and the burial but the ungodly Easterners separate the burial from the earth by means of a stone basin or some such thing. I think this is a clear reference to the practice of preparing such stone-lined graves as are reported from South Mirzapur*" (*Man in India*, 1926, pp. 134-35. References given: Sat. Br. XIII, 8, 1, 5, 2, 1; 3, 9).

Dr. Allchin, eight years after his pronouncement on 'megalithic' remains made in his excellent description of his Piklihal excavations, collaborating with his wife, a Cantabridgian by adoption, conjured the full ghost of Perry-Stamp diffusionism, mentioning not only W. J. Perry but also Elliot Smith and 'Heliolithic' culture, and not merely 'megalithic' as in the earlier statement, in order to exorcise it. Unfortunately, he forgot H. G. Wells and his support to the heliolithic culture complex theory (*The Birth of Indian Civilization*, 1968, p. 229). What is more surprising is that a Cambridge archaeologist should have forgotten a trained British archaeologist and Egyptolo-

gist, T. Eric Peet, who preceded the anthropologist Perry by about a decade in claiming the megalithic monuments all the world over to be the work of "a single invading race" (*Rough Stone Monuments*, pp. 143-50). Rejecting the claim of a whole complex emanating from Egypt and travelling all the eastern world and elsewhere, Allchins propounds what they call a "more sober view based upon archacological data ... the south Indian graves appear as a developing complex with several streams of influence combining in them. First, some grave types are reminiscent of those of Central Asia, Iran or the Caucasus, and could well represent traits brought from these areas by Indo-European speaking immigrants. Next, some appear as developments of the indigenous Neolithic-Chalcolithic burial customs of the Deccan. A third series points to influences from outside India, and comparable types may indicate the source of the influences. Thus stone cist graves, with and without port-holes are found in the Levant, and on the coasts of South Arabia. Pottery sarcophagi occur in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf region during the late centuries B.C., and legged urns identical to Indian types are reported from the Yemen. The same regions provide evidence of rock-cut graves with shaft-like entrances in forms strikingly reminiscent of those of the Malabar coast" (ibid, pp. 229-30).

In 1926, on a review of the so-called megalithic remains, I decided to designate them, in general terms, as Funerary Monuments, and concluded (*Man in India*, 1926, p. 138-9): "This discussion will suffice to show that we must regard India as the home of the dolmen proper while to France belongs the honour of being the home of *allees couvertes*. I have entered into this question here because it has an important bearing on the problem of the origin of the dolmen."

The various similarities to megalithic remains in different regions of the world were already pointed out by Fergusson a century ago, and forty years later by T. Eric Peet. Ireland, Wales, Denmark, France, Spain, Italy, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Syria figure among them. Most of these similarities were discussed and shown in my paper to be too broad, the peculiarities of Indian specimens marking them out as a class by themselves. Thus about the so-called holed dolmen of the Caucasus, it was not appreciated then, and appears, from the

writings of Allchins and recent Indian archaeologists, not even today, that the orientation and the position of the hole is likely to be a significant indicator. The distribution of rock-cut graves or tombs and of pottery sarcophagi on the Indian soil, both being known in the far interior, and the former particularly so being attested in Rajasthan, is such that Allchins' dependence on the Levantine or South Arabian analogues will not do. Their breezy suggestion regarding the "Indo-European speaking immigrants" bringing with them some of the Caucasian traits could be made only in total ignorance of the literary evidence provided in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.

Following the lead of the early discovery I pointed out the similarity, nay identity, of the ground plan of cists or below-the-surface-dolmens, so largely met with in the Mysore region, each of its four slabs projecting out on one side in a regular order, with a form of Swastika current in Maharashtra and also in some regions outside India. Neither Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who discovered the first stratigraphically datable of such remains, nor anyone else among the Indian archaeologists appear to have noticed the similarity; and as they never looked at my paper they could not be said to have rejected the notion.

The situation has prompted me to republish the old paper, though it has not been possible for me to summarize the information made available by the labours of archaeologists during the last fifty years.

"It is proposed to give in this paper a classified account, as far as the present state of our knowledge allows, of the funerary monuments in India. But not all funerary monuments of India are treated here. Thus the Buddhistic and Muhammedan structures erected for funerary purposes are left out of account. Principally those funerary monuments are dealt with which are generally designated megalithic monuments; but I have thought it desirable to avoid the use of this last term for the simple reason that the account includes many monuments that are non-megalithic. I take as the basis the usual classification of these monuments with some modifications.

(1) *Rock-cut Tombs**: All the known examples of such

* Prof. T. Eric Peet had noted (*Rough Stone Monuments*, 1912, pp. 154-55) the association of megalithis with rock-cut tombs in many

tombs in India are vertically cut from the rock, and not horizontally in the vertical face of the rock. An elaborate rock-cut tomb was discovered near Calicut in Malabar.¹ It consists of a hall cut in the rock to which access is given by means of a staircase. In front—West by the compass—there are two entrances to two cells. There are two more entrances to two similar cells—one on each side of the hall. The entrances to the west cells, therefore, open on the east. All the entrances are recessed, the depth of each recess being from one inch to one inch and a half. In each cell are cut out in the solid rock what appear to be a bed, a bench, a stool and a fire-place. The hall is not roofed in like the cells but left open. The cells are half filled with earth. Under this were found small earthenware vessels and iron implements and household articles like hangers of lamps. There were quite a number of four-legged pots. They are more rounded than those discovered in the Coorg monuments and have each a conical lid. They were filled with earth well jammed in. The explorer thinks that the “constructors meant to provide for their deceased relatives dwellings as comfortable as they had been accustomed to in life”. This strangely recalls the Egyptian conception of the house of the dead which was regarded as a representation of a dwelling-house and hence contained not only a bathroom but sometimes even a dummy latrine. We may go a step further and compare some details common to the two types—the stairway and the hall from which the chambers open.²

I draw attention to the close affinity that the Malabar tomb bears to its Egyptian prototypes because it is likely to afford us some means of dating this rock-tomb. As will be evident from the figures of some of the Cretan rock-tombs referred to in the last part of the paper, these, being far simpler in plan, are essentially different from the Malabar example. Hence logically we may derive the Indian specimens from the Egyptian prototypes and not from the Cretan ones, through the agency of

lands but had missed both Japan and India. To Indian example noticed in this paper Aiyappan has added another. And I may mention that I have seen rock-cut tombs marked on a map of Japan accompanying Prof. Gowland's paper in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 55, pt. II, p. 472.

1. *I.A.* (VIII) 309-11.

2. Elliot Smith (2) 513.

the later Phoenicians. Professor Elliot Smith derives the rock-tombs of Sicily from Egypt. In Egypt the rock-cut tomb makes its first appearance during the IV Dynasty and the finest specimens belong to the Middle Kingdom.³ These two limits, then, may provide us with an approximate date for the rock-tombs of Malabar. I insist on this chain of argument because that is the only reasonable one in the case of Southern India where dating by means of cultural periods is sure to lead us astray as it has already done in the case of many investigators in this field; for in Southern India, the people immediately passed from the Neolithic Age into an Age of Iron. Hence we should not be surprised at the find of iron implements in the rock-tombs and similar monuments. The tomb under review seems to have been a family funerary place of a people who practised cremation. The explorer is inclined to regard such "caves" as of the same age as the dolmen.⁴

A less elaborate type of rock-cut tomb also exists in Malabar. An example of it was discovered near Calicut. The tomb was approached by a vertical opening in the roof on the west side of the chamber. This opening was completely closed with blocks of stone covered with earth. The monument consisted of a circular chamber with a domed roof, supported in the centre "by a short round pillar tapering from the top to the bottom". The whole was cut out in the rock. "Cut into the north-west wall of the chamber, close to the entrance, is a small recess, not unlike a little doorway." The walls are left in their natural state without being dressed. Cinerary urns were found on the floor. Among them were the usual four-legged vessels.⁵

The type of rock-tomb that next comes up for description has a far wider distribution in India than the one already noticed, which is confined to Malabar. In this type three varieties may be distinguished.

(i) First come what are locally known as the *Kuta-Kallu* or *Kodi-Kal*, i.e., the umbrella-stone. The existence of such a tomb is indicated by a convex slab. This covers a chamber excavated in the ground. Access to this is given by a small

3. *ibid.*, 521-2; Maspero, pp. 172-3.

4. Logan, p. 180; *I.A.* (VIII) 311.

5. A. H. Longhurst, *Rock-Cut Tomb near Calicut, Archaeological Report*, 1911-12.

stairway. It is closed by an upright stone at the bottom. The chamber contains a large cinerary urn of coarse earthenware half-baked. In this last feature modern India is linked up with prehistoric Malabar; for, at present the small urns used for the rites connected with the disposal of the dead are of unburnt clay. The mouth of the urn is closed by a small convex stone. The urn contained a smaller one and human ashes. In the excavation, at one side is a small shelf. On this shelf are placed beads, iron-implements and earthenware pots. This variety of rock-tombs is "frequent throughout the province of Malabar and extends above the ghats into Coimbatore, where it occurs in great numbers along the valley of the Noyel river".⁶ This type of sepulchre seems to have been practised only by people of position, ordinary people simply burying the massive urns in the ground, generally on hillsides. In these latter cases, occasionally we meet with urns placed in rocks just hollowed out to hold the urn. Similar jars are found in Travancore placed in square places cut in the laterite. This may serve as a transitional type leading us to the deep wells of Tinnevely.

(ii) In the next variety, we find on a rocky ground wells cut in rows each with a diameter of 4 to 9 ft. and a depth of 12 to 15 ft. Walls are left between them. The bottom of the well is concave with a small hole in the centre to hold the leg of the pyriform urn. Sometimes two urns are placed together. The excavations are filled up to the surface with gravel, or sometimes very large stones. There was no surface indication of their presence. "In a number of urns there were quantities of mica in pieces about an inch in size. Husks of rice and millet were found in quite a large number of pots inside the urns. All the implements and weapons are in iron; there are none in bronze." The funerary urns were large one-legged globular pots of thick red earthenware, less than 3 ft. in diameter and slightly greater in height. They are similar to those found in Pallavaram in Chingleput and elsewhere. They have flat conical covers. Around the mouth is a rim very rarely impressed with the thumb-nail or incised with triangular or dotted ornaments.⁷ These tombs disclose two systems of disposal. The

6. *I.C.P. Arch.* pp. 242-3; Logan, p. 182.

7. *J.R.A.S. (N. S. VII)* 31; *A.S.I.* (1902-03) 116-20.

more general practice was to inter only a selection of bones. When the corpse was buried whole it was placed in the "squatting or sitting position". None of the bones were calcined.

Some of the tombs, which, from the size of the burial urn and from other circumstances seem to have belonged to an individual of rank or importance, yielded gold diadems. These agree closely with the description of the diadems found at Mycenae except in this particular that they were apparently fastened with thread and not with goldwire as the Mycenaean examples. A similar gold diadem was found in the mound at Lauriya in Champaran, which is more in agreement with the Mycenaean diadems than these because it bears the representation of the Earth-goddess. Perhaps the Aryans brought some of these Mycenaean practices with them; for in the mound referred to have been definitely traced by Dr. Bloch, the explorer, some of the important items of Vedic funerary ritual. If the practice of using gold-diadems for the dead was brought by the Aryans we have at present no connecting links between Champaran and Tinnevely and hence these Southern Indian specimens still remain to be explained.

In this connection I may introduce another element of Mycenaean influence.⁸ Professor Elliot Smith points out that in some of the curious temples on Mahendragiri near Cuttack, "One can detect the effects of Mycenaean accretions probably modified during its indirect transmission by Phoenician and later influences." But in view of the presence of gold diadems, I think we cannot defer the influx of Mycenaean influence to such a late date. At any rate, though the connecting links must, for the present, remain obscure, it seems probable that in some of the funerary practices India was influenced by Mycenae. In this practice, again, prehistoric India lives in contemporary India. What is known in Tamil as *Pattayam Kattaradu*, i.e. "the tying of a plate" to the forehead of a corpse must have been a survival of the custom, though what is actually done, now-a-days, is to sprinkle some grains of gold and silver on the breast of the dead. Yet the complete custom lingers among some of those castes of the Madura district which fasten a plain rectangular strip of gold on the forehead of the dead.

8. Elliot Smith (5) 69.

There was a large find of iron tools and weapons in these tombs. They show a far greater variety and development than those generally found in other parts of India in such funerary monuments. The swords and daggers had spikes but the spears, arrows, etc., had each a hollow tube-handle. The axes had diagonal rings to keep the wooden handle in position.⁹

(iii) The last variety of the rock-tomb is far more widely spread than any other. In some of the cairns at Sirumugai in Coimbatore district were discovered oblong chambers usually about 5 ft. long, 2 ft. wide and about 2 ft. deep, cut out in the natural rock. They face the east. Human remains, iron implements and pottery were found in the graves which were filled with red earth. In some was found the peculiar four-legged pottery so common in Chingleput, Tinnevely and the West Coast. They contained red earth with minute fragments of bones. In these rock-tombs no traces of stone-implements were met with though in other cairns of the locality a few stone flakes were discovered. In the tumulus-shaped cairns at Khera in Eastern Rajputana, in the centre of the tumulus was found a shallow oblong or trough-shaped cavity in the bed rock. This cavity in some cases contained a layer of pale-coloured earth, or in some cases a fine yellowish sand, foreign to the locality, which must have been brought from somewhere else and placed in the cavity on purpose. Beneath this were ashes, calcined bones, and charred wood. At Satmas in the same region were also found rock-cut chambers. The chamber was excavated under the bottom of the cairn. It was a shallow rectangular pit "just sufficient in length, breadth and depth to contain the body of a man of low stature in a reclining position with knees somewhat drawn up. Not a single chamber was so much as 6 ft. in length and generally only about 5 ft." A grave of this type was discovered at Tontpur. Underneath an oblong cairn in the solid rock was excavated a cruciform cist. In it was discovered a skeleton lying almost extended on its back, with the knees just bent up. It lay West and East, the head being to the West.¹⁰

(2) *Pure Dolmens*: Under this title will be treated all

9. *A.S.I.* (1902-03) 131 and 6.

10. *A.D.S.C.* (1913-14) pp. 44-45; *A.S.R.* (VI) 14-15, 37-9 and Pl. III.

funerary structures that are four-sided and so closed as to have served as a resting place for the dead. In order to facilitate reference to constructional features I divide this group into two: (i) one in which entire slabs set on end are used, and (ii) the other where the use of small stones laid in courses either supplements the orthostatic slabs or entirely replaces them.

(i) To start with the West Coast, we have the so called *Topikals* or capstones of Malabar. They consist of a pedestal composed of three stones tapering towards the top. Their exterior surfaces are rounded. They are closely fitted together forming the frustrum of a cone. Poised on their tops lies horizontally an immense oval or circular slab, its exterior surface being convex while the interior is slightly hollowed. In some of them that were opened, pieces of earthenware urns, iron implements and some gold ornaments were discovered. They are sometimes fully exposed, sometimes only half buried and sometimes only just show above the surface.¹¹ Ferguson¹² compares these structures with the dolmen of Gramont in Herault. If the comparison is only meant to convey the idea of general resemblance in appearance it may be allowed; but even there it must be pointed out that it is not exact. What is common to these and such other monuments from Sweden and Spain is that their ground plan is circular and their sides have a batter. Further than this there is no resemblance between these structures. The dolmen of Gramont has got four side-stones, two of which do not touch the capstone and hence the monument cannot be described as a closed chamber. Secondly, the covering slab had none of the special features of the Malabar examples which give the latter the appearance of a 'capstone'. Thirdly, the batter of the sides of the French specimen is very slight and in consequence the sides do not come very close together at the top. Hence even in general appearance the two types can be easily distinguished. These very characteristics differentiate the Malabar examples from such Swedish ones as that of Stala in the island of Oroust. Further the Swedish dolmen has got an entrance on the N.E. side. The Portuguese dolmen at Fonte Coberata on the Douro has got a symmetrically closed chamber

11. Logan, p. 180.

12. Fergusson, p. 343.

and the sides incline inwards at the top. But it has got seven or eight sideslabs and a flat capstone.¹³

Passing along the coast to Travancore we get more regular examples of dolmens. But unluckily we possess no detailed description of any of them. They are oriented N. and S. and have the hole in the southern slab. This aperture is closed by a small round stone closely fitting in with another acting as a lever. The Mala Arayans of Travancore to this day make similar cells of small stones, the whole forming a box a few inches square. On the death of a member of any family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass and silver image, which is shut into this vault. If the family is very poor an oblong smooth stone serves the purpose. The spirit is supposed to be thus enclosed and nobody will touch the cell except on the offerings-day.¹⁴

Now we shall travel inland into Madura as no dolmens have yet come to light in Tinnevely. Here again, though closed dolmens are reported no proper description is available. Some of them are oriented N.E. and S.W., whilst others stand N.W. and S.E. As a group they are surrounded by a masonry wall of neatly squared stones fitted without mortar. They are arranged in rows. The space within the enclosure is filled with earth and stones to a height of a few feet. The few that were examined yielded nothing. Perhaps they were already rifled. Embedded in the rubble that fills the space between the enclosing circle and the rows of three-sided dolmens occur "stone receptacles, without tops, made of four upright slabs arranged in the form of a square with a fifth for flooring, and measuring some three feet each way and five feet in height".¹⁵

In the district of Coimbatore occur hundreds of cairns. They are generally surrounded by double, triple and even fourfold circles of stones. In the interior of these cairns were structures described as cists but which, it is evident, were not excavations but dolmens completely covered by the tumulus. A typical dolmen measured 10 feet high, 10 ft. wide and somewhat more in length. It was divided lengthwise by a lower partition slab

13. See Borlase fig. 563 and pp. 480, 563, 595, 638.

14. Thurston (IV) 389-90.

15. Madura, pp. 248, 278; *J.A.S.B.* (1888 pt. I) 69.

into two compartments. These were again longitudinally divided by still lower slabs into four parts. The bottom was paved with great slabs. Other structures were divided only into two compartments, the longitudinal divisions being absent. One dolmen with its sides inclining inwards at the top and supporting a huge capstone looked like a monstrous mushroom. The hole, sometimes nearly square, always occurs in the larger dolmens and very seldom in the smaller ones. It is very often found in the eastern slab, sometimes in the western and sometimes again in the northern slab. The aperture is from 1 ft. to 2 ft. in width. Sometimes it is irregular and placed just below the capstone. The dolmens were filled with finely sifted sand like the vaults under the *Topikals* of Malabar. Pottery was of the usual megalithic type found all over Southern India. "Earthenware rings and stands of all sizes for vessels with round or pointed bottoms are exceedingly abundant in the tombs." This device is not now in evidence. Iron is the only metal found in these burial sites. "A necklace of small sea-shells was found in a Nalampatti grave. Colonel Meadows Taylor mentions having exhumed one in the Deccan ... Some cores of wrist-bangles (presumably of chank?) resembling those now worn by women were also discovered."¹⁶ These are perhaps the earliest instances known in Southern India of the use of shells for ornamental purposes; and if the argument set forth by Professor Elliot Smith about the spread of the use of these shells be correct¹⁷ then they are of peculiar importance.

If we have to hold that such use of these shells started from Egypt, the fact that in these two localities — that of Southern Deccan and of Coimbatore — the necklace occurs at least in one dolmen each, lends some support to the theory of Professor Elliot Smith that the dolmens are ultimately derivable from the funerary monuments of Egypt. The discovery of the chank-bangle is equally, if not more, interesting; for this is the only really prehistoric find of it. James Hornell has noticed its occurrence in the burial sites of Tinnevely and Chingleput; but, as he points out, though these sites are regarded as prehistoric there is great doubt about their age and sometimes

16. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S. VII) 18-24.

17. Elliot Smith (5).

they have been ascribed to some centuries immediately after the Christian era, on what grounds one knows not. Other prehistoric finds of chank are all surfacial and though the cores and worked pieces of shell have been found on indisputably neolithic sites, Hornell is disposed to attribute the working of chank-shells to the late Iron Age, for in the early Iron Age the implements would be crude and not fitted for shells. One ventures to question the logic of this argument but the climax is yet to come. Hornell, not being satisfied with dating these shell-workings according to cultural periods, goes on to speculate about their absolute dates. Thus the Deccan bangle-fragments he would ascribe to the "first few centuries before or after the beginning of the Christian era".¹⁸ No arguments can be put forward in support of this statement excepting, the tacit one from the dating of the culture-periods in Western Europe. But it is a notorious fact that the cultural development of Southern India cannot be made to fit in with that of prehistoric Western Europe and, therefore, to introduce argument from Western European data would be highly absurd.¹⁹

We are not left to this merely negative criticism but can point out some positive evidence for inferring that the use of shells for ornamental purposes dates back much earlier. We get some stratigraphical and hence unimpeachable evidence from the excavations of Sir J. Marshall at Bhita near Allahabad. There were found some fragments of bangles—"some plain and others with ornamental grooves on the outside";—but they are not properly dated: so also is a "portion of a shell from which bracelets have been cut". A small ring of shell was found in trench No. 42, 16 ft. below the surface as from the 5th century B.C. while those found 20-21 ft. below surface are dated in the 8th century B.C. We may, therefore, confidently place the shell ring in the 7th century B.C.²⁰ Hornell has insisted on the fact that Southern Deccan was the home of the shell-cutting industry in prehistoric times.²¹ From this we may reasonably conclude that the people of Bhita owed their custom

18. Hornell, pp. 46-7, 61-2, 162.

19. Dr. Haddon tells me that shell armlets were made in New Guinea; etc. before iron was introduced by the Europeans.

20. *A.S.I.* (1911-12) 94.

21. Hornell, p. 64.

of using shell-bangles or rings to an influence from the South. On this reasoning the working and use of shells in the Southern Deccan may have to be pushed back to at least the 8th century B.C.

A question that arises in this connection is quite legitimate, viz., how to account for the fact that in the very home of the shell-cutting industry, the dolmens, which also centre in this region, contain no shells excepting these two examples? It seems the use of shell had not become quite general when the megalithic structures of Southern India were being erected. If this reasoning is correct it will furnish us with means of approximately dating these monuments. In the Nilgiris, the closed dolmens are found at only one place—on the slopes below Kotagiri on the Coimbatore side. All are very much alike. They have a regular aperture, 9 inches in diameter, in the eastern slab. Some of them, 5 feet in height, were nearly buried in earth. They contain small urns.²² In Coorg, we have the famous dolmen, which has been compared by Fergusson with that of Plass Newydd in Wales.²³ It consists of seven slabs altogether. The capstone is 13 ft. long, 9 ft. 9 inches broad, and 7" or 8" thick. The back is formed by one slab. Four slabs form the two sides. The front is composed of two slabs. The whole is divided breadthwise into two lateral compartments by the seventh slab in the middle, projecting in the front about 2' 8". The apertures are in the eastern slabs. They are irregularly segmental and just below the superincumbent stone.²⁴ Fergusson's comparison is rather misleading, there being more points of dissimilarity than of similarity. First of all, Welsh example is not a pure dolmen in so far as each of its sides is formed by more slabs than one and the cover by two stones. Secondly, the front slab is only one. Again, there is no certainty about the nature of the apertures as the front is not in a good condition. The description of the apertures, given by the explorer, leads one to think that they are essentially different from those in the Coorg specimen. The Plas Newydd example is the only one of its kind in which there are two holes in one stone. The

22. Brecks, p. 106; *M.J.L.S.* (XIV) 122-3.

23. Fergusson, p. 472.

24. *P.A.S.B.* (1868) 152 and *Trans. Ethn. Soc. of London* (N.S. VIII) p. 299.

holes are about 10" in diameter. "We cannot with any certainty say that the stone (front) had been of one piece, or that the holes had been perfect circles. About three-quarters appear to remain, and from the circumstance that this stone on the north side reaches within 7" of the covering stone at the top, we may, I think, conclude that it was originally one perfect stone, which closed the entrance to the chamber." Thus, the aperture does not seem to have been cut in the upper extremity of the front slab just under the superincumbent stone as in the dolmen of Coorg. Hence in the only external feature of similarity—that of the aperture—the two monuments are quite distinct. Further, the Welsh specimen has evident traces of a sort of an antechamber.²⁵ About the feature of the compartments Fergusson observes, "If the Welsh one was so partitioned, the wall has disappeared."²⁶ Surely we cannot base our comparisons on features that have disappeared without leaving any traces. On the other hand, we have got reasons to think that even if the Welsh example was partitioned, its compartments would have differed from those of the Coorg one. The compartments in the Welsh dolmen could not have been lateral, for the two capstones leave a gap of 6" running breadthwise,²⁷ and hence, if there was a dividing slab it could have fitted in here making two compartments, one in front of the other. The breadth of the dolmen at its front end being only 3' $\frac{1}{2}$ ", it is highly improbable that it should have had lateral compartments made by a slab running lengthwise.

In Central Mysore, on the south and western sides of the Savandurga rock, stone-circles of all sizes up to 30 ft. in diameter surrounding buried or half-buried cists occur in abundance. The commonest type is a cist of oblong shape, a foot or two above the ground, surrounded by stones just a little above the surface.²⁸ The cists have lengths double their breadth. They generally lie E. and W. on their longer axis. The sides are formed of thin slabs hammer-dressed at three edges. The fourth edge—the right-hand one, when looked at from outside—is left projecting beyond the adjacent wall. The capstone is a

25. Arch. Camb. (1870), 52; (1880), 94-5.

26. Fergusson, p. 472.

27. Arch. Camb. 1880 (95).

28. I.A. (X) 1.

huge undressed slab projecting on all sides, but especially on the east and south. The sideslabs rest on a single flat stone serving as the floor. The side-stones measure from 5' to 10' in length, 4' 6" to 5' 6" in height and from 2" to 6" in thickness. The capstone is from 8' to 14' long, 7' to 10' wide, and from 6" to 16" thick. The dimensions of the chamber thus formed are: from 6' to 9' long, 3' to 6' wide and 5' high. In the east-wall, very high up and rather nearer the northern corner, there is a hole large enough for a man to pass through. And there is also an entrance passage, walled off by thin slabs. A rounded shutter stone closes the hole and the passage is blocked up with earth. It seems from the slenderness of the side-slabs that before the capstone was put in position the chamber must have been surrounded by as well as filled with earth. The enclosing circle is formed of boulders 12' to 30' in diameter. A few of the circles are double or triple and are composed of upright or sloping slabs instead of boulders. A few dolmens stand entirely free of earth and are sometimes surrounded by a stone-circle. Generally a sort of a cairn or tumulus is met with only in those cases where the surrounding circles are more than one in number. In that case the outer circle is only a little above the ground, the next one being higher and the last still higher.

The description of the dolmen given above will have made it quite clear that the structure is quite peculiar. Hence I shall go into further details about it. To the explorer the ground plan recalled the *Swastika* symbol.²⁹ This type occurs not only in Mysore but also in Coorg, North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem. Whatever the origin of the *Swastika* symbol may be, one thing is quite certain, viz, that the earliest representation of it — somewhere about 1800 B. C. — occurs in the remains of Mycenae. The geographical distribution of the symbol has been fully dealt with in the work referred to but owing to the lack of material available in a ready form at that time, the references to the occurrence of the symbol in prehistoric India are scanty.

As the result of some recent work we are in a position to add some authentic cases of the prehistoric occurrence of the *Swastika* symbol on Indian soil. One with specific affinities

29. I.A. (X) 2-3, 97.

with the Trojan form of the symbol was discovered on an iron-age site in Mysore.³⁰ The symbol appears rudely scratched twice on a small vase taken from a dolmen in Coorg and placed in the Bangalore Museum. It exactly resembles some of the Mycenaean prototypes reproduced by Dr. Wilson in his work on this symbol. Another example is that found on pottery from a dolmen in Coimbatore. But this specimen is just at present in a melting-pot as the result of Yazdani's work on the marked pottery of Southern India, where he brings together all the marks, including this one, found on the prehistoric ceramics.³¹

The generic likeness of the plan of the dolmen, above noticed to the *Swastika* symbol may be readily granted, but the question is whether we can derive this form from the more usual form of the symbol. Personally, I do not think that this form can at all be demonstrated as being derived from the usual *Swastika*; and Dr. Wilson is, perhaps, of the same opinion; for, while describing an ornamental form of the above type from Anglo-Saxon England he calls it a "simulation of *Swastika*". Further, Dr. Wilson observes: "A figure having great similarity to this, even in its peculiarities and called a *Swastika*, was found on a shell in Toco mound, Tennessee." On pages 906-07 of Dr. Wilson's work are given three interesting figures from Mississippi and Tennessee which are highly complicated and in complete agreement with one another.³² Dr. Wilson rightly sees in the heads of the wood-peckers peculiarly arranged a representation of the regular *Swastika*. But in the figure — which exactly agrees with those noticed above — from which these heads project he sees nothing but a square with ornamental corners. I think that this square is the type of *Swastika* which occurs in Anglo-Saxon England and in the Toco mound. This combination of the two types of the *Swastika* in the pre-Columbian culture of America is specially to be noted; for the recent work of J. W. Jackson and of Professor Elliot Smith³³ has tended to prove the vast influence that the civilization of ancient India exerted on that of pre-Columbian America.

30. Foote, p. 180.

31. *I.A.* (X) p. 11; *J.H.A.S.* (1917) 57-74.

32. Wilson, p. 870-71.

33. (5).

In India itself, in Maharashtra a figure like the square type referred to above, and another degraded, an analogue of which occurs in the Iberian peninsula, are both drawn in those figures which women make with rice-flour by way of decoration. They call them the *Swastika* or more generally the legs of the elephant-headed god Ganesha folded in a seat.* In the latter name we can clearly see a later elaboration. Taking, then, that a figure like the American one is general in Southern India, as an alternative form of the *Swastika*, may we not connect it, with the dolmen of the peculiar projections noted above? I think the close affinity—nay identity—between the two needs no demonstration. The one can easily be seen to be an ornamental form of the other. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that this special form of the *Swastika* of limited distribution but of frequent occurrence in a part of the world, which was influenced by ancient India, and still surviving in contemporary Southern India, is only an ornamental development of the plan of the dolmen under review.

If this conclusion be granted, the funerary origin of one form of the *Swastika* will have been proved. I have made mention above of an elaboration of this form of the *Swastika* occurring in the Iberian peninsula. At first sight the two figures occurring on the sculptured stone "Piedra Formosa" at Briteiros in Portugal seem to negative the very characteristic of the *Swastika*, viz., that the corners should all be turned in one direction, right or left.³⁴ But this is, I think, due to deterioration helped by certain transitional forms which we can easily picture to ourselves.

To return to the subject in hand, these dolmens were filled with hard red earth, which was of the same sort as the surrounding soil. In some cases the earth reached the top but in others there was a space of a few inches, especially towards the entrance. At 3' 5" below the capstone close to the middle of the north wall was discovered a jar full of earth and beside it stood a row of jars of all sizes. In one of the larger jars there was a smaller one resembling the modern *chatti* in all respects excepting that its base was rather pointed and not globular

* In Marathi "Ganapatichi mandi".

34. Borlase, p. 708.

as at present. It was 6" in diameter and height with a neck 3" wide. It contained grey earth mixed with ashes. The outside of this vessel, "like most of the finer pottery from these kistvaens, is black and polished above the bulge, light red below, and ornamented with a few faint horizontal lines round the buldge and the neck". On the splay between these two bands are to be met with some marks similar to those found on pottery from similar structures. There were also discovered two crystal sharp-edged cutters or scrapers and some bones of birds and fowl. At the depth of 4' 10" lay a stone closely touching the south and east sides and leaving a trench on the west and the north. It was 6" or 8" above the real floor. We may speak of it as the bedslab. There were jars containing charcoal and bones imbedded in hard earth. One of them contained the remains of a small millet. Along the south side a human skeleton in the flexed position lying on the right side with head to the east was found in a very dilapidated condition. Among the pottery two curious horn-shaped polished jars deserve special mention. In the trench were found, point downwards, ten flat, pointed and 'barbed arrow-heads of iron with sockets. The socket was well made. There was also a plain taper tang apparently of steel, absolutely free from corrosion. The index of the skull was 73.3. The find under the bedslab consisted of miniature pottery and iron implements. Among these latter, one dagger-blade with copper fillet on its guard is specially to be noted as being the only instance known, so far south, of copper being in any way used in connection with implements. It also shows that, in those days, to the people of Mysore copper was more valuable than iron and it was reserved for the decoration of weapons. In Egypt when iron was being first introduced, it was thought to be so valuable that it was used for the most important part of the implement, the blade-bronze being freely employed for other parts. In other dolmens only calcined bones in vases were found. Some of the dolmens were oriented S.E. and N.W. Some of the dolmens, surrounded by stone-circles, had arch-stones on the entrance-side at the inner edge of the stone-circle. These arches are of thin slabs of dark-stone, roughly shaped by hammer-dressing into a rounded arch. They varied 3' to 5' above ground and 6' 6" to 8' wide. In east Mysore dolmens are found enclosed

by four great arch-shaped slabs 9' or 10' high, set up parallel to and a little apart from, the four walls of the dolmen.³⁵

Fifty-four dolmens have been reported from the village of Mashalli, 50 miles from Bangalore. They are buried in earth. In the eastern slab was the usual circular or semi-circular orifice. The dimensions of those opened were: 6' 2" to 11' long, 4' to 5' 8" broad and 4' high. The diameter of the orifice was about 1' 8". "The covering slab projected 1 to 2 ft. over the entrance. Inside was all earth jammed in. On the western side was the usual pottery. Some of the vessels had an elegant beading, consisting of successive arrow-headed lines between two rings." Here was also found the only specimen of a pot with a handle. The large urns were 2' 9" high and 5' 11" in central circumference. One of them was of unburnt clay. Similar dolmens were discovered at Kolar.³⁶ At Udenhally there were nearly 200 holed dolmens with their tops just visible. They were exactly like the closed dolmens of the Nilgiris.³⁷

Travelling to the eastern side we find some dolmens in South Arcot. Near Kollur, 40 miles from the sea were discovered three dolmens, only one of which was fairly above ground. It consisted of four granite slabs forming a chamber 4' 3" high, 6' 4" long, 3' 6" broad. The covering slab measured 1' thick, 10' 6" long and 8' 9" wide. The entrance which was by means of a space about a foot wide left between one of the side slabs and one of the end slabs was through the side and not the end. In another dolmen, however, which was half-underground, there was a circular aperture 18" in diameter in its eastern slab. In the interior of this dolmen were pots arranged in a regular row. "The vessels were of red and black colours and were nearly all glazed or polished, outside and inside. They were very well made, the clay being of excellent quality." Besides them there was also a trough apparently of clay about 4' long 15" wide and 9" deep with rounded edges. It had fifteen heavy legs 1" in thickness. At Devnur similar troughs were found in dolmens of a like type. In one dolmen there

35. *I.A.* (X) 3-5, 7-11; Prof. Petrie, "*Tools & Weapons*", pp. 10, 25.

36. *I.A.* (II) 86-7.

37. *M.J.L.S.* (1878) 162.

were two of these, one smaller than the other, the bigger one being $4\frac{1}{2}'$ in length. In it were discovered fragments of bone and scraps of iron. "In every case the singular opening in the eastern stone was found." They measured 8' long, $6\frac{1}{2}'$ broad and $7\frac{1}{2}'$ high. Both at Kallur and Devnur the dolmens were surrounded by concentric rings of stones. At the latter place the monuments occupy a space of 3 or 4 acres.³⁸

In North Arcot near Chittor an area of more than a square mile was covered by these sepulchre-remains. The dolmen was formed by six slabs: 1 cover, 1 floor and 4 sides. It is usually surrounded by one or two circles of stones. Earth is often piled in the interior and round the sides. The dimensions of the interior were: $9\frac{1}{4}'$ long, $7\frac{1}{4}'$ broad and $5'-5\frac{1}{2}'$ high. The capstone was 13' by 12'. It projected 18" beyond the side walls. The dolmen is oriented N.E. and S.W. in general with the circular orifice of 18" diam. in the N.E. slab. Other dolmens had different orientations, in one case the aperture being in the S.E. slab while in another in still another direction. These dolmens had sarcophagi for holding the bodies. They were placed on the floor and were covered to the depth of three or four feet with earth. The structure is generally not more than 2 ft. above ground. The slabs bore no chisel marks.³⁹

At Panduvaram Dewal was discovered in a dolmen, a sarcophagus — a coffin-shaped trough rounded at the edges $6\frac{1}{2}'$ long, 10" deep, and 1' 10" to 2' broad. Under it were found iron tools and weapons. It was supported on 8 terracotta legs 1' 3" high and $3\frac{1}{2}"$ in diam. at the top but tapering gradually at the bottom which terminated in two convex rims. The sarcophagus closely resembles some found on the mount of Gehrarch near Baghdad.⁴⁰ Such sarcophag are found in Chingleput, Nellore, South and North Arcot.⁴¹

Other sorts of structures from this district have been described by other investigators. The peculiarity of these is that they have several circles of erect thin slabs, alternatively round and flat-topped, arranged in concentric rings—two or three around each dolmen. Usually four round-headed slabs are

38. *I.A.* (V) 159.

39. *J.R.A.S.* (XIII) pp. 90-94.

40. *I.A.* (V) 255.

41. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (II) 96.

placed parallel to the four sides of the dolmen so as almost to touch the projecting parts of the capstone. The four corners in the enclosure are filled with close-fitting flat-topped slabs. The slab opposite the holed side of the dolmen possesses a hole in a line with aperture of the dolmen. The space between the holed side of the dolmen and the holed slab of the enclosure is walled in on both sides. The apertures in the slabs of the enclosures are occasionally as small as 4" or 5" in diameter. The next enclosure is a more regular ring of 16 slabs, alternatively round-topped and flat-topped — the former being 5' to 6' high, the latter reaching as far only as the semi-circular turn of the former. The third ring is formed by 24 small slabs. This circle is generally 30' in diameter. The spaces between the rings are about 3' wide and packed with pieces of stone to a height of about 2' to 4' — the greater height being always for the inner rings. Sometimes the outer rings have also the holes but not in a line with the hole of the dolmen and more often they have got only semi-circular depressions in the easternmost slabs of each ring.

In the Iralabanda necropolis there are nearly 600 monuments.⁴² In the district of Bellary were counted altogether 1567 pure dolmens out of which 1183 were holed specimens.⁴³ But we have got descriptions of very few. Some description of three dolmens from Kosgi is available. The one which was more than half-buried in the ground was 3' N. and S., $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' E. and W. and 4' high. The slab on the southern side was quite loose and could be removed and replaced very easily, the only operation required being the clearing away of some earth at its base. The interior was filled with earth which yielded no find. Such small dolmens had no hole and were oriented E. and W. Two larger dolmens had holes in their southern slabs. The dimensions of the interiors of two were 5' long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad and 6' high. One of them had a pavement slab $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' long $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad leaving a space of 6" broad on the eastern and southern sides. This space was filled with stones and rubbish. Small dolmens half buried in the ground are reported from Guliguta in the Dharwad district.⁴⁴

42. *I.A.* (X) 97-98.

43. Taylor, p. 358.

44. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 406, 410.

At Konur in the Belgaum dist. were discovered dolmens of a very special importance. Each of the structures was formed of five stones. The capstone measured 1' thick, 8' long and 4'2" to 8' broad; the two side-stones were 4½' long each and 3' 8" high. The back-stone measured 4' 3" long while the front was formed by two stones "about two feet wide each". "The cell within is thus 2' 9" wide in front, 4' 3" at the back and 4' long by 3' 8" high. The entrance at the south and between the front stones is 18" wide." Thus these dolmens would appear to be wedge-shaped the only examples so far known of this type in India. From the door two lower slabs extend to about 3½' forming a passage to the entrance. In those cases where the whole structure was covered over with a mound there was a low covered passage by which the cell could be reached. These are also the only known examples of corridor-tombs in India. "The entrances are all to the south or a little to the west of it." Thirty or forty examples have been met with at this locality.

At Iwullce near Badami in Kaladgi district there are many dolmens. In this locality they are not covered by any tumulus and are bigger than those of Konur. There is no covered passage or door but only a round hole in one of the slabs.⁴⁵

In the Raichore district on the hill of Yemmee Gooda there were nearly one hundred dolmens both closed and three-sided. Many of them were of large size and four of the largest were enclosed by double circles of large stones. The North and South orientation predominates but there are erections in every direction. In the matter of the orifice no preference is given to any one quarter. Dimensions of a typical dolmen were: 8' 5" long, 8' 5" high and 6, 5" broad. There were also other remains nearby. One was a triple tomb each compartment being 7' long and 3' broad. The covering was formed by two stones. There were two examples of double tombs. In one of them the compartments were 7' long and 2' broad while in the other they measured 6' 5" in length and 2' in breadth.⁴⁶ There are other tombs which appear to be sunken cists. In Shorapoor district the larger of the two groups of these monuments occupies about

45. I.A. (III) 307-08.

46. J.B.B.R.A.S. (IV) 408.

five acres of ground.⁴⁷ At Rajunkolloor the chamber is 6' long by 4' broad. The side slabs measure 12' by 9'. The capstone is 12' by 10' 6"—no measurements of the end slabs are available. Many of them have round holes 4" to 9" in diameter in the centre of the slab on the south side. The sides and the capstone project both ways. They were built on bare rock. The stones of which these structures were formed were very hard, quarried from a locality over three miles distant. They contained greyish white earth evidently brought from another place, "as it did not exist on the spot". They contained funerary urns.⁴⁸

At Huggeritgi, four miles west of Rajunkolloor were discovered 23 dolmens. In general they exactly agree with those of Rajunkolloor. They are formed of limestone which can be very easily worked and quarried. The capstone projects over the sides in all directions. Only one had a portico which was formed by two upright slabs one on either side of the hole. Its dimensions were as follows: side-slabs, 15' 6" long, 6' 6" high, 4" thick; end-slabs 6' long, capstone 11' 3" long, 7' 4" broad. The floor was made of slabs. The sides were let into the ground about 2' so that the structure above ground appeared to be only 5' high. The side slabs project a good deal on the back and only a little on the front.

In two other dolmens the plans of which are given by Taylor the lengthwise side slabs project a little both ways. One of the dolmens contained large urns, the dimensions of one of them being 3' 9" high and 2' 3" in diameter. They contained ashes, charcoal and fragments of bones. About the general disposition of these remains, Meadows Taylor observes: "All the groups of cairns, cromlech or kistvaens, which I have found in the Dekkan, have been placed upon ground which slopes gently to the south. In this respect I have observed no variation anywhere."⁴⁹

Dolmens proper are reported from the Upper Godavari and Krishna districts. They seem to have had no hole or opening and were covered by a cairn and surrounded by stone-circles one having as many as 8 concentric circles. Some of them were sunk in the ground from 2' to 4'. In dimensions they

47. Taylor, pp. 329, 336.

48. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 382-5; Taylor, pp. 330-332.

49. Taylor, pp. 332-5; *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 383.

varied from 1' 6" long to 6' long by 1' to 2' broad. While some contained skeletons lying on the right side with head to the north others yielded urns with burnt bones. In some of the dolmens beads "apparently made of ivory" were discovered.⁵⁰

Dolmens bearing close affinities with those of Rajunkolloor have been reported from Katapur near Nirmul, "about half-way between Hyderabad and Nagpur". From Fergusson's woodcut it seems that they are of the closed type with capstone projecting all way.⁵¹ Kistvaens i.e. closed dolmens, containing stone coffins, urns, etc., seem to have been discovered in the district of Chanda in the Central Provinces though now no trace of them would seem to have been left.⁵² Doubtful examples of this type are recorded in the district of Seoni: "The oldest objects in the District are perhaps some cromlechs near Sarekha consisting of large stone slabs standing four or five together with another laid along their tops, and arranged in circles forty or fifty feet in diameter." Dolmens near Nagpore have been also referred to.⁵³

At Khera, Eastern Rajputana, the flat-topped cairns contain above ground small square chambers. The cairns are constructed of small stones laid in courses, in shape like a truncated pyramid, surmounted by slabs at top. The chambers contained some ashes and charred wood. Similar structures were found at Satmas. The chambers in these cairns were very small, the dimensions of two of them being "2 ft. 4 in. in height by 2 ft. in diameter".⁵⁴ At Deosa a dolmen was surrounded by a stone-circle. The dimensions of the dolmen were: 6 ft. square, 4 ft. high. The sides were composed of entire slabs set on end and the cover was formed by two slabs.

The Khasis in the north-eastern part of India have got cineraria where the partially buried bones of any member of the clan are deposited with great ceremony. They are generally square or oblong in shape but sometimes also circular. The structure seems to be a completely closed one with no holes or windows.

50. *I.A.* (IV) 305.

51. Fergusson, pp. 486-7.

52. 'Chanda', p. 60.

53. 'Seoni', pp. 37-8; *J. Ethn. Soc. of London* (N.S.I.) 207.

54. *A.S.R.* (VI) 7, 14-15, 37, 106.

Access to the interior is given by "removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front".⁵⁵

From North Arcot another variety of dolmens, interesting from the point of view of construction, is also described. The chamber is generally 10 ft. square and 3 ft. high above ground. The roofing slab measures 12 ft. each way with a thickness of a foot at the edges and more than 2 ft. in the middle. This is raised on several upright stones 10" thick which are let into the soil. They have not been dressed so as to make them fit squarely but the interstices are filled with small stones mixed with clay or other soil. "The wall upon the eastern side presents a door-like opening, about 20" wide between the stones which close that side." At two places in this district there is nearly a square mile of the country covered with these monuments arranged in parallel lines.⁵⁶

At Michari in Eastern Rajputana on the summit of a hill was discovered an oblong dolmen whose sides were formed by small stones arranged in courses. The interior yielded nothing but some bone ash, a stone ball and rude flakes of stone.⁵⁷

(3) *Underground cists*: The word cist has been rather freely used in the writings on which this part of the paper is based. Hence there have been many doubtful cases in which it has been very difficult to decide with certainty whether a particular structure described is a dolmen or an underground cist. Further in the case of dolmens, not wholly standing free, I have not always been able to get specific statements whether it was covered by a very low mound or whether the side stones were completely let in the ground. These difficulties make this list a little defective. As for these structures some part of which has been described as being above the surface of the soil, I have thought it desirable to regard them as dolmens proper and not underground cists.

In Coimbatore there are underground stone cists the visible mark of which above ground is only a stone circle. The cist is oblong in shape and sometimes divided into two compartments by a transverse slab in the centre. One of the end-slabs has always

55. Gurdon, p. 147.

56. *M.J.L.S.* (1879) 39-40.

57. *A.S.R.* (VI) 89.

got a hole about 6" or 9" in diameter in the centre. In them are found sepulchral urns in quantities. They contain earth and calcined human bones. They are of a peculiar shape, differing widely from those of Tinnevely. They have got small necks and taper to the bottom. The part with the greatest circumference is ornamented with double wavy lines.⁵⁸

On the Nilgiris, the tops of the cists are just level with the natural surface of the soil. Only one of them was surrounded by a stone circle 18 ft. in diameter. The cist measured 3' 6" from east to west and 2' 6" north to south. In the centre of the eastern slab was the usual hole from 12" to 15" in diameter. The floor was formed by one slab. The fragments of pottery "thick and highly glazed" were quite different from those of the cairns.⁵⁹

In Salem district, the cairns are circular in shape and often surrounded by stone circles. They are from 1' to 4' in height and 3' to 20' in diameter. The stone circles very often have four stones towering above the others at the four points of the compass. The cist underneath, wherever it exists, — for all do not contain it, — has the entrance on the east. When the tumulus is dug up one comes across in the centre a slab measuring 2' long by 2' broad to 9' long and 6' broad. This is the cover of the cist. The cists vary in size from 3' long, 2' wide, and 2' deep to 5' long, 3½' wide, and 4' deep. At the bottom there is another slab. They contain small urns, iron implements and charred bones.⁶⁰

In the Hassan district of Mysore stone circles are met with in groups, the number in each group varying from several hundreds to but five or six. The diameter of the circle is 12' to 18'. On digging below the surface soil one comes upon the covering slab of a kistavaen. The cist has always "an opening at one end, large enough to admit an ordinary-sized man of the present day passing through". It is full of earth with pottery imbedded in it. Pieces of bones, iron implements and charcoal are found. In only one a stone arrow-head or rather a small spear-head was found.⁶¹

In Coorg, the cists are level with the ground or their tops

58. *I.A.* (VII) 27.

59. Breeks, p. 106.

60. *I.A.* (II) 223.

61. *I.A.* (II) 9.

crop just a little out of it. The cist is a regular dolmen with the hole facing the east. The hole is broken out roughly from the top of the end-slab. It is nearly 2' in diameter. The dimensions of the cist are: 7' long, 4' wide and 4' high. The capstone projects over the sides. The cists were full of earth imbedded in which lay the usual pottery. Bones, iron, spear-heads and beads also were found. Some vessels of pyriform shape had three or four short legs; small ones had neither handles nor legs. The beads were of red carnelian, cylindrical in shape. They were longitudinally pierced and ornamented with straight or zigzag parallel lines scratched into the stone and filled with a white substance.⁶²

At Gajjalakonda in Kurnool district have been recently discovered cairns with undergorund cists. The cairn is dome-shaped, about 3' in height and from 6' to 26' in diameter. On digging down 1' or 2' one comes across the cover of the cist. The cist is a rectangular chamber lined with slabs. It measures 10' long, 5½' wide and 7' deep. It has a small entrance passage on the south end. "Most of the stone-slabs had been cut and dressed with metal tools." Inside were six to ten stone coffins arranged on the floor. Each of these inner cists contained the remains of uncalcined human bones and domestic pottery. In other cairns instead of these inner cists there were earthenware sarcophagi, each one standing on the floor of an underground cist like the one in the other type of cairns. The sarcophagus measured 3' 2" long, 7½" high and 10½" wide at the top, "tapering slightly towards each end".⁶³

At Jewurgi, 50 miles north-east of Rajunkolloor, there were counted 268 cairns and more. They are surrounded by stone-circles, single or double. On the S. W. side, two slabs were placed upright near two of the circle stones. They were 2' apart. Some of the cairns had three-sided dolmens at the top. At the depth of 5', two boulders stood as a door. At 5' lower down was the cist formed of limestone slabs. Ourtside the cist were urns and iron implements. The skeletons in the cist lay N.E. and S.W. There was also an oblong bead of red carnelian. In another cairn there were human remains in all

62. Rice (I) 297-8.

63. *A.D.S.C.* (1914-15) p. 40-41.

confusion. In the cist was a skeleton on its left side with the head turned round. There were also other headless skeletons. The greyish earth referred to elsewhere was also found in these cairns. In another cairn the cist was divided lengthwise into two compartments. The side slabs were $6\frac{1}{2}$ ' long. The eastern compartment was wider than the western. But both the ends of each compartment were equal in breadth; hence neither the individual compartment nor the whole cist had even the remotest resemblance to the wedge-shape. In the western compartment were found small urns and iron implements. The eastern compartment contained two skeletons laid, one on the other, both with face downwards. A skull was placed between the skeletons with face to the south. Many skeletons and separate skulls were found in the earth above the cist. In another cairn the cist showed the same arrangement; only its length was 4' 10". The western compartment contained a woman's skeleton while the eastern had two—both shorter than the cist—the upper with face downwards and the lower on its left side. The necropolis at Andola, 5 miles S.E. of Jewurgi, possessed 40 cairns. The cists and their contents were exactly like those of Jewurgi. Some of the pottery found in these cairns had tapering bottoms. The largest of the urns measured 3' 9" high and 2' 3" in diameter. It tapered at the bottom resembling the pottery from the cists in Coimbatore described above. At Dewarconda in the province of Golconda a large field of cairns was discovered. The cairns that were opened contained cists divided lengthwise into two compartments by a slab 2' high. The cists contained skeletons lying nearly north and south on their faces.⁶⁴

The cairns near Secunderabad had cists with their longer axis pointing north and south. The cist measured 6' long, 6' 6" deep and 3' broad. The pottery and bones in them were irregularly disposed. Three cairns were opened at Narakailpalli, east of Hyderabad. The side slabs of the cist measured 5' 10" by 5' 4" and the end slabs 2' 4" by 5' 4". Pots were arranged at bottom on two sides. There was one skeleton with face downwards and head to the north. The longer axis of the cist pointed N. and S. Some of the cairns had circles of stones. The cairns at Haitipamla are exactly like these except in the dimen-

64. Taylor, pp. 337-48, 357.

sions of the cists which are divided longitudinally into two compartments.⁶⁵ At Manta Ali in the Hyderabad State cairns have been recently discovered. They are from 8' to 23' in diameter and 2' to 4' in height above ground. They are surrounded by a circle of stones roughly hewn. At the depth of 4' to 5' from the surface of the soil they contain cists formed of six slabs. The dimensions of the interior of the cist are: length $3\frac{1}{2}'$ to $6\frac{1}{2}'$; breadth 2' to 4' and depth 4' to $6\frac{1}{2}'$. The side-slabs measure 6' to 10' in length and 5' to $7\frac{1}{2}'$ in height. They protrude on either side of the head and foot slabs which are fitted in between them. The cists are oriented N. and S. Pottery and iron implements found in these are similar to those discovered on such sites in Southern India. In one of the cairns was found a metal cup (79% copper and 21% tin). Another yielded a bronze bell. The dead were buried in the extended position.⁶⁶

Near Karunpudi in the Krishna district a large field of megalithic monuments was discovered. The cist is entirely underground, only the covering slab being just visible. It is a square or oblong chamber. In one of the sides there is a sort of entrance left. A large cist is generally divided into two or four compartments. In such a cist sometimes there is a hole in one of the sides communicating with the adjacent chamber containing pottery, etc. Each of the compartments has a quantity of burnt human bones and pottery of all sizes.⁶⁷

Neolithic tombs are found in South Mirzapur; but their exact nature is not known. Perhaps they are of the same type as those near the town of Mirzapur opened by Rivett Carnac and Cockburn. In the latter case "the grave fully excavated was six or eight feet deep enclosed in a stone circle about 12' in diameter".⁶⁸ It is difficult to judge from the scanty accounts available of these excavations whether these tombs were cists or not. The following quotation from Cockburn's paper suggests that they were cists. Speaking about the finds in the Kon ravines of South Mirzapur he observes: "I found tolerably perfect human calvaria together with glazed earthenware cups, stone hammers, and flakes and spalls, etc., precisely similar to

65. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 413-17.

66. *H.A.D.* (1915-16) 7.

67. *I.A.* (I) 150.

68. Mirzapur, p. 198.

others I have found in such internments, when exposed by denudation."⁶⁹ He saw such tombs, which appear to have been "built up cairn graves", at Mirzapur and Mozuffarpore. At the former place he was present at the excavation of two of them. One contained the fossilized skeleton of an adult man. It lay on a thick slab N. and S. At each corner of the tomb was a flat dish of glazed pottery. "One of the articles found was a long, narrow lachrymal vase of green glass about 7 inches long."

I think these underground cists must be regarded as only developments of the dolmens above ground. We can see that in all essential points of construction these cists wholly agree with the dolmens. Thus in most cases they have either a regular passage, a door or a hole. They are constructed of entire slabs; most of them are floored with slabs. Further, we have already noted cases of dolmens which had some of their part let in the ground. From this to the type of cist which has its top just level with the ground is but an easy transition. Again some of the cists, as we have seen, are only a foot or two below the ground while others go to a depth of 10 ft. Thus the process of sinking is seen in all its transitions. Hence it is quite evident that we must regard the cists as developments from the dolmens.

(4) *Degraded dolmens*: Under this category fall all those structures which are called table stones, a huge slab being supported at the four corners, yet not enclosing a chamber. They are rather scarce in India. Some such are reported from Pulicondah in the Carnatic.⁷⁰ Near Bangalore megalithic monuments of the following type are met with. On a sheet of bare rock, supported on 3 or 4 piles of stone at a height of 2' to 4' from the rock, stands a huge slab of stone 13' long and 8½' wide.⁷¹ Such examples are also reported from Belgaum.⁷² At Janampet in the Hyderabad State the stone-circles have in the centre a heavy boulder mounted on three or four stones in the form of a table. Under this, generally underground, is found a "monolithic coffin resembling a trough", the only known speci-

69. *J.A.S.B.* (1894 pt. III) 21.

70. *M.J.L.S.* (XIII pt. II) p. 47, pl. 14.

71. *I.A.* (X) 2.

72. Fergusson, p. 467.

mens of its kind in India.⁷³ The Mundas, after placing the calcined bones of their dead in a grave, lay over it a large stone slightly raised on small stones placed at the four corners. At this time all the stones in the 'Sasan' or burial ground are annointed with oil, and vermilion marks are made on them.⁷⁴ The Khasis place in front of a line of menhirs a large flat table-stone supported at the four corners by stones so that the extreme height of the table from the ground is 2' to 2½'. The largest table stone measures 28½' x 13¾' x 1½'. Their tables face any point of the compass.⁷⁵

(5) *Three-sided dolmens*: Dolmens which are perfect on three sides and open on the fourth have been recorded from Malabar.⁷⁶ The Izhuvas of Travancore erect to the south of their principal house a building set apart for the perpetuation of the memory of their well-known dead. It is enclosed on all three sides except the east. There are in it a seat, a couch, a cane and a small bag containing ashes. On fixed days worship is offered to the ancestors.⁷⁷ In the Madura district there are three-sided box-shaped constructions erected on rocky surface. A group is generally surrounded by a rectangular — more rarely circular — wall made of similar slabs set upright in the ground. An average specimen of the dolmen measures 8' by 3', the capstone being 11' by 6'. They are sometimes arranged in double parallel rows. The space between the several dolmens in each group and between them and the surrounding wall is filled with earth and small stones. Nothing more than the usual type of pottery and a rust-eaten iron-sickle was found in these structures.⁷⁸ The Kurumbas of Southern India raise temples in honour of the chiefs of their subdivisions. The structure is a three-sided dolmen. The slab opposite the open side has a rude sculptured figure of the chief. This principal building is surrounded by smaller ones the whole being enclosed by a wall of stones. During annual festivals, as well as periodically, worship is offered not only to the spirit of the deceased chief in whose

73. *H.A.D.* (1917-18).

74. Roy, p. 466.

75. Gurdon, p. 146.

76. Cartailhac, p. 187 fig. 67.

77. Thurston (II) 396.

78. Madura, p. 248.

honour the principal monument is erected but also to the spirits of all the dead of the subdivision. The bigger structures have got a small inner shrine where during festivals idols are placed. After every death both the Kurumbas as well as the Irulas place a long water-worn pebble in one of the old dolmens. Occasionally they make small dolmens and place the pebble therein. Some of the Kurumbas who burn their dead place a bone and a small round stone in one of the open dolmens.⁷⁹ On the Nilgiris such sculptured dolmens abound. At one place five stand in a row. The three central ones are bigger than the two end ones. The south sides are open. The central dolmens are covered by three huge slabs. The edge of one overlapping that of another. The small ones are three-sided structures complete by themselves. At another locality four such compartments stand in a row connected together.⁸⁰ Other examples are open on the east while others vary from N.E. to S.S.E. The sculptures in general resemble those of the "virakals" or hero-stones of Coorg, Mysore and Bellary. The stone is divided into a series of panels. In the top-panel appears in bas-relief the sacred bull of Siva kneeling before the *linga-symbol*. In the lowest panels are depicted what appear to be battle scenes. In the middle compartment stand women nude above the waist, wearing large ear ornaments in the distended ear lobes, their hair tied in a chignon on the right side of their heads. This is perhaps intended to convey the idea of the passage of a hero killed in battle from this world to the world of bliss.⁸¹

In Coorg on the summit of a hill were discovered four structures exactly resembling those at Vellore in N. Arcot described below.⁸² These structures also occur in the Hassan district of Mysore in large numbers. The opening faces indifferently any point of the compass. They are treated as temples and places of worship, the priest being of the Holeya, one of the depressed classes, caste. It is generally the shrine of Mariamma the village goddess.⁸³ In the Cuddapah district there are two varieties of this type of monuments. One of them is of unfashioned stones,

79. Thurston (IV) 153, 169.

80. I.A. (II) 275-6.

81. A.D.S.C. (1913-14) 36-38; Brecks, p. 100.

82. I.A. (VIII) 165.

83. I.A. (II) 8.

while the other bears evident traces of rough workmanship. The arched stones which, as we saw, accompanied the dolmens of Central Mysore were also present with some of these. The structures have not yet been explored.⁸⁴ At Kalyan-durg in the Anantpur district many of these monuments have been recently discovered. In them the north side is open. The interior measures 6' 7" in length, 4' 4" in width and 5' 8" in height. The structure stands on bare rock but the floor is formed by an additional slab. At a later period these seem to have been turned into hero-shrines by the addition of sculptures depicting battle scenes in bas-relief. These hero-shrines face the east. Further, some of them have been converted into Siva temples by the introduction of the *linga*-symbol.⁸⁵ From Bellary nearly 600 structures of this type have been recorded. The three-sided dolmens of Rajunkolloor are open on the south side. The dimensions of a typical structure are: side-slabs 15' 3" long, 9' 4" high of which 3' are in the ground. End-slab: 6' broad, 9' high with the portion in the ground; capstone 13' 9" long, 13' broad. The interior measures 6' by 9'. It seems the capstone projects both in front and at the back.⁸⁶ In Chingleput the sides of the open dolmens are formed not by slabs but by several large stones laid together. They were enclosed by stone circles and had a sort of cairn over them. They bear no sculptures.⁸⁷ Near Vellore in North Arcot there exist structures of this type. A capstone measuring 12' long, 8' wide and 2½' thick is supported not by slabs but by six large round boulder-like masses of granite, two at the north end, two at the south, two smaller, not touching the capstone, on the west side. The east side is open. The capstone is 8' above ground and bears on the top four round depressions which look like cup-marks. The whole structure, standing on a bare granite platform looks like an altar.⁸⁸

"The Gond tribes of the Godavery and Orissa make miniature cromlechs (dolmens), like three-legged stools which they place over the bones and ashes of the deceased. Empty structures of

84. Cuddapah, p. 25.

85. *A.D.S.C.* (1915-16) 28-29.

86. Taylor, 332, 358; *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 384-5.

87. *J.A.S.B.* (1888 pt. I) 57.

88. *I.A.* (VIII) 165.

this category have been referred to as existing in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. They abound in the lower Wainganga valley where formerly the Kurumwars roved. These people even now have such shrines open always on the east."⁸⁹

There is only one reference to any megalithic remains in Gujarat. A structure from Dharapura in the Palanpur State has been described as megalithic. Strictly speaking, it is only a vestige of what might have been a three-sided dolmen. It further illustrates the process of the formation of temples out of the three-sided dolmens. The monument consists of an inner chamber and an outer porch or *mandapa*. Inside the inner chamber is an upright stone. The porch consists of three rude slabs. This is the megalithic portion of the structure, though the covering stone of the inner chamber also is one huge slab. The supporting pillars of the porch are 4 ft. high while the capstone is 10' long and 6' broad.⁹⁰

(6) *Cairns or Tumuli*: Here are treated only such tumuli or cairns as do not contain a cist, those containing them having already been dealt with under 'underground cists'. Tumuli surrounded by splintered pieces of granite from 8' to 12' long placed on end have been discovered in Travancore.⁹¹ Simple barrows or cairns are met with at several places in the Madura district.⁹² Cairns are found on the sides of the Western Ghats nearly as far south as Cape Camorin. On an average such a cairn contains 20 sepulchral urns, many having 30 to 40.⁹³ Cairns abound on the Nilgiris. The barrows vary in extreme width from 20' to 60' while the stone enclosures of the cairns vary from 10' to 28' in diameter. The barrows are also surrounded by one or two circles of stones. Usually there are two oblong slabs placed north-east and south-west within the cairn or barrow. In the cairns are found burnt bones and ashes, pottery, iron weapons and domestic implements, a few bronze vessels, one or two bronze and copper weapons — the only known examples south of the Central Provinces — a few gold ornaments and beads of glass, agate and carnelian. Some of

89. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S. VII) 27; Chanda, p. 60.

90. *I.A.* (III) 53-4.

91. Thurston (IV) 389.

92. 'Madura', 248.

93. *M.J.L.S.* (XIV) 85.

the forms of pottery are quite unique — especially the cylindrical long jar. Yet the most important item among the contents was the figurines on the domed lids of urns. The men are represented with beards clipped short. Both men and women wear head-dresses. The clothing, on the whole affords the most striking contrast to that of the present inhabitants of the hills. Sheep, horses, buffaloes with bells round their necks, peacocks and leopards are all represented. In some bells are found. All these finds generally come from one to four feet below the slabs where are placed the cinerary urns. Sometimes the bones instead of being placed in an urn are put under an inverted bronze vessel. The bronzes contained 29.89 per cent of tin. "The Indian bronzes show a considerable excess of tin, as compared with those found in European sepulchral tumuli. Worsaae gives 10 per cent of tin as the average of the latter. The bronze vessels are so elegant in shape and so delicately ornamented with flutings and lotus patterns that they almost resemble Greek or Egyptain art and stand apart from the other finds." The beads have white enamel. There are also discovered some beads of amber.⁹⁴ "There must have been hundreds of these cairns in numberless groups" in the Coimbatore district.⁹⁵ Those at Sirumugai in the district vary from 6' to 24' in diameter including the enclosing stone-circle and they reach to a height of about 3' above the natural ground level. After digging into the natural soil to a depth of about 4 feet, one comes across a burial urn. These urns are 4' in height and 2½' in diameter at their greatest width. Inside the urn is fine red earth solidified. In this mess are found the remains of human skulls and bones, corroded iron implements, a few beads and stone-flakes. The beads were four-sided, barrel-shaped, made of white crystal neatly cut and perforated. The stone flakes were found in the same urn in which the iron implements were discovered.

In Salem there are two types of these cairns. In one variety there are large urns while in the other there is only a pit filled with earth different from the surrounding soil. The urns contain human bones, small vessels, iron implements and

94. Brecks, pp. 72, 93-4; 'Nilgiri', pp. 96-97; *M.J.L.S.* (VI) 211.

95. *A.D.S.C.* (1913-14) 43-4.

ornaments. The urns are not large enough to receive the bodies of full-grown individuals even in the crouched position. The beads are both round and oval, or white carnelian, quartz and some dark green stone. Some of them are ornamented with a thick and hard white enamel.⁹⁶

The Hassan district of Mysore⁹⁷ abounds with tumuli. One of the longest of these has got three circles of upright stones, one round the bottom, the other two about 4' apart and half way up the slope. The tumulus rises 15' above the surface of the rock, on which it stands and is almost circular with 75 ft. diameter at the top. It is made entirely of black clay with here and there a thin layer of sand.

The majority of the remains in the Chingleput district are low tumuli surrounded by stone circles. The mound rises only 2' above the surrounding soil. One at Perumbair had a circle of stones 27' in diameter. At this place in the tumuli at a depth of 2' to 7' below the surface are found either a pyriform urn or oblong pottery sarcophagus rounded at the edges and supported by three rows of short legs. These sarcophagi vary in length from 2' to 7'. The finds consist of iron implements, pottery, bones and shell ornaments. One neolithic celt was also found. In a low mound, presumably of late date, was a skeleton in "a cross-legged sitting posture, with the hands resting on the knees as if in meditation". It contained a black stone idol of Ganesa.⁹⁸

In some of the cairns at Gajjalakonda in the Kurnool district at a depth of about 3' from the surface lie, under a great block of stone, sarcophagi surrounded by food and water pots. The sarcophagus had two rows of four legs each. They contained nothing but a few fragments of bones. Other cairns contained ordinary burial urns in place of the sarcophagi.⁹⁹

The cairns of Chikanhalli, eight miles S.W. of Shorapoor have a single or double circle of stones. One had three circles. The tumulus rises only to a height of 3' from the level of the natural soil. On the top of the tumulus are two slabs N.E. and S.W. On the S.W. side are the two entrance stones. About 4' below

96. *I.A.* (II) 223-225.

97. *ibid.*, p. 8.

98. *J.A.S.B.* (1888 pt. I) 58; Rea, p. 42.

99. *A.D.S.C.* (1914-15) 41.

the surface of the soil there are two large irregular slabs lying N.E. and S.W. At 10' from the surface there are remains of pottery and bones. Below this the floor is formed of slabs 5' broad and 6' long. On these slabs nearly 15 to 20 urns are placed. The earth heaped on these is different from the gravel of the spot, being quite soft. It shows the usual greyish earth brought from a distance.¹⁰⁰

Tumuli exactly similar to those from Nagpore to be presently described, have been reported from the Godavery. The barrows which were found in the various districts of the "Nagpore province" had stone circles. There were many groups of them at Junapani near Nagpore, one of the groups containing as many as 54 of them. In general the tumulus was a circular mound of earth surrounded by a single or double circle of boulders. The diameter of the circles varied from 20' to 56'. Two or three stones of the circle were dressed and bore "cup-marks". The height of the mound was seldom greater than 3' to 4' above the ground level. After digging 2' or 3½' below the surface, there were found urns and, associated with them whitish earth totally different from the surrounding soil. "The class of iron implements found in these tumuli in different parts of the Nagpore district and further south again, resemble one another as closely as do the tumuli themselves." The implements found were invariably of iron. One of the barrows yielded bells. In only one instance some human bones were found.

Only one oval-shaped barrow has been referred to and its excavation described. This comes from Kamptee in the Central Provinces. It was 225 ft. in circumference. The stones forming the circle round it were "from 3 to 4 ft. solid and from 1' to 4' high". At a depth of 5' from the top were found some cocoanut shells and pottery. The pottery had flat bottoms 4" in diameter, and conical lids. They were regularly placed. At the depth of 6' was found the iron end of a plough tipped with steel and was more primitive than one in use at the present day. At 6½' was found one skeleton—horizontally laid in the ground. There were many iron and hard steel implements on both sides of the body. On the chest were copper vessels which broke to pieces. On the lid of one of them were figures representing

100. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IV) 387-88.

geese, a snake and a bird. A wire ring of gold and alloy was also found associated with another skeleton. The pottery was evidently wheel-made and differed in material from the present in this that whereas the material in use now is pure clay the one used for this pottery was mixed with fine gravel. The explorer on the strength of the absence in this and other like barrows of punch-marked coins assigns them to a period as early as 1200 B.C., because some of the silver punch-marked coins found by him from the mounds of Lauriya were ascribed by General Cunningham to 1000 B.C.¹ Similar remains are reported from Chota Nagpore.²

The mounds of Lauriya in Champaran have been systematically explored. The shape of these mounds is more or less conical. They were built of layers of yellow clay, a few inches in thickness, with grass and leaves of trees laid between them. The clay seems to have been brought from some locality 15 miles away. At a depth of about 6' to 12' was found a deposit of calcined human bones mixed with charcoal and a small gold leaf, with the figure of a standing woman, perhaps the Earth-goddess, stamped upon it. There was a wooden pillar in the centre of the mound running all the height. Dr. Bloch considers it to be a Vedic burial corresponding in details with the expressions of Rigveda X, 18, 10 and 13. Of the figure of the Earth-goddess, analogues of which are found in the prehistoric tombs of Mycenae, he remarks, "the underlying idea of both" was "that the remains of the dead person are entrusted to the tender cares of the Mother Earth". He assigns the mounds on these grounds to the Vedic period. General Cunningham dates them 600 B.C. — 1500 B.C.³

Passing on to Rajputana we learn from the works of Sir John Malcolm that the genuine Bhils raised cairns to the memory of their dead chiefs. Then they poured oil on the top and added red-lead. Cairns and one large mound of earth were discovered at Deosa in Eastern Rajputana. In some of them ashes with a few fragments of calcined bones were found. Two of the cairns yielded rude stone implements. The earthen

1. *J.A.S.B.* (1879 pt. I) 1-11; *J. Eth. Soc. of London* (N.S.I.) 210-215; *A.S.R.* (I) 70.

2. *J.A.S.B.* (1879 pt. I) 2.

3. *A.S.I.* (1906-07) 121-6; *A.S.R.* (I) 69.

mound was domical. It was 12' in height, 53' in breadth from N. and S. and 100' in length. It had five strata. In the third stratum from the top were found roundish-shaped earthen vessels with lids. They contained human bones partially affected by fire. In the fourth stratum also human bones were discovered. This stratum also yielded a few flakes of flinty quartzite. It seems to have been the practice both of the Minas and the Rajputs to raise cairns in memory of a valiant hero who died fighting. To these every passer-by thinks it his duty to add a stone. In Tibet and Tartary there are 'manis' or heaps of stones. Every passer-by keeps such a *mani* to the right and adds a stone to it. May we not see some connection between the two practices?⁴

(7) *Stone circles*: Under this title are dealt with all stone-circles which stand by themselves and are not included in any of the above categories, irrespective of whether they contain a deposit or not. Such independent stone-circles are not very common in India. They occur in Mysore. At Bowringpete in that province examples of two concentric circles are reported. Some of them yielded burial urns buried in the centre.⁵ They are said to be in hundreds near Amravati. Near Poona in connection with the unorthodox worship of Vetāl there is always a stone circle. From an account of a perfect circle of twelve stones it seems that the stone representing the Vetāl forms part of the circle. This principal stone is 3' high and faces the east. Then follow two small stones about 1½' high and then a longer one 2' in height. This arrangement is carried through the whole circle. One extra stone stands at the entrance. The stones are pyramidal in shape.⁶ In the district of Nagpore stone circles are found in many places. Ashes, chips of pottery and iron vessels have been found beneath the stones.⁷ At Deosa in Eastern Rajaputana were discovered the remains of four stone circles. The stones varied from 3' to 4' in height and from 2' to 3' in thickness.⁸ Stone circles have been recorded in the neighbourhood of Peshawar in the Kabul Valley. One is about 50' in

4. *A.S.R.* (IV) 34-8, 107-08; *I.A.* (VIII) 165.

5. *I.A.* (II) 86; Rice (2) 507.

6. Fergusson, p. 474; *J.R.A.S.* (V) 193.

7. 'Nagpore', p. 56.

8. *A.S.R.* (VI) 104-05.

diameter, the tallest stone standing being 11' high. In this particular circle there are traces of an outer ring 50' to 60 apart.⁹

(8) *Trilithons*: At Navacallum in Travancore on a semi-circular terrace cut from a projection in the side of a hill there stood a monument consisting of two upright stones supporting one across their top.¹⁰ Trilithons are reported from the Bhandara district in the Central Provinces.¹¹ The Santhals of Bengal worship trilithons to this day. Such monuments occur among the Khasis.¹²

(9) *Menhirs and Alignments*: An alignment being only a series of menhirs "arranged in open lines on some definite system",¹³ ought to be treated along with menhirs. While treating of menhirs we shall also have to deal with other monoliths which are not only a "rough pillar stone with its base fixed into the earth" like a menhir but bears, evident traces of workmanship and are elaborately sculptured; for the purpose in both cases is the same. Further we will trace the uses of monolithic pillars through later history of Indian architecture for they too will be seen to be further developments of the rude stone pillar.

Verakals or hero-stones which, as remarked above, bear sculptures, are met with in Travancore.¹⁴ In the Coimbatore district¹⁵ at Nallampatti in the centre of the necropolis stood an obelisk 13' by 6½'. At Pallipollium in Salem, not far from a group of cairns was an upright stone 18' high planted in the ground.¹⁶ Hero-stones are common on the Mysore side of the Nilgiris, in Coorg and in the Western part of Bellary.¹⁷ In Mysore menhirs are of four varieties. The Karukallu are erected at the foundation of a village. The Yellakallu are boundary stones and are often rudely carved. The Masti-kallu are stones marking the spots where widows become *sati*. Lastly the Verakals are the

9. Fergusson, p. 452.

10. *M.J.L.S.* (1878) 161 f.n.

11. 'Bhandara', p. 40.

12. *J.R.A.I.* (1878) 25.

13. Peet (2) 3.

14. *M.J.L.S.* (1878) 157.

15. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S. Vii) 18.

16. *M.J.L.S.* (VI) 209.

17. Nilgiri, p. 99; Rice (2) 508.

carved hero-stones. In Belgaum occurred one alignment. It consisted of two rows of thirteen stones each. In front of them was one small row of three stones. On the opposite side were four small "tables" of stones.¹⁸ The Kois of the Bastar country erect over the ashes of their dead great monoliths.¹⁹ Alignments are scattered through some parts of Orissa and all through Chota Nagporc. In Singbhum the stones are cylindrical in form and seem to have been brought from a great distance. Some of the menhirs measure 17' 2" x 9' 2". They are arranged in a straight line or an arc. In other places some of the menhirs had a sort of "truncate pyramidal shape".²⁰ The Khasis are quite famous for their alignments. The menhirs measure generally from 2' to 14' in height sometimes reaching to the height of even 27'. They are in a line. The stones are rough-hewn and taper gradually to their tops. Always the tallest stone stands in the centre with its top sometimes ornamented with a small stone fitting in. Occasionally it is carved — perhaps a representation of the dead.²¹ In Eastern Rajputana, the stone-circles at Deosa seem to have surrounded large rough monoliths. Near Deosa there was a monolith originally 19' high fixed in the ground by stones jammed in at the base.²²

In the Punjab the common form of ancestor worship is the placing of a stone, on which is put the effigy of the deceased in a small hut, beside a spring. In the Chandrabhaga valley this worship takes the form of the erection near the village of a monolith with a rough effigy of the dead person. On the top of this is fixed a circular stone. Though they are sometimes neatly carved, in general the workmanship is crude.²³ In this practice we might see another stream of influence from Central Asia, where such figures abound, just as we saw a possible connection between India and parts of the Central Asian region in the matter of raising cairns. In the hill districts of the Punjab there are a large number of Sati stones which are far more ornate than the monoliths of the plains. "Some

18. Fergusson, p. 467.

19. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S. VII) 28.

20. V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, p. 64.

21. Gurdon, pp. 145-46.

22. *A.S.R.* (VI) 104, 108.

23. Rose (I) 195.

of them are 6' and 7' high and all are carved with figures of the Rajhas and of the women who became 'sati' with them.²⁴

The use of the rough monolith to mark the death of a person seems to have been largely extended;* for in historic times monoliths seem to have been raised to commemorate any event. Thus Asoka during the 3rd century B.C. erected thirty monolithic pillars, some of them marking his journey to the birth place of the Buddha at Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai. At this last place the pillar through its inscription plainly tells us that it was erected to commemorate the birth of Buddha at that place.²⁵ But these stone pillars of Ashoka and of later times are all works of great art bearing excellent polish even to this day and hence they are not megalithic. Nevertheless the fact that both types of monuments are monolithic and used to mark events proves their genetic affinity. Some of these beautiful monoliths attain the height of 32' 9½". They gradually taper towards the top. The next example of such a monolith is the pillar at Besnagar in the vicinity of the Stupa at Sanchi, dated about 150 B.C.²⁶ In Southern India the pillars seem to have been associated with the temples of the Jains and of the Hindus.²⁷ In South Canara alone there are thirty of these elegant pillars attached to the Jain temples. This transference of the rude monoliths from the cemetery to the temple as a highly polished and worked product need not surprise us, for, as the recent work of Professor Elliot Smith has tended to prove, much of the temple ritual is a borrowing from death-rites.²⁸

(10) *Pottery-tombs*: Under this title will fall all those cases in which a pottery urn or a sarcophagus is directly buried in the ground without any stone circle marking the spot. The pottery tombs occurring in other circumstances have already been described under proper headings. In the district of Madura under a large slab 3' below the surface are buried pyriform urns.

24. Ibid., p. 196.

* For "Bala-Yashti" or "Gotrasailika" raised in North India between A.D. 100 and A.D. 500, considered by Dr. D. C. Sircar to be a memorial stone-pillar, see *Ep. Ind.* XVI, 23; XXXIII, 171-2; 303-308.

25. Smith (1) p. 222.

26. *J.R.A.S.* (1909) pp. 1055 and 1088.

27. *I.A.* (V) pp. 38.

28. Elliot Smith (5)

They contain a few uncalcined bones and iron implements. Sometimes semi-transparent beads are also found.²⁹ In Coimbatore large earthenware jars 5' high and 4' in girth, wide-mouthed and tapering at the bottom, are imbedded in the soil with a huge flat stone laid over them.³⁰ At Bairat in Eastern Rajputana nearly 3' below the surface of the soil were discovered four cinerary urns placed in a regular order. They contained human bones. There were some boulders over these urns which, the explorer thought, had fallen there from the adjoining rock.³¹

A peculiar structure in dry masonry: On the summit of a hill, on the Nilgiris, there was a massive structure peculiar to that district. It was of a circular shape. The interior being 5' in diameter and 6' in height. The sides of this well were built of large blocks carefully adjusted without the help of the mason's art. The well was 7' thick and 7' above ground. The structure resembled "a section of a truncated round tower". The monument must have entailed tremendous labour as such stones would have had to be brought from a long distance up the hill. The well was filled with small stones rising into a pile. In the centre was a long stone tapering upwards. When this stone was removed there were found "some pieces of a large urn; a miniature buffalo's head of hard-baked clay; a human head, the size of a lime, of the same — the hair being represented by little dotted rings; and a small sickleshaped iron-knife."³² It thus seems to have been a funerary monument. Fergusson thinks this monument to be 'identical with the Couchas of Northern Africa'.³³ But the similarity can be shown to be only in form and not in purpose. The Coucha, to judge from the description of it by Fergusson, is essentially a cairn raised over a tomb while we have every reason to think that the Nilgiri monument is a tomb itself.³⁴ The Couchas may with greater propriety be compared with some of the cairns of Eastern Rajputana described above, but in form, the latter being of a truncate pyramidal shape, there is dissimilarity.

29. J.A.S.B. (1888 pt. I) 59.

30. J.R.A.S. (N.S. VII) 31.

31. A.S.R. (VI) 100.

32. I.A. (II) 277.

33. Fergusson, p. 473.

34. *ibid.*, p. 398.

Now we may conveniently summarise our information on some of the important features: First, about cup-marks: To the list of megalithic countries in which cup-marks are found, given by Peet³⁵ must be added India. As we have seen in the foregoing account, the cup-marks are reported from North Arcot and the Central Provinces.

Secondly, I shall shortly deal with the modes of disposal practised so that it will be easy for the reader to compare them with the modern customs. We have seen reason to think that the rock-cut tombs of the Western Coast were meant for cremated persons. But in Tinnevely the rock-sepulchres contained skeletons. As for the dolmens proper only two localities have yielded skeletons. In Central Mysore only one skeleton from only one dolmen out of a great number has been recorded. In the Upper Godavery and Krishna districts the statement about the dead being buried is very general without any concrete details. Yet in both the localities incineration was practised; for most dolmens which have yielded any human remains have yielded calcined bones or burnt ashes placed in earthenware pots. We may take it for granted that the dolmens of the Godavery came from the West Coast, for the peculiar distribution sketched in the previous discussion cannot otherwise be accounted for. Thus any traces of inhumation in the rock-tombs and the true dolmens are found only when we go inland and these too are quite scanty. This means that incineration was a fairly well-established custom during the early part of the megalithic culture in Southern India. This will dispose of the common dogma that incineration was introduced into India solely by the Aryans. As a matter of fact, the Aryans themselves when they entered India practised both cremation and inhumation. Might it not be that the indigenous practice of incineration much influenced the Aryans soon to give up inhumation? It is when we come to the underground cists and cairns that we find the practice of inhumation to be more frequent. But as I have tried to show these are later forms of monuments and far inland.

If we inquire into the details about the orientation of the corpse in these funerary monuments we find that most of these customs which can be described as still existing in contemporary

35. Peet (2) 128.

India prevailed in those early times. Thus the corpse in the dolmen of Central Mysore was lying in a flexed position on the right side, head to the east; those in the dolmens of the Godavary lay on the right side head to the north. Skeletons lying on their left side were found in the cairns of Jewurgi. In the cairns at Andola and Secunderabad bodies lay north/south on their faces. The skeleton in the rock-tomb at Tontpur in Eastern Rajputana was on its back, head to the west, while the one in the cist of South Mirzapur lay north and south. Extended burial is observed in the cairns of Hyderabad. We may take it that in some of the big urns of Madura and Tinnevely the corpse was placed doubled up. In a cairn in Chingleput there was discovered a corpse in cross-legged sitting posture.

I shall close this part of the paper with a discussion about the age of the Indian dolmens. As iron is found among them they have generally been assigned a very low date, i.e., not before 600 B.C. This date was at first accepted by Professor Elliot Smith who then traced the megalithic culture of India to the enterprises of the Phoenician traders about the 8th century B.C.³⁶ But in the light of fresh data he is inclined latterly to think that parts of this heliolithic culture complex reached India at different periods.³⁷ This opinion of his was mainly based upon the belief that typologically the Indian dolmens were "certainly imitations" of the Caucasian ones.³⁸

I shall show that Professor Elliot Smith was misled by the general accounts given of these structures in the books dealing with rough stone monuments and that essentially the Indian dolmens are different from the Caucasian ones and intimately linked up with the Egyptian funerary monuments. In the holed dolmens of the Caucasus the aperture is in the southern slab.³⁹ In the Indian examples by far the greatest number of dolmens seem to have the orifice in the eastern slab, these with the aperture in the southern coming next and those in the northern standing last. This eastern orientation definitely links the Indian dolmens with the Egyptian funerary structures after

36. Elliot Smith (3) 78, (4) 1, 5, 14-15, 21.

37. Elliot Smith (5) 67.

38. *ibid.*, (3) 78.

39. Chantre, p. 57.

the IV dynasty, and separates them from their Caucasian analogues. Further in the Caucasian specimens the hole is also sometimes cut out in the lower extremity of the slab and thus is of a semi-circular form.⁴⁰ Such a change in the position of the aperture does imply a change in the beliefs connected with the rites of the dead. Such a feature, therefore, may be quite typical of any region in which it occurs and not derivable directly from the centre of origin of these monuments, say Egypt. But nowhere in the dolmens of India has this characteristic feature been observed. Again sometimes the hole appears in the end slab, and one side is open in the Caucasus, e.g., the dolmen at Tuapse.⁴¹ Nor again has this peculiarity been noted on the Indian field though it occurs in Syria in the case of the dolmen at Kosseir.⁴² The hole in the upper extremity of the slab which is a peculiarity of the Coorg and of some of the Mysore dolmens seems to suggest that the experiment of cutting a proper hole in conformity with the beliefs of the people, who introduced these monuments, was being tried on the Indian soil. Again the hole is not universal in Indian dolmens. The feature of the compartments so common in the dolmens of India is conspicuous by its absence in those of the Caucasus. This again is a link, as will be shown in the sequel, with the Egyptian practices.

I think this discussion will dispose of any of the supposed close affinities between the Caucasian and Indian dolmens and will therefore force us to inquire into the age of the Indian dolmens from another point of view. The same may be said about any pretended similarity between the Syrian dolmens and the Indian ones. In Syria and Palestine the feature of the hole seems to be rather scanty for no holed dolmen has been found in Moab.⁴³ Further, the wedge shape which is so common in the Syrian region occurs only as an exception in the dolmens of one locality in India, and that, too, far inland—in Belgaum. Thus it is clear that we have to look for the origin of the Indian structures not to the Aegean but towards Egypt. Thus oriented we may be able to fix some limits for

40. *ibid.*, 59.

41. Minns, p. 146. fig.

42. Borlase, p. 707.

43. Schumacher (1) 125.

the age of the dolmens in India on typological considerations. But this task will not be attempted here. The question will be dealt with in another part of paper in connection with the origin of the dolmen.*

I have already indicated how the peculiarities of the elaborate rock-tomb at Calicut lead us to date that specimen and similar ones between the IV dynasty and the Middle Kingdom. Perhaps the latter terminus will be proper one. Here I propose to explore two other possible approaches. Dealing with the affinities of the mound at Pulicondah with the Thupa Ramayana, a Buddhist stupa of 2nd century B.C., Fergusson remarks that if the latter was derived from the former, the former "must probably be as old as 1000 B.C., for it would take many centuries before so rude a style of architecture could be reformed into so polished an example as the Thupa Ramayana". Further he considers the rude circles at Amravati as "humble copies" of the railing of the Buddhist Stupas.⁴⁴ If, therefore, we succeed in showing that just the contrary is likely to be the truer state of things, i.e., the Thupa Ramayana and the railings of the Stupas both are derived from the crude tumuli and the rude cricle of stones, then we shall have the authority of an expert architect to date the megalithic monuments of India at 1000 B.C., and earlier on purely architectural grounds. Firstly, the Buddhist Stupa is built of bricks and not of mud or clay.⁴⁵ The use of bricks for funeral mounds is first mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana* where also is the first reference to a mound raised over the dead.⁴⁶ In the mound of Lauria we have thus to recognise the mixture of two systems of burial rites — the Vedic and the Dravidian; for the round mound formed no part of the Vedic burial practices as far as we know them. Hence the use of clay for the building up of a mound is pre-Aryan and pre-Buddhistic. This conclusion also follows from the date assigned to the mound by Dr. Bloch. It follows then that clay mounds are pre-Buddhistic and hence cannot be derived from Buddhistic monuments.

* This promise was not fulfilled as pure Sociological studies had to be given priority in the discharge of duties. G.S.G.

44. Fergusson, pp. 475, 492.

45. *A.D.S.C.* (1915-16) 32.

46. *Satapatha Brahmana*, XIII, 8, 3, 9.

Further definite piece of evidence is available from the *Satapatha Brahmana* which says that the round mound is raised by the Easterners who are ungodly, and exhorts godly people not to follow them.⁴⁷ We may understand by this — which is the only reasonable interpretation — that the round mound was looked upon as a Dravidian item. According to all the schools of Indologists this literary work is pre-Buddhistic. Hence the round mound which the Buddhist Stupa resembles was regarded as a Dravidian speciality before Buddha's time. Again if the rude mounds were imitations of the Buddhist *Stupa* one fails to understand why it is only rarely that one comes across any structure on the top of the mound. Further one cannot explain the presence in these mounds, not only of single but double, triple, and even fourfold circles of stones, rising one above another. On the other hand, the Buddhist *stupa* with the relic casket placed at the bottom, in the centre, betrays its origin from the tumulus or cairn with the dolmen inside. A people copying from the *stupa* would not make their inner chamber, the dolmen, so imposing as it is. The fact is that the ordinary tumulus is essentially a development of the dolmen with the traditions of the megalithic culture, while the Buddhist *stupa* is a later refinement of the same. As for the railing of the Buddhist *stupa* — at least one feature in it, viz., the *toranas* or gateways — we can clearly demonstrate as being due to the influence of Southern India. The Sanchi Stupa has got four of these gates at the four cardinal points towering high above the rest of the railing. These are regarded as the latest addition to that great monument which had been receiving accretions from the time of Asoka.⁴⁸ In the original railing there were entrances at these four points but they were screened by an extensoin of one side of the railing in front of them so that they opened side-ways. But when the gate-ways came to be added these could no longer be kept side-ways for the simple reason that in that position they could not have faced the points of the compass. Hence by some alterations direct entrances were formed in front of which these *toranas* stand. The southern gate-way is regarded as the oldest.⁴⁹ The inscription on this

47. *ibid.*, XIII, 8, 1, 5.

48. *A.S.I.* (113-14) 9.

49. *ibid.*

tells us that some part of it was the work of a sculptor of the great king Satakarni. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil⁵⁰ identifies this king with one of the Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan. Here then is clear evidence that a new and special feature introduced into the Buddhist railing at a late period was inspired by the South. If we can trace the source of this to the megalithic stone-circle I think we shall have made a case for the derivation of the Buddhist railing from the fully developed stone-circle of the megalithic culture. In the foregoing account it is pointed out that in the stone-circles of Salem district, frequently at four points of the compass, there are four stones towering above the others. I submit here is the clearest proof of the derivation of *toranas* of the Buddhist railing from the stone-circle of Southern India. Thus the derivation of the Buddhist *stupa* from the megalithic mound being demonstrated we might with Fergusson say that the megalithic monuments of India must be as old as 1000 B.C. on the ground of architectural development.

I give the date for what it is worth; personally I have grave doubts about such reasoning based on the tacit assumption of uniform rate of development. In the history of a community it is very often the case that in one period when it feels the quickening impulse of, say, foreign contact or internal upheaval the progress that it makes is incomparably faster than in other periods, when it stands almost stagnant. As witnesses to this general truth we may cite the example of Japan. What has she not achieved in fifty years? If a future sociologist were to date the works of Japan on the assumption of uniform rate of progress he might well have to allow five centuries for this phenomenal growth. Another instance may be quoted from ancient civilizations. In Egypt the invention of the copper tools enabled the ancient Egyptians to make such wide strides in arts and crafts within a short period as had been impossible for them to achieve for how many thousand years one knows not. The foregoing dating, therefore, may be accepted only with this warning.

The other approach is already indicated in the above discus-

50. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 15.

sion. It now only remains to expand it with other details which make the argument more convincing.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*⁵¹ ascribes to the ungodly, Easterners not only the round sepulchral mound but what looks to be a cist with such a mound. It says that the godly people, i.e., the Aryans, when they dig a pit for depositing the burial do not interpose anything between the earth and the burial but the ungodly Easterners separate the burial from the earth by means of a stone basin or some such thing. I think this is a clear reference to the practice of preparing such stone-lined graves as are reported from South Mirzapur. The work at the lowest computation — the one accepted in *The Cambridge History of India*⁵² — has to be ascribed to somewhere between 800 and 600 B.C., while there is another very influential school of Indologists according to which the date of the work may be pushed back to 1000 B.C. Even if we accept 8th century B.C. as the date of this work we have a definite period fixed as to the lower terminus for the dolmens. I have tried to show that the cists have to be regarded as developments of the dolmens. If then the cists are referred to in a work of the 8th century B.C. then the dolmens may safely be put down at a century or two earlier. Thus we may provisionally hold that they must be dated at the latest 1000 B.C. a date which as we have seen, also will have to be accepted for some of the megalithic monuments on the reasoning proposed by Fergusson.

Anthropologists will take objection to this date on the ground that iron tools and weapons are found in large quantities in these dolmens and other megalithic structures. I have no intention of going here into the large question of the invention of the use of iron. I will only point out some indications of the high antiquity of the use of iron in India. Most Indologists hold that there is no positive mention of iron in the oldest Sanskrit book, the Rigveda. But when we come to works that immediately follow the Rigveda we get distinct allusions to iron.⁵³ These works will have to be ascribed to the period 1000-1200 B.C. according to the Cambridge School of Indologists. We

51. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

52. *Loc cit.*, p. 697.

53. Macdonell & Keith, "*Vedic Index*" vide '*Ayas*'.

may pertinently ask what is the true interpretation of this phenomenon of the Aryans entering India as a bronze-using people and taking to the use of iron in a few centuries? The natural explanation seems to be that it was the contact with the iron-using indigenous folk that led to the acquirement by the Aryans of the skill in working and using iron. If this reasoning be correct then the use of iron in Southern India may go so far as 1500 B.C. Perhaps iron was being used by some communities side by side with polished stone. Such a state of things may well explain why we get shell bangles, in distinctly neolithic surroundings and also the fact that a bangle of slate, turned on the lathe, was found on a neolithic site in south Mirzapur.⁵⁴ Again at Bhita near Allahabad Sir J. Marshall discovered two boxes of steatite turned on the lathe and well-finished in a stratum which must belong to the 8th century B.C.⁵⁵ This means that by the 8th century B.C. the people of India must have attained a very high degree of skill in the management of iron. The same conclusion we reach from another line of argument. In a tumulus near Lauriya were found two iron coins and an iron coffin 9 ft. in length. In the coffin were human bones. It was so corroded that it fell to pieces.⁵⁶ In a Pali work treating of the death of Buddha we are told that in the case of the death of a paramount sovereign and of holy persons like the Buddha there was a special procedure to be followed for cremation. The body was to be wrapped up in five hundred layers of alternate new cloth and cotton wool and was to be placed in an iron trough full of oil, a similar one serving as the lid.⁵⁷ It seems the Buddhists adopted this custom of using iron trough from amongst the stock of customs which they possessed before Buddhism. This again argues for a great skill in the working of iron at a comparatively early period. In the end I again insist that in the case of Southern India where people passed from the Neolithic into the Iron age without any intermediate stage we have to date the culture periods themselves by a reference to typological features of the dolmens and not reverse

54. *J.A.S.B.* (1894 III) 21.

55. *A.S.I.* (1911-12) 43.

56. *A.S.R.* (I) p. 70 f.n.

57. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 92-4, 125-8.

the procedure by dating the dolmens according to the culture periods.

Number of the monuments: It is often said that France is *par excellence* the country of the dolmens. Some 4000 and more of them have been recorded from that region. Yet as we see from the treatment of the subject in Dechelette the dolmens proper and the *allees couvertes* have been mixed up together. So we cannot form any correct judgment about the number of the dolmens proper. Nor again do we know how many of these dolmens are perfectly closed chambers, how many of the three-sided variety, and how many again of the degraded type. In India no such counting has been made. Yet the few figures that we possess may help us to form some opinion about the number of dolmens in India. From Bellary dolmens proper have been counted as numbering 1567. In the Iralavanda cemetery there were nearly 600 of them. At Udenhally they numbered 200. 54 are reported from the village of Mashalli. In the Belgaum district at one place there were 30 or 40 of them. Some others in small numbers are also recorded. But only these large numbers taken together give us a total of 2451 and 2461. There are many general statements about the extent of land occupied by these monuments at various places. Thus at Chittor in North Arcot there is more than a square mile of land strewn with these. At Devnur they occupied 3 or 4 acres while in Shorapoor district one of the fields occupied by them measured five acres. Taking all these statements into account I do not think that I shall be putting the number of dolmens too high if I put it down at 5000. The number of other megalithic monuments is almost impossible to guess. Cists and three-sided dolmens are found in hundreds. This discussion will suffice to show that we must regard India as the home of the dolmen proper while to France belongs the honour of being the home of *allees couvertes*. I have entered into this question here because it has an important bearing on the problem of the origin of the dolmen.

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VIII

GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA AND ELSEWHERE*

ONE HAS often heard and read it said and written that, as a result of peace and prosperity consequent on the British rule in India, Indian population has grown at an alarming rate of increase. Harold Wright observes: "Apart from the checks of almost continuous warfare and destructive famines, the peoples of India used to restrict their numbers by religious and social customs akin to those which are found among primitive peoples. These customs were abhorrent to European minds and have been almost entirely stamped out, with the result that the population has increased alarmingly" (*Population*, pp. 123-4). E.M. East goes even further when he remarks "English brains have made a new India in 50 years. Famine-stricken, pestilence-smitten, cobra-bitten India has been given a new lease of life Without England, India would have remained the prey of plague, famine and wild beast. She would have had less than half of the population she now possesses." (*Mankind at the Crossroads*, pp. 88-89). Any Indian, who is an intelligent observer, sees round him anything but prosperity and feels the existence of such phenomena as scarcity and pestilence. He is, therefore, prompted to inquire whether the

* *The Indian Economist*, 22-3-1925. The Journal became defunct.

growth of population in India has been particularly tremendous as compared with that in the countries of Europe. I give below the results of such an investigation carried on with the help of such sources in English as are available.

First of all, we must determine what has been the real increase of population from a particular year to the Census of 1921. The first Census of India was taken in 1872 and that may conveniently be taken as the starting year. To calculate the real increase of population in 1921 over that of 1872 we must take into account only the natural increase of population of 1872 during all these years. The difference between the actual population of 1921 as given in the Census Report and that of 1872 cannot represent only the natural increase, as the enumerated population of 1921 includes over and above the natural growth of the population of 1872, (i) fresh numbers added owing to improved methods of enumeration at some of the Censuses after that of 1872; (ii) accretions of peoples because of the inclusion of fresh territories in the political unit; (iii) the natural increase of the population added as the result of improved methods of enumeration and accretion of new territories. The increase of population during the decade 1862-1881 owing to inclusion of new territories and to the improved methods of enumeration is taken as given in the Census Report and the natural increase of this part of the population is calculated through every intercensal decade on the basis of the natural increase of the whole population in that decade upto the Census of 1921, the same procedure being followed for additions of population during later decades. Deducting this increase from the figure for real increase given in the Census Report we get the total real increase.

By this method we get the real increase of population in 1921 over that of 1872 to be 21.3 per cent of the population in 1872.

In the Census Reports for 1911 and 1921, the Commissioners—E. A. Gait and J. T. Marten respectively—have given us that they call the real increase of population after allowing only for the additions due to improved enumeration and accretion of new areas but not also for the natural increase of these additional numbers. But they have committed a graver mistake in arriving at the figure of percentage rate of real in-

crease of population. They calculate the rate per cent of real increase in every decade between two consecutive Censuses and add up these, the sum representing, according to them, the rate per cent of real increase during the whole period. The mistake lies in this that the rate per cent of each decade is treated as if it were calculated in each case on the population of 1872, while, as a matter of fact, each one of them is calculated on the basis of the population of the previous enumeration.

P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi, in their recent book *The Wealth of India*, have also discussed the question of the increase of Indian Population. They give the crude percentage of increase for each of the decades from 1881 to 1921 and, committing the error, pointed out above, add up the figures. It is only in a footnote that they make the remark: "The real increase is hardly 15 per cent because of the large additions of territory made during these years. Moreover, the census returns of the early decades were far from accurate. It is stated officially that between 1872 and 1911 there was an increase of only 19 per cent." (p. 54.) How the authors have come by the figure of 15 as percentage rate of real increase they have not allowed the reader to know, and I imagine that it is nothing more than a conjecture.

According to the method of working out the real increase of population which I explained above, the real increase of population in 1921 over that of the population in 1881 cannot be less than 19.6.

To compare this rate of real increase with those of the countries of Europe and Asia we must consider only such cases, where inclusion of new territories is not likely to have taken place. We shall not be able to get a rate of increase corrected for the fact of emigration, which has been tremendous in the case of many of the European countries, nor for the probability of better enumeration. As emigration on a large scale has taken place rather from those countries which show a high rate of increase, the disparity between the rates of growth of population of India and of these countries would only have been heightened, if the necessary correction could be applied.

In preparing the tables I have purposely omitted such countries as the United States of America, Germany and Russia; for in their case one must take notice of either immigration on a

very large scale or accretions of new territories and make proper allowance therefor in deducting the rate per cent of real increase.

The tables at the end, establish it beyond doubt, that the real increase of population from 1872 to 1921 in India is decidedly less than that in most of the European countries, France being left out of consideration as an exceptional country. Further it is quite clear that European countries, except Portugal, had a phenomenal increase before 1880 when the general fall in the birth-rate is said to have taken place. While these European countries show an enormous rise in population in the period, 1880-1921, after having increased phenomenally during a century preceding that period, India, falls far behind them in the rate of the growth of population after 1880. The tables show further that the increase of populations in India during 1891-1921 is very meagre compared with not only that of the European countries but even with that of such an eastern country as Japan.

Thus, it will be seen that there has been no such sudden increase in population as to justify the amazing claim put forward on behalf of the British rule in India viz. that it established prosperous and healthy life on a large scale and improved agriculture by leaps and bounds; for in case the claim were true, we would have had a sudden growth of population as in the case of the European countries after the Industrial Revolution or in that of Japan during the last decade of the nineteenth century and after.

The figures further prove that though the increase of Japan during 1891-1921 is greater than that of England during that period, when a longer period is passed under review, the rate of increase of population in England, rather than that of India, has been "alarming". I venture to think that the phenomenal growth of population of some of the European countries, with England leading them, during the last one hundred and fifty years has been the principal cause that has disturbed the peace of the world and is an actual hindrance as well as a potential danger to the attainment thereof.

J. T. Marten is aware that the growth of population in India has been moderate; but his remark that "the rate of growth of population in India is not greater than that of many countries of Europe" states less than the truth which is as set forth above.

Wadia and Joshi have also attempted to bring out this disparity between the rates of increase in India and elsewhere. They quote the percentages of increase for England and the

Country	Rate per cent of increase (a) over the population at the beginning of the period	Period
United Kingdom	266	1780-1880
England	326	1801-1921
"	157	1811-1881
"	59	1871-1911
"	46	1881-1921
"	31	1891-1921
Norway	200	1801-1920
"	120	1801-1885
"	36	1885-1920
Holland	162	1830-1920
"	52	1890-1920
Switzerland	129	1890-1920
"	41	1870-1910
"	36	1880-1920
Italy	126 (b)	1780-1880
"	103	1816-1921
"	128	1800-1888
"	29	1872-1911
"	31	1882-1921
Sweeden	87	1810-1888
"	29	1880-1920
Portugal	25	1805-1878
"	33	1878-1920
"	19	1890-1920
Spain	64	1780-1880
France	49	1780-1880
Belgium	39	1876-1910
Japan (proper)	37	1891-1920
India	21.3	1872-1921
"	19.9	1872-1911
"	19.6	1881-1921
"	9.1	1891-1921

(a) Sources from which the table is proposed:

- (1) *The Dictionary of Statistics* by G. Mulhall
- (2) *The Statesman's Year Book* and
- (3) *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

(b) This figure about Italy must be taken with caution, as the political unit during the period was not identical.

United States of America for each decade beginning with 1881 and total up, the sum representing the total rate per cent of increase. As pointed out above this is an error. Secondly, to quote the rate of increase for U.S.A. ignoring the tremendous stream of immigrants is utterly wrong. These authors further substantiate their contention about the disparity between the rates of increase by adducing figures about Japan for 1896 and 1920. To judge from the figures available in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, — for the authors themselves have not quoted their authority — the authors seem to have committed another bad mistake, viz. that of not deducting the population of Korea from the gross figure about Japan for 1920. Hence they give the rate of increase during 1896-1920 as 83 per cent which, as I have shown, cannot be more than 37 per cent.

*That I have tried to show that the rate of growth of population in India has been quite moderate does not mean that nothing is wrong with us in that respect, nor does it necessarily imply that we can afford to multiply even at this rate.** These are questions that require to be treated by themselves.

In one of the remarks quoted at the commencement of this note there is a big assumption about the moral influence of the British stamping out certain practices, detrimental to the growth of population, which can be easily shown to be only partially true. But I have no desire to enter into that subject here.

IX

SEX HABITS OF A SAMPLE OF MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE OF BOMBAY*

A STUDY of sex habits is necessary for a comprehensive psychology of sex, as much of the recent literature on this subject, particularly from America, shows quite clearly. Frequency of coitus among them has a special interest for biologists, psychologists and sociologists alike. Sex impulse in man is not confined within definite periodic cycles but is known to be generally spread over the major part of his adult life. Variations in the strength of this impulse, between individuals belonging to one society as well as perhaps among societies themselves, are bound to be present. A comprehensive study of the actual frequency of the coitus would prove to be of great use in ascertaining the usual average as well as the limits of variation. And if proper precaution is taken — if we can gauge the influence of belief on the frequency of coitus — we may be able to decide whether there are group-differences in respect of frequency of coitus.

Among some of the ancient civilized peoples, we find some

* Italics freshly put in for this publication.

* First read at the 2nd All-India Population and 1st Family Hygiene Conference held in Bombay in 1938 and published in its Report.

guidance given to individuals regarding frequency of coitus.¹ If the norm laid down by the great leaders of these societies can be taken as more or less representative of the actual practice of the people, then group-differences in this matter would seem to have been in existence since long.

As Profssor Raymond Pearl has pointed out, it would be extremely important to try to ascertain the relationship which exists between frequency of coitus and impregnation. Even if it were not possible to study frequency of coitus in relation to impregnation, it would still be instructive to study it in relation to actual fertility *i.e.*, the number of children born.

Only a few studies have been made on this subject — those of Beam, Dickinson and Pearl being wellknown. No such study regarding any section of Indian population has been so far available.

A questionnaire, a copy of which is given as an appendix, was printed and two thousand copies of it were distributed to middle class persons, normally residents of Bombay through the agency of second year and third year research students as well as through some other friends. Envelopes were provided to ensure secrecy. As a result of repeated calls I received 311 schedules filled in by Hindu males. Seven of them had to be rejected because the answers were either very defective or were contradictory among themselves or because desire of the person replying to crack jokes was apparent.

Occupation

A description of the occupations of the persons will give a fair idea as to the nature of the sample studied. 12 persons have furnished no information about their occupation, while 1 is unemployed and 10 are students. Of the remaining 281, 157 persons have described themselves as being clerks or in service or as typists, and 50 as secondary school teachers. The next largest group is formed by what is called independent business, 26 persons being engaged in it. Of these, 1 each is a shopkeeper, an artist, a photographer, a bookseller, and 3 are

1. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. 4 (4 vols. ed.) pp. 532.

tailors. 13 persons are engaged in the legal profession, one of them each being a solicitor, an advocate and a barrister and the rest pleaders. Medical practice claims the next largest allegiance, 12 persons being engaged in it. Of these, one is a consulting surgeon and another consulting physician. 4 persons are engineers. 8 persons have described themselves as journalists. There are 3 primary teachers, 2 landlords, 1 professor, 1 agriculturist, 1 rent-collector, 1 time-keeper, 1 signaller and 1 cabinman.

Only 8 wives, out of 304, are gainfully employed otherwise than in their household duties. 5 of them are primary school teachers, 2 secondary school teachers and 1 does sewing business.

Education

Further characterization of the sample can be made by reference to education. There are 25 persons with post-graduate education, in arts (13), science, medicine, commerce and law. 4 of them have degrees of foreign Universities and 2 diplomas. There are 75 graduates of statutory Universities and 1 of Gujarat Vidyapith. 43 of these are graduates in arts, 19 in law, 7 in medicine, 2 each in engineering, science, and teaching and 1 in commerce. 28 persons have received education above the matriculation stage, 19 being under-graduates and 9 diploma-holders. While 83 are matriculates, 77 have received some English education below the matriculation (school leaving) stage. 4 persons have only Vernacular education and 11 have not furnished any information on this point.

As for the educational attainments of the wives of these persons, it may be mentioned that the largest bulk of them have only Vernacular education, 150 being returned as having no education higher than that of the Vernacular fourth standard, 30 as having passed the Vernacular final examination and 1 the second year training examination. 90 ladies have some English education. Of these, 64 are non-matriculates, 1 holding a diploma in art; 13 are matriculates; 7 are under-graduates, of whom 2 hail from the S.N.D.T. (Womens) University; 4 are graduates of the statutory Universities and 1 of the S.N.D.T. (Womens) University. There is only one lady among these,

who holds the M.A. degree. 23 wives have no education whatsoever and about 10 there is no information.

Marriage and Family

Table 1 gives the frequency distribution of duration of marriage of 303 cases for which information is available. It is seen that the average duration of a marriage is 8.9 years. The average number of children born per marriage during this period is 2.2 and the average number surviving at the time of enquiry is 1.9. Table 2 gives the frequency distribution of the number of children born to a marriage. It is seen that there is only one case where 14 children were born, while 70 families have no children born at all. In this sample the ages of husband and wife at marriage are found to be 16.2 and 24.5 respectively. A little over 17 p.c. of the wives were married at ages thirteen and below, while barely 6 p.c. of the husbands were married before they were eighteen years of age. From the frequency distribution presented in the Tables 3 and 4 it is seen that nearly 55 p.c. of the males were married during the age period 23-27, whereas nearly 70 p.c. of the females were married at the age-period 14-19, comprising six years.

Beginning of Sex-Life in Marriage

It is well-known that in orthodox Hindu marriage, marriage does not mean beginning of sex-life. Beginning of sex-life must depend to a large extent on the ages of husband and wife at marriage, particularly the age of wife as the husband must be, according to Hindu notions and practices, older than the wife. The onset of menstruation is interpreted as the ripeness of the wife for sex-life. And among a large section of the Hindus of Bombay a rite is performed on this occasion and the husband and wife are introduced to each other in a ceremonial way.

It would be interesting to see if the old custom of postponing sex-life for some time after marriage, owing to the immaturity of the wife, persists in marriages, where wives have attained puberty at marriage.

Table 5 presents the data about the period of time after marriage when sex-life began. It is seen therefrom that in

about 14 per cent of the marriages for which information on this point is available, sex-life began from the very day of marriage. If the cases, where sex-life did not begin from the day of marriage but some time thereafter and within one week of marriage, may be considered as cases where no period is allowed to elapse between marriage and beginning of sex-life — the ceremonies accompanying a Hindu Marriage and the fact of number of relatives gathering together within a restricted floor space making privacy impossible during these days, postponement of sex-life by a few days after marriage may really be due to practical consideration of convenience rather than to the desire to conform to the old habit — then the percentage of cases where sex-life begins, without let or hindrance dictated by old custom, works out to be 21.9.

There are 75 or nearly 25.3 per cent cases where sex-life is recorded to have begun after one week after marriage but within one month. Perhaps it is permissible to discover in these cases vestiges of old custom. It is not improbable that in a number of cases, included in this category, beginning of sex-life was dependant upon the onset of a fresh menstrual period. According to the orthodox Hindu custom sex-life can be begun only during the first sixteen days of monthly period.

In Tables 6 and 7 data about beginning of sex-life are presented in their relation to the ages of husband and wife. It is seen therefrom that shorter the period elapsing between the marriage and the beginning of sex-life the higher are the average ages of husband and wife at marriage and *vice versa*. Though, it may thus appear that the ages of husband and wife at marriage primarily influence the period elapsing between marriage and beginning of sex-life, yet, certain features of Table 7 lead one to the conclusion that there are some social factors also involved in this matter. Thus, for example, among the cases where sex-life began after three months but within six months after marriage 32.2 per cent of the wives were aged 18-20 years at their marriage, while in the same category there was only one husband who was below 20 and 25.8 per cent husbands aged 20-22 at marriage. This means that there is an appreciable percentage of cases where beginning of sex-life is postponed for some time after marriage, even when the ages at marriage of husband and wife do not at all suggest such a course. Similarly in the next

category *i.e.* the cases where beginning of sex-life takes place after six months but within one year after marriage there are 20 per cent of wives, who are aged 18-20 at marriage, and only 6.7 per cent of husbands below twenty.

Honeymoon

Going on a honeymoon trip after marriage is not a Hindu practice but an idea that is latterly presented to us through the medium of English literature. It is interesting to observe that in this sample of married people, normally resident in Bombay, there is some tendency to go on a honeymoon trip. 119 persons supplied information regarding honeymoon out of whom 34 went on a honeymoon trip and the rest did not. That this small number of honeymoon-goers does indicate a tendency is made clear by the fact that the educational status of the couples is more or less similar to that of the whole sample. Three husbands have not given their educational attainments, 7 are non-matric, 10 are matriculates, 4 under-graduates and the rest graduates or holders of post-graduate degrees. Details about education are not available about 2 wives. Of the remaining 32, one has no education, 11 only upto Vernacular fourth standard, 4 Vernacular final, 6 some English education below matriculation standard, 2 matriculates, 4 under-graduates, 3 graduates and 1 M.A.

Living apart of Husband and Wife for some time as a Routine Practice

According to the Hindu way of living, a lady after her marriage has to visit her parents from time to time. This practice naturally brings about temporary separation between husband and wife at more or less regular intervals during the first few years after marriage. She also goes to her mother's for her first confinement. Sexologists would seem to agree that such temporary separation as a periodic practice is conducive to married happiness. In the questionnaire issued a question was specially included to enable us to gauge the current practice.

There are some persons in this sample, who either because they are students or for some other reasons, have necessarily to live in Bombay keeping their wives with their parents or other rela-

tives in the mofussil. Such cases are not included in the analysis of the replies to this question. Similarly, cases where separation occurs owing to husband's business or to wife's pregnancy or to some illness of a member of the family necessitating a change are also omitted.

Seventy persons state that they are ordinarily not separated from wives, while 158 persons send their wives away for some time either every year or over a longer period. Of these 147 furnish information regarding period of separation etc. 138 of them mention that they are separated from their wives every year, the period of separation varying from a few days to as much as six months. The remaining nine send their wives for some time once in two or three years. Of the former, 34 persons are separated from their wives for one month every year; 14 send their wives away for a month or two and 36 do so for two months. In the case of 34 persons the period of separation is longer than two months and in 20 cases it is shorter than a month.

Frequency of Sex-Intercourse

Item 9 in the questionnaire asks the subject to state the number of times in a month he has sex-intercourse with his wife, as also the number of times in any night, if copulation takes place more than once in a night. Thus the item embodies two queries: first, regarding the frequency of sex-intercourse on monthly basis, second, regarding the habit of multiple coitus in the same night. It is possible for the subjects to have combined the two queries into one and to have counted the occasions of multiple coitus and included them in the statement of frequency of sex-intercourse during a month. But the manner in which they have actually filled in their replies leaves no doubt that they have not done so. The reply states the number of times they have coitus either on the basis of a day, on that of a week, on that of a month or even that of a year. And almost invariably they have answered the second part of the query either positively as only 'once' or negatively as 'nil' or again, where there is multiple coitus, 'as so many times in a night and on so many occasions in a month, or in a year or during the whole period of married life or again during

the early part of married life or finally during the first few days or during the first night or only at reunion after long separation'.

For calculating the frequency of sex-intercourse I have considered a month as the inter-menstrual period of twenty-four days, as sex-intercourse during the monthly period is looked upon with horror and in by far the largest number of Hindu families even in Bombay city a woman is in some way segregated during the period.

A reply, which states the frequency of sex-intercourse to be daily, is counted as a case of twenty-four times sex-intercourse per month, and frequency stated as alternate day intercourse is calculated as twelve times per month. Frequency stated as every other day is counted as eight times intercourse every month.

In calculating the frequency stated in terms of so many times per week, the month or the inter-menstrual period is counted as a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ weeks. Thus, replies which state the frequency of sex-intercourse as twice a week, are considered as giving us a frequency of 7 times a month.

Those, answering this question on the basis of a month, have stated the frequency in a number of cases as varying between so many times and so many times, for example, 'twice or thrice', 'three times to five times', 'eight times to twelve times', 'six times to fifteen times', etc. In these cases the mean between the two limits is taken as the frequency.

Altogether 288 persons furnished information in such a way that it can be properly analysed and the results of the analysis are given in Table 8. The average frequency of sex-intercourse, commuted in accordance with the considerations noticed above, is 10.2 per month or in an inter-menstrual period.

There is one case not included in the table, which seems to be extreme, and which, though included in the computation of the average frequency of sex-intercourse, must be mentioned separately. The couple under consideration has sex-intercourse only once or twice a year. And this is the only case where frequency of sex-intercourse is stated on the basis of a year.

There are three couples who have sex-intercourse only once a month.

While judging the frequency of the sex-intercourse in the light of the numerical expression given above as the average,

a few relevant points and practices connected with sex-intercourse which can hardly be summarized in the numerical expression must be borne in mind.

First, the number of times of sex-intercourse returned, whether on the basis of month, week or day, represents the practice current more or less at the time of enquiry, or during the six months or the year preceding the enquiry. It is very likely, as a number of marriages in the sample are of some years' duration, that the frequency of the sex-intercourse might have been greater in the earlier period which is not here recorded. The ideal method would have been to request the subjects to give details about frequency from year to year during the whole course of married life but one hardly expects to get the necessary replies. Further, even if there was the utmost willingness to give such detailed replies, it is more than doubtful if all of them could be regarded as reliable. All points considered, therefore, it is much better to try to gauge the frequency of sex-intercourse current at the time of enquiry in terms of generalised impressions, these being taken to represent the most common practice.

Twenty-one people only have made it clear that the frequency of sex-intercourse with them was higher formerly than the one given at the time of enquiry. Among them only very few have actually mentioned the earlier frequency and the period over which it continued. There is one among these, who, a University degree holder and married for over four years, says that he now wants distinctly to reduce his frequency of sex-intercourse but who observes, "both of us find it difficult to control ourselves, myself more than my wife".

Second, the frequency above noted cannot be taken as frequency during the whole year. For firstly as is already noticed there are gaps in sex-life owing to the fact of the wife being away. And as would be seen from the analysis of question 10 given below, frequency of sex-intercourse after reunion is not such as to fill up the gap. Secondly, as is made clear by four of the subjects, the frequency may vary according to season. One of whom states that it is greater in the cold season and less in the summer.

Third, as the next section will show there are a number of subjects who have sex-intercourse more than once during the

same night. But multiple coitus, not being a regular habit with all of them, cannot be reduced to a numerical expression in computing the total frequency of sex-intercourse.

Multiple Coitus

Seventy-six persons have neither provided any details regarding the number of times they copulate in the night if more often than once nor have they stated clearly that they copulate only once during the night; 112 persons, on the other hand, state positively that they copulate only once in the night and 23 more that they copulate once in the night now though in the early days of conjugal life they used to have multiple coitus; 4 others have had multiple coitus on rare occasions. The remaining 89 persons are in the habit of copulating more than once in the night, of whom 5 may be left out as they are normally separated from their wives for one reason or another during the major part of the year.

Analysing the 23 cases of multiple coitus in the same night in the early days of conjugal life it is found that 3 of the husbands have not given their educational status. Of the remaining 20 husbands 6 are non-matric, 4 are matriculates, 1 under-graduate, 5 graduates (including one from Gujarat Vidyapith) and 4 holders of post-graduate degrees. The average duration of marriage in these 23 cases is 8.9 years, and the average duration of conjugal life is 7.6 years. The average difference between the ages of husband and wife is 8.9 years.

It is impossible to say over what period this practice of multiple coitus continued in the early days of conjugal life because the period is very rarely specified. One states the period as the first month of marriage, another as the first three months, third as the first six months, fourth as the first one or two years and the fifth as the first few years. Others say that it was so 'at the beginning', 'in honeymoon days', or 'in younger days'.

As to the frequency of multiple coitus and the number of times in a night, it is seen that 6 subjects had coitus twice in a night; 2 state that it was twice or thrice; 2 thrice; 2 three or four times; 2 four times; 1 three to five times; 1 four to five times; 1 five to six times; and 1 six times; 2 have not stated the number of times.

One person married for over six years says that he used to copulate three to five times in a night when 'newly married', which appears to imply a period of one year, twice in the night for the next two years and once in the night since the fourth year. Another, who is married for eleven years, says that he used to have coitus thrice a night during the first year after marriage, twice a night for the next five years and thereafter only once, a night. A third, who is married over twenty-two years, says that he copulated twice or thrice a night during the first year, twice a night for the next five years and only once thereafter.

Calculating the monthly frequency of sex-intercourse at the time of enquiry, *i.e.* when the practice of multiple coitus had ceased, on the basis mentioned above, it is seen that the average frequency, based on 20 replies out of these 23 cases, is 13.7, which is seen to be a little higher than the monthly frequency of coitus in the whole sample.

Of the 4 persons, who say that they have had multiple coitus some time or the other, one states that he had eight times in a night when he was married, this being the case of the maximum number of copulations in a single night in the whole sample; another says that he had twice or thrice a night for a month on occasions of reunion after separation during the first few years of conjugal life; another twice in a night on three or four occasions during the five years of his conjugal life; the third states similar frequency on four or five occasions during seventeen years of conjugal life and the fourth that he had coitus four times in the night only once in the whole period of his conjugal life.

Of the 84 subjects, who have multiple coitus, 4 have twice in the same night only at reunion after separation from wife and 1 rarely twice in cold season; the remaining 3 copulate twice in a night more or less regularly. One of them says that he has two copulations once or twice in a year. Another says that he copulates twice in a night two times in a month and the third ten times in a month.

There are 46 persons, who at the time of the enquiry, reported having coitus twice a night without any reference to any particular circumstances or to any restricted period. Of them 1 speaks of it as a frequent practice, 2 as a general practice

and 21 persons refer to it as an occasional practice. To these 21 may be added other 8, who answered the query without giving further particulars as 'twice' or 'not more than twice', giving us the total of 29 persons who copulate twice a night occasionally. Eight persons report it as a rare practice with them and 6 more as very rare.

The average duration of marriage in the case of these 46 persons is 6.8 years and the average duration of conjugal life 6.2 years. The average difference between the ages of husband and wife is seven years. As regards their educational status this group does not materially differ from that of the whole sample. Thus there are 19 graduates and double graduates, 3 undergraduates, 11 matriculates, 9 non-matrices and 1 Vernacular final. The average monthly frequency of coitus in this group, irrespective of the multiplicity of coitus in the same night, is 12.6.

It is seen that marital life in this particular group has been of shorter duration by two years than in the whole sample. It is also seen that the monthly frequency of coitus is little higher.

There are 28 persons who have copulation more than twice in a night. Of these, 7 persons have coitus twice or thrice in a night. Three of them state that it is their usual practice on all occasions of sex-intercourse and the rest record it as their occasional practice. Eight persons report that they copulate thrice a night, of whom 2 refer to the practice as rare or exceptional, 1 as occasional and the rest mention it without further specification. One person mentions three or four copulations as his maximum, 9 persons speak of four copulations, out of them 4 refer to the practice as occasional and the rest as rare, 3 persons copulate six times in the night on rare occasions.

The average duration of marital life in this group is 9.8 years and of conjugal life 9 years. The average difference between the ages of husband and wife is 8.7 years. The average monthly frequency of sex-intercourse is found to be 15.8 which is much higher than the average found in the whole sample.

From a study of the sex-habits of the whole sample and of the cases of multiple coitus the conclusion that seems to emerge is that the practice of multiple coitus is associated with higher average frequency of sex-intercourse i.e., persons, who tend to

have a sex-intercourse more frequently in a month, also are inclined to copulate more often than once in the same night.

Change in frequency on reunion after separation

One question in the questionnaire asks the subject to state if he finds any change in the frequency of sex-intercourse on reunion with wife after separation. Replies furnished by 274 persons admit of analysis. Of these 70 persons state that they have no experience of such a situation as they are not separated from their wives and 15 others mention that they have not particularly marked the change. While 120 persons say that they find a change only 69 positively assert that there is no change.

Of the 120 persons who mark a change 48 do not furnish any information about its nature. Of the remaining 72 persons, who provide details, 17 report it to take the form of greater frequency of coitus for some period but say nothing about multiple coitus in the same night. 5 persons experience greater frequency of sex-intercourse in addition to multiple coitus, in 11 cases the change results in coitus twice a day for one day to five days, in 2 sex-intercourse takes place more than once a day for three days and in 1 it is three to four times on the day of reunion. 3 persons state that the change is seen in the fact that they have sex-intercourse for the first two days consecutively. 16 persons say that they have intense desire, which in the case of two results in impetuosity of coitus and in one case in the sex-act taking place even during daytime. 2 persons say that they derive greater satisfaction from coitus. While the experience of 10 persons is that their sex-act lasts longer than usual, that of 5 others is just the reverse, the sex-act being over in a shorter time than usual. One of these latter describes it as 'quick and gushing'. It may be further noted that the 2 cases of intense desire resulting in impetuosity of coitus may belong to this last category, giving us a total of 7 persons whose sex-act gets over in a shorter period than usual.

Miscellaneous: Some striking statements

One person, a student working for a postgraduate degree and married for over two years, mentions that his wife is now not

"inclined to copulate till she is tired" though formerly she allowed him to have intercourse as often as he pleased. A graduate teacher, married for over 6 years, states that he has intercourse whenever his wife wishes. While he does not change his frequency of coitus owing to his wife's unwillingness another graduate teacher, with similar duration of marriage, is not ready to change his rule of alternate day coitus even when his wife presses him to do so. One Advocate, married for over 21 years, says that he has sex-intercourse only when he or his wife wants and there is not much of a regularity in its frequency. A teacher, who is an M.A. and married for over 4 years, has coitus every night but is thinking of lessening the frequency to once a week. He laments that both he and his wife are unable to take to this new rule as they cannot control themselves, he more than his wife. He further regrets that owing to the habit of masturbation he has very little control over his passion. He used to get excited sometimes at the sight of a lady so much as to have discharge. This lack of control he further regrets has told both on his career and health. A pleader, married for over 13 years, says that he had more desire for sex-intercourse when he shared his wife's bed but that since he began to have separate bed his frequency has fallen from one every day to ten times a month and that the intercourse instead of becoming a routine affair gives distinctly more pleasure. One person, whose wife is an undergraduate and who is married for two years, allows a whole week to elapse during menstruation and then has intercourse every alternate day. A graduate teacher, married for over 6 years, has sex-intercourse for a few days in succession and then leaves a gap for days. A matriculate clerk, married over 23 years, has coitus only on auspicious days of the month, which are, according to him, about 5. As for multiple coitus, an engineer with a technical institute diploma and married for over 11 years, states that though the maximum number of times he has had intercourse with his wife is six yet "it is only rubbing: no pleasure after two times". Regarding sex-life on reunion with wife after a separation, one states that sex-intercourse is 'vigorous' on both sides, another that he feels great satisfaction: 'only a little less than in the first year or before first pregnancy.' Another person remarks that he feels better for the first two months of sepa-

ration whereafter his desire for sex-intercourse becomes intense. A mechanical engineer, married for over five years, states that at reunion the sex-act 'lasts for two complete minutes'.

TABLE 1
Duration of Marriage
(Number of cases: 303)
Frequency Distribution

<i>Duration in years</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
0	2
1-5	111
6-10	87
11-15	51
16-20	31
21-25	18
26-32	3
Total	303

Average duration: 8.9 years. (8.86)

TABLE 2
Children

<i>Number of children born to a marriage</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
0	70
1	63
2	62
3	41
4	25
5	16
6	13
7	2
8	3
9	2
10	2
11*	1
14	1
Total	301

Average number of
children born per
marriage: 2.2

Average number of
children surviving
at the time of
enquiry: 1.9

* Ten confinements, one producing twins.

One undergraduate clerk, married for over two years, states that his coitus under similar circumstances, lasts more than half an hour. Another Matriculate clerk, married over 17 years, states the longer duration of coitus to be 10 or 15 minutes more than the usual 10 minutes, thus the coitus lasting for about 20 to 25 minutes. One graduate teacher, who hopes to be a lawyer and is married for over 9 years, regrets that only few questions are asked in the questionnaire, which, he remarks, deals with a very vital question.

TABLE 3

Wife's Age at Marriage

<i>Age-group (in years)</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
5—13	51
14—15	72
16—17	75
18—19	63
20—21	24
22—26	12
31	1
Total	298

Average Age of Wife at Marriage: 16.20 years.

TABLE 4

Husband's Age at Marriage

<i>Age-group (in years)</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
10—17	17
18—22	66
23—27	164
28—32	44
33—38	8
Total	299

Average age of Husband at Marriage: 24.49 years.

TABLE 5

Beginning of Married sex-life

<i>Period of time after marriage when Sex-life began</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
Nil (from the day of marriage)	41
Within 4 days	16
After 4 days and within one week	8
After 1 week and within 1 month	75
After 1 month and within 3 months	34
After 3 months and within 6 months	33
After 6 months and within 1 year	33
After 1 year and within 4 years	41
After 4 years and within 8 years	15
After 14 years	1
Total	297

TABLE 6

Beginning of Sex-life and Husband's Age at Marriage

<i>Beginning of Sex-life</i>	<i>Percent Husbands of Specified Age at Marriage</i>						<i>Average age</i>
	19 & below	20-22	23-25	26-28	29-31	32 & above	
Within 3 months after marriage	*	11.3	36.3	33.9	8.9	7.7	26.0
Over 3 months & within 6 months	†	25.8	35.5	25.8	9.7	...	24.5
Over 6 months & within 1 year	6.7	23.3	50.0	16.7	...	†	23.3
Over 1 year	38.3	28.3	25.0	6.7	...	×	20.3

* 3 husbands in this group.

† 1 husband in this group.

‡ 1 husband whose age at marriage was 41 years.

× 1 husband in this group.

TABLE 7
Beginning of Married Sex-life and Wife's Age at Marriage

<i>Beginning of Sex-life</i>	<i>Percent Wives of Specified Age at Marriage</i>				<i>Average age</i>
	14 yrs. & below.	15-17 yrs.	18-20 yrs.	21-26 yrs.	
Within 3 months after marriage	8.3	45.8	33.3	11.9*	17.6
Over 3 months and within 6 months	25.8	38.7	32.3	+	16.5
Over 6 months and within a year	33.3	43.3	20.0	+	15.6
Over 1 year	70.0	26.7	3.3	...	12.8

* There is one wife whose age at marriage was above 26 years.

+ There is one wife whose age at marriage was 21 years.

TABLE 8
*Frequency of Coitus**

I. <i>Day basis:—</i>		(Total number answering on the basis of day: 44).	
Every Alternate day	...	...	15
Every day	...	...	26
			41
II. <i>Week basis:—</i>		(Total number answering on the basis of a week: 26).	
Once a week	...	...	11
Twice a week	...	...	8
			22
III. <i>Month basis:—</i>		(Total number answering on the basis of a month: 218)	
Twice a month	...	...	8
Twice or Thrice	...	...	7
Four times	...	...	22
Four to Six times	...	...	46
Six to Eight times	...	...	34
Eight to Ten times	...	...	10
Ten times	...	...	20
Eight to Twelve times	...	...	8
Ten to Fifteen times	...	...	32
Fifteen to Twenty times	...	...	11
Twenty times	...	...	6
		Total	204

* Only those categories are listed here which are returned by five or more persons.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please do not write your name anywhere

- (1) Year of your birth.
- (2) Year of your present wife's birth.
- (3) Year of your marriage with your present wife.
- (4) Your occupation and how far you are educated?
- (5) Your wife's education and occupation if any.
- (6) Did you go out for honeymoon with your wife?
- (7) Did you begin cohabitation with your wife from the day of marriage or was there an interval? (If an interval, state how long it was.)
- (8) Do you live apart from your wife for any period during a year either on business or because your wife goes to her parent or on any other ground? (If so, state period.)
- (9) How often in a month do you have sex-intercourse with your wife? State the number of times in a month and also the number of times in any night if you copulate with your wife more often than once in a night.
- (10) If you are temporarily separated from your wife for reasons under 8, do you find any change in frequency of your sex-intercourse after reunion? (If so, state its strength and also the period over which the change lasts.)
- (11) Do you practise birth control? (If so, state the reasons and methods used.)
- (12) Have you found your methods infallible? (If not state how often it has failed.)
- (13) State the total number of children you have; state intervals between two consecutive children and indicate those who came inspite of your practice of birth-control. Don't omit any child living or dead.

All enquiry is strictly confidential.

N. B.: Dr. R. P. Das, Principal, Regional Family Planning Training Centre, Jhansi, wrote to me on Dec. 9, 1968, asking for a copy of "your valuable study entitled study of Sex habits..." to serve him "as a guideline", for a study of sex habits which his centre had proposed to undertake. This sent me searching for reprints, if any, available with me. After some diligent search I could come across only one copy which is now used for this publication. Dr. Das's kind inquiry is the reason for this republication.
G S. G.

X

BIRTH-CONTROL PRACTICE
IN BOMBAY*

I CONDUCTED an enquiry into the Sex-habits of middle-class people of Bombay with the help of a questionnaire, the results of which are presented elsewhere. The questionnaire contained two questions regarding the practice of birth-control, asking the subject to state if he practises birth-control, the method he uses, the reasons which prompt him to control births, as also the success or failure of his method to achieve the result.

Of the 304 persons who furnished the replies, 2 give no information as to whether they practise birth-control or not, 201 persons say that they do not, while 11 persons state that though they do not practise it they would either like to or intend to do so and 90 persons definitely practise or have been practising birth-control. Of these 90 persons, 54 do not state the reasons which prompt them to this practice. 11 persons state the reason of their practising birth-control as economic, 4 as wife's health, 3 as regulation of the size of the family, 2 as free enjoyment and only one spacing of births. There are 3 persons who do not want to be overwhelmed and their reason for birth-control may therefore be taken as regulation of the size of their families.

* First read at the 2nd All-India Population and 1st Family Hygiene Conference held in Bombay in 1938 and published in its Report.

thus giving us 6 persons altogether who want to regulate the size of their families. Economic weakness and wife's health together is the reason in 6 cases, wife's health and spacing of births in 2 and regulation of the size of the family and wife's health combined in 1. Thus wife's health figures as the reason for the practice of birth-control in 13 cases altogether. One person thinks his wife, who is only 19, to be too young to have children, while another wants his wife, who is a graduate, to achieve her educational ambition before she takes on the duties of a mother. If a conclusion may be hazarded with such a small sample of replies, it is clear that there is very little ground to think that persons resort to birth-control for the sake of pleasure. It would be very interesting to know what is considered to be the number of children aimed at in the regulation of the size of the family. Only one person has told us his idea, which is that he wants to have only two children.

Table 1 gives the distribution of the average duration of marriage of the persons who practise birth-control, where it is seen that the average, *viz.* 8.9 years is not very much different from the average of the whole sample studied by this questionnaire.

TABLE 1

<i>Duration in years</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
1—5	35
6—10	20
11—15	14
16—20	15
21—25	3
	87

Table 2 gives the distribution of the number of children born and of those surviving.

The averages, *viz.* 2.3 and 2 respectively, are also very close to the similar averages of the whole sample. The frequency of coitus among these birth controllers, working on the basis explained in the other paper, is found to be 9 times during an inter-menstrual period, which is little less than the average of the whole sample.

TABLE 2

<i>Number of children born</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>	<i>Number of children surviving at the time of enquiry</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
0	17	0	18
1	21	1	22
2	17	2	18
3	11	3	14
4	7	4	6
5	5	5	6
6	6	6	2
7	1	...	...
14	1	...	...
Total	86		86

As for the method used, as is to be expected there is a variety in use, 16 persons depend on female check-pessary, 10 use male-sheath, 9 favour safe period, 8 resort to coitus interruptus, 7 use soluble pessaries, 3 depend on continence, 3 use internal remedies, 1 depends on douche alone and 1 has had vasectomy performed on him. 3 persons use male-sheath or in the alternative female check-pessary. 9 persons take greater precaution by combining the use of female check-pessary with other methods, 6 combining it with soluble pessary and one each with douche, safe period and internal remedy. 4 seek safety in the combination of male sheath with soluble pessary, 1 each in that of safe period with douche and that of intra-uterine ring with soluble pessary. 2 persons in their search for safety combine three methods, one adding male-sheath while the other adds douche to female check-pessary and soluble pessary.* One person states that he uses what may be called "some crude method which is neither chemical nor mechanical".

One thing seems to be clear from this study and that is the anxiety of those who resort to birth-control to make their method achieve the purpose. To this end they combine diffe-

* 3 cases are counted twice as they observe safe period but use some other method of birth control if sex-act takes place outside that period. Two of them use male sheath and one practises coitus interruptus.

rent methods and in 2 cases the internal remedy is nothing but physician's medicine given to wife whenever she misses her monthly period. There is thus proved to be an urgent need for an authoritative pronouncement as to the proper method of birth-control from among the available ones and still greater necessity for the discovery of a cheaper, more elegant and safer method of contraception than those known to be on the market.

42 persons state categorically that their practice of birth-control has been successful, while 30 persons equally definitely declare its failure, the rest being either indefinite or not prepared to give an opinion owing to sufficient time not having elapsed since they began the practice. Of the 42 cases of successful practice of contraception, in the case of 13, the period over which the observation is based cannot be determined. 2 persons have watched their practice for 11 years and 14 persons for a period varying between 3 to 7 years. While 3 persons have based their observations on a period of 3 years, 2 have done so on their experience of 2 years. 4 persons, including the single case of vasectomy, state that they have been successful for a year and one person for only six months.

The fact that persons go on often spending money and taking trouble to practise one or more methods of contraception, whether they actually achieve success or not, in the hope that they may be able to stave off unwanted births supports the conclusion stated above.

The same conclusion is borne out further by the fact that some of them at least are keenly conscious of the unsatisfactory or harmful nature of the methods of contraception used by them. Thus one person using male-sheath remarks that though its use prevents unwanted births yet it diminishes sexual pleasure and is thus unsatisfactory. One of the two persons who administer medicine to their wives if they miss their monthly period remarks that the practice is harmful.

Even among those who do not practice birth-control there are some who would like to use these methods, one of them remarks, "The present literature, at least which I have read, does not reveal any efficacious remedy for birth-control without operation. Controlling the passions seems to be the only remedy of birth-control without causing injury (sooner or later) to both the parties." Another person is even pathetic. He says,

"Born in an orthodox family, I am not inclined *to do so*. But now I am really horrified to see that my wife is going to be a mother for the third time now, even when she is not twenty." A few others have professed their ignorance about the methods. One person states that he does not use these methods because he has found them "harmful". Only two persons state their objection to contraceptive measures in a very emphatic and protesting tone. One of them says that he is deadly against them and the other remarks, "It is stupid to do so unless a woman is a pros."

It is interesting to study the practice of safe period as it obtains among the few persons of this sample. Two persons refer to the Ayurvedic System but only one states the actual days of avoidance, which he believes are prescribed in that system. He says, "I follow Ayurvedic theory that conception occurs between 18th to 28th day of menstruation." He must be avoiding sex-intercourse during that period in the belief that thereby he can avoid unwanted children. He has been married only for a year during which time he has been successful with his method. If he has to resort to coitus during the above-mentioned period, it seems he uses male-sheath. The practice of another is based on the belief that the first ten days after menstruation — evidently cessation of flow—must be avoided. Another person takes for granted that the first 16 days from the cessation of flow and 3 or 4 days immediately before its next commencement constitute the dangerous period, thus leaving about 4 days free from danger. One person avoids coitus during the first 20 days from menstruation, the rest being considered safe. The practice of another approximates to this as he avoids coitus for 25 days from the commencement of menstruation. Another person considers only a period of 9 days as risky, commencing from the 8th day after menstruation to the 16th. The practice of still another regards the first three days of this period as innocuous, 8th, 9th and 10th days after menstruation being utilised by him. At the other end safety is curtailed, for from the 11th day he allows a lapse of 15 days before he can have safety in coitus. It is clear that there are a number of uninformed and unscientific opinions regarding safe period prevalent among middle-class people of Bombay. It would be too much to grant that each one of the

above has found out with the help of his wife the specific period in which his wife's ovum is ripe. The Ayurvedic theory too, as stated in *Sushruta*, is somewhat different from the one taken by some of the persons as their basis. It is opined that the mouth of the uterus closes after the 16th day from the commencement of menstruation and that no conception can take place thereafter.¹ In Maharashtra the orthodox custom was to perform the introduction ceremony of a couple, called the *Garbhadhan* rite, within the first 16 days of menstruation of the wife. It would appear it was based on this belief that conception was possible only within these 16 days.

Parel Birth Control Clinic Sample

At the Birth Control Clinics run by the Family Hygiene Society of Bombay a register is kept giving some particulars about the people who go there to seek advice on birth-control or sterility. I have to thank the organisers of these clinics for their kindness in allowing me access to their registers. The data culled from the registers of the two clinics are presented separately. At the Parel Clinic, I was able to get data for about 262 persons. They belong to different creeds, 156 being Hindus, 47 Christians, 41 Parsis, 7 Jews, 4 Mahommedans and 3 Sikhs. The rest evidently did not state their creed. It is noticed that among the Christians there are 16 persons of Roman Catholic persuasion. Almost all grades of society are represented in the

TABLE 3

<i>Age Period</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
20 & below	31
21—25	70
26—30	76
31—35	52
36—40	23
41—50	5
not given	5
Total	262

1. *Sushruta* (Nirnayasagar Press Ltd.) pp. 271-72.

sample, clerks heading the list of occupations of husbands with 63 persons. The next largest group is of mill workers, being 23 in number. Merchants and shopkeepers, who are 19, come next. Teachers, fitters, mill-managers, motor drivers, carpenters, tailors, peons and even sweepers figure in the group.

The average age of women who visited the clinic for advice is found to be 27.9 years. Table 3 gives the distribution of their ages.

The average age of husband is 36.25 years and the average duration of marriage is 11.81 years. Table 4 shows the frequency of distribution of duration of marriage of 256 women.

TABLE 4

<i>Duration of marriage in years</i>		<i>Number of cases</i>
below	1 year	8
above	1 — 2 years	8
above	2 — 3 „	10
above	3 — 5 „	26
	6 — 8 „	35
	9 — 11 „	39
	12 — 14 „	48
	15 — 20 „	61
	21 — 26 „	14
	27 and above	7
Total		256

The average number of pregnancies of these women is found to be 5.02. Table 5 gives the frequency distribution of pregnancies of 237 women who have furnished the relevant information. It should be remembered that 18 women had come to the clinic for advice regarding their sterility.

The average number of children, living at the time the women visited the clinic, is found to be 3.63 on the basis of information supplied by 229 women.

TABLE 5

<i>Number of pregnancies</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
Nil	2
1	32
2	24
3	27
4	28
5 to 7	80
8--10	33
11--17	11
Total	237

Leaving the 18 cases of sterility, of the 248 women who visited the clinic the reasons for contraceptive advice stated by 213 are clear. 83 women gave economic inability of the family as their reason, 79 their own ill-health and 51 wanted to space the births of their children. It is possible that this last category may also include cases of ill-health.

The other clinic is situated in the Parekh Hospital on Sandhurst Road and has furnished me data for 92 individuals. 38 persons are Hindus, 27 Parsis, 19 Muhammedans and three Christians, of whom 2 are Roman Catholic. The sample includes many grades of society but is mostly composed of middle class people. The husbands of these women included 22 clerks, 17 service people, 11 merchants, 7 businessmen. Teachers, brokers, auditors, pleaders, engineers, shopkeepers, solicitors, contractors, journalists as well as turners, fitters, bidimakers, butlers and gardeners too are represented in the group.

TABLE 6

<i>Age Period</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
20 & below	4
21--25	24
26--30	28
31--35	16
36--40	12
41--44	6
Total	90

The average age of women is found to be 29.7 years. The ages of 90 women give us the distribution as shown in Table 6.

The average age of husband is 37.9 years and the average duration of marriage is 11.56 years. Table 7 shows the distribution of duration of 90 marriages in this group.

The average number of pregnancies is 5.57 which are distributed as shown in Table 8.

TABLE 7

<i>Duration of marriages in years</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
1 year & below	2
above 1 — 2 years	1
above 2 — 3 „	3
above 3 — 5 „	8
6 — 8 „	23
9 — 11 „	18
12 — 14 „	7
15 — 20 „	18
21 — 26 „	5
27 & above	5
Total	90

TABLE 8

<i>Number of Pregnancies</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
Nil	3
1	4
2	9
3	9
4	17
5—7	29
8—10	14
11—17	7
Total	92

The average number of children living when the women sought contraceptive advice was 3.53.

4 of these women simply stated that they did not want more children while 16 wanted to space the births of their children. 34 women wanted to use methods of contraception because of their ill-health and 36 because of the economic weakness of the family.

Thus it is seen that in both the samples, economic reasons form the principal impetus to birth-control, reasons of woman's health being the next and spacing of births the third.

XI

UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES AND THEIR ASSIMILATION IN HINDU SOCIETY*

THE CLASSES called untouchable comprise a number of distinct groups, membership in each of which is generally conferred by birth therein. Each one of these groups ordinarily follows a specific occupation, which is traditionally regarded by its members as its proper occupation. Sweeping and scavenging, curing and tanning hides and skins, preparing leather articles, working in bamboo and cane, and weaving coarse cloth are the most prominent amongst them. These various occupations have this feature in common that they are looked upon by other classes of Hindu society as either degrading or polluting. According to the orthodox theory of Hindu social organization these classes form the fifth and the outcaste section. They are given the appellation of untouchables because they are believed to impart pollution to members of higher sections if they touch them. But in the orthodox theory on the subject this characteristic of imparting pollution by touch belongs really to the fourth section of the Hindu society. The fifth section — that is now called untouchable — is supposed, both in theory and

* First published in 1933 in *The Aryan Path*, IV, 2. These sections of Indian population are now called the Scheduled Castes.

practice, to pollute members of other sections even if they stand at a certain distance. Thus, it will be realised that the so-called untouchables are, in practice, really unapproachables. It is this unapproachability that creates the main difficulties in the path of their assimilation in the Hindu society. The groups comprising this large section in any linguistic region commonly look upon one another also as untouchable.

The fact that the untouchables form, in the orthodox theory, the fifth section of Hindu society, and also the tendency of the groups comprising this section to regard one another as untouchable, reveal an aspect of the problem of untouchability, which all interested in its solution must clearly realize in order to appreciate fully its gravity. It is nothing else than the inherent connection that exists between the spirit of caste and untouchability, which must properly be considered as only a flagrant manifestation of the spirit of caste. The principle, which runs through the whole caste system, breathes the spirit of exclusiveness, lays down barriers between group and group and culminates in the imposition of various social and religious disabilities on the lower sections. Viewed thus, untouchability registers the highest degree of the spirit of caste. Removal of untouchability, therefore, intimately depends on the disappearance of the spirit of caste. That the diminution of the caste spirit is an essential factor in the campaign against untouchability is a view which cannot be too often repeated or too much emphasized.

Incidents from actual life illustrate this close connection of untouchability with caste spirit. The tea-party given to the Hon. Minister for Education of the Government of Bombay by the primary teachers of Nasik, and the distinction made in the seating accommodation of teachers belonging to untouchable classes, with its sequel is too recent to need complete narration. What is not clearly perceived is that the distinction tried to be observed in that tea-party between members of the untouchable section and those of other sections, is only a public manifestation of similar treatment offered, and many times accepted with chagrin or inward resentment, in orthodox Brahmin homes and institutions managed by Brahmins, to highly educated and well-situated members of castes which are traditionally believed to be next to the Brahmins in social

precedence. The present writer and two of his friends had the privilege of being given this differential treatment in an institution managed by orthodox Brahmins. At dinner they were seated in a row by themselves and away from the row formed by the Brahmin members of the institution. Another friend had similar experience in the home of a Brahmin friend of his, where his seat was cleverly arranged so as to be at right angles to his host's own seat. The only difference in these cases is that the treatment given by Brahmins to members of the next lower castes at dinner was meted out to members of the untouchable section at tea, which is an occasion considered to require less sanctimonious care. Refusal to treat members of the so-called untouchable section on terms of equality by members of other sections, even when belonging to the same profession and having a more or less similar economic status, is thus only a flagrant manifestation of the mental attitude that animates the caste system.

The untouchable classes as a whole are differentiated from the other sections of Hindu society in various ways. The orthodox members of the other sections—and they form the bulk—look upon them with dislike and even contempt and regard them as incapable of a more healthy, cleanly and moral life. They spurn to have any dealings with them, which savour of anything like social intercourse. Their children are generally shunned in common schools and so segregated that it is nearer practical truth to say that they do not get admission into these schools. The untouchable classes generally find great difficulty in getting an ample supply of fresh water, because where separate wells for their use do not exist—and they are I presume few and far between—there is always great trouble in getting water from the common wells, even when they are public.

The untouchables are not allowed to enter the precincts of Hindu temples; nor are they served by regular priests. Thus they cannot practise the religion they believe in. They are further prevented from taking advantage of the only method the Hindus have devised for imparting discourses on the proper ideals of life, on the Hindu ideas of cleanliness and morality, viz. the *Bhajans*, *Kirtans* and *Pravachans* that are conducted in the temples. Thus we have the sorry spectacle of a large

section of the population utterly depressed and stagnant.*

The problem is, therefore, fourfold. First, there is the immediate need of removing the disabilities that actually hamper the development of the individual by acting as hindrances in the way of better and cleaner living. Second, to enable these classes to appreciate a cleaner and more moral mode of life. Third, to accustom the members of other sections to a freer social intercourse with these people. And lastly, to undermine and eradicate the exclusivist spirit of caste.

For this purpose the Central organization to fight untouchability must have a net of smaller committees all over the country. There must be the Provincial committees. Every Provincial committee should appoint a small number of persons, who are sympathetic and who sign a pledge that they will work for the removal of untouchability, at least in every Taluq-town, to carry on the programme outlined by the Central organization. The Taluq-town committee should be entrusted with the work of looking into any alleged grievance of the untouchables in their own town and whenever possible in the villages of their taluq. Cases of bad treatment of untouchables or of refusal to admit their children to common schools, differential treatment in Government or Municipal Dispensaries are some of the grievances which this committee should try amicably to settle by private and personal negotiation and persuasion. Failing such polite remedies, the committee should communicate with the civil authorities of the place and also inform the Provincial committee about the incidents. The Provincial committee may then decide upon legal action or may confer with the higher civil authorities. Every single case of grievance should thus be taken due notice of and such organized attempts be made to remedy it.

Wherever the untouchable classes find it impossible or very difficult to get an ample supply of fresh water the Taluq-town committee, after careful investigation, should be authorized to get wells sunk at suitable places at the expense of the Provincial committee. Access to the Hindu temples is quite essential, but

* I think that there are a number of other castes wholly or partially engaged in agriculture, to which these remarks will also apply, excepting that they are not considered untouchable.

if the trustees of some of the temples find it impossible owing to some legal difficulty to throw open the temples under their charge to the untouchables, we need not waste our energy over such temples but leave them out for the present and ask the Taluq committee to concentrate their efforts on all those temples which are not bound by such legal restrictions. We must try to see the various items in the campaign against untouchability in their proper perspective and not exaggerate the importance of temple-entry so as to divert our attention from other items. Free access to Hindu temples is only one of the rights to be won as a result of the admission by the orthodox section of the social equality of these classes, and it is not the most important means for the assimilation of these classes in the Hindu society. Other measures are far more important, and it should be our objective to realize them in practice as soon as possible. In the meantime persons, specially trained for the purpose, must be employed to create public opinion among the untouchable classes for cleaner and more moral living, the essentials of which may have to be conveyed to them through the medium of stories about Hindu epic characters and saints.

Institutions, imparting mixed instruction in the vernacular curriculum, in the English language and in technical arts and crafts such as are useful in the mofussil and even in the cities, to pupils, who have finished their fourth standard of the vernacular course, leading them, through a training for four years, either to the vernacular final examination or to the examination for entrance to the English High school and to certificate examination in at least one of the technical arts and crafts — are a crying educational need of this country. Arguments in favour of such an educational development need not be entered into here. From the view-point of the present problem, my main contention is that when such schools or departments are established they must have full equipment for imparting scientific training in all such crafts as have been the traditional occupations of the untouchable classes. Such training will offer an object lesson in the art of personal cleanliness even under the special conditions of these occupations and may help these classes, if they avail themselves of it, to enhance their earning capacity. The other sections of the Hindu society will realize that these occupations can be carried on by all without attaching

to them their traditional ideas of impurity.

Lastly, in order to help the scavenging section of these classes to become cleanly the Provincial committee should try to persuade all units of Local Self-government, which employ them, to devise ways and means so as to enable them to carry on their work without bringing their bodies in direct contact with the dirty material that has to be handled.

Simultaneously with these efforts we have to prepare the minds of the populace at large to look upon untouchability as both undesirable and impracticable. To achieve this twofold object we must start an intensive propaganda preaching against untouchability. While doing this we must not be drawn into a controversy over the existence or non-existence of the doctrine of untouchability in the Hindu Dharma Shastras. We should take up the rationalist and social attitude and argue that whatever the Shastras may say on this matter modern conditions of life and doctrines of morality make untouchability both impracticable and undesirable.

Side by side with this lecturing propaganda the Provincial committee and the Taluq committees must enlist the co-operation of the Government and local-governing units to put into practice another part of the programme, which, I consider, will have the desired effect of accustoming the public to social intercourse with the so-called untouchables. In this connection it is well to remember that power and authority, however lowly, does count and that people are not ready to hurt those in authority light-heartedly. Most people have much to do with certain public offices and local government organizations. They have, without much choice, to negotiate with persons who are employed in such offices and institutions towards whom their attitude is generally one of awe. I submit that if members of the untouchable classes are employed in such offices in every Taluq town, the town people, however orthodox they may be, will perforce have to enter into some social intercourse with them. Such constant intercourse in semi-public activities is bound to affect the basic attitude towards untouchability. By practice all the edge of sharpness will wear out.

Educative propaganda carried on simultaneously with this programme for accustoming the people to social intercourse with the untouchables in semi-public life, will strengthen the practice

into an attitude of mind ready to ignore all public manifestation of the doctrine of this age-long principle. It is with this purpose in view that I suggest that efforts should be immediately made to employ at least one or two policemen, one postman, at least one peon, each, in the offices of the Mamlatdar, the sub-Judge and the sub-Registrar in every Taluq town preferably from among the members of the untouchable classes resident in the particular Taluq. It should also be our aim to employ them as clerks in these offices as well as in the office of the town municipality, as soon as qualified persons are available. The leaders of the untouchable classes should persuade such persons with minimum qualifications to accept clerkship in such town offices rather than seek service in the Secretariat or other City offices. The effect of such persons being employed in the town offices on the status and prestige of these classes would be far greater than their rise to even higher posts in the cities, where anti-untouchability propaganda does not need to be so intensive.

Last, but the most important in the long run, is that aspect of the problem which is inherently connected with the spirit of caste. If we succeed in the all-sided attack outlined above we should be able to see that the flagrant and public manifestation of the doctrine of untouchability ceases. But the people, who are imbued with the spirit of caste—which requires for its satisfaction hierarchical arrangement of groups with its attendant differentia of higher and lower status—will put into practice the ready device of double standard of treatment. While tolerating some sort of social intercourse with the erstwhile untouchables in public and semi-public activities of life, orthodox people will try to avoid all such situations where they have to treat these people as their equals in some of the more intimate aspects of social intercourse. The attempt at differential seating accommodation in a public tea-party will not be made but care will be taken to see that such mixed tea-parties are if possible not arranged or, if arranged, individuals will find excuses not to attend the same. We may not expect the untouchables of today to be invited to social functions by members of higher castes. Nor will the members of higher castes freely attend social functions in the homes of the members of the present untouchable classes. Surely this is not what we want. Such treatment of a group does not constitute its assimilation

into the Hindu society. For such assimilation the exclusivist spirit of caste, which revels in some sort of differentiation between group and group and necessitates the recognition of some group as the lowest in the hierarchy, must be eradicated. I have dealt with the proper method of achieving this end in my book *Caste and Race in India* and do not propose to repeat here what I have already said. *I should sound a note of warning that as long as this spirit of caste is abroad, the present-day untouchables will remain the lowest group of Hindu society, somehow differentiated from others, and their complete assimilation will not be achieved.**

* Italics freshly introduced for this publication to draw my readers' attention to my judgment pronounced in 1933 being realised as a basic truth in 1970.

XII

EXPLORATIONS IN PRE-AND PROTO-HISTORIC CULTURE IN SIND

THE SYLLABUS in Sociology current at Bombay University, when I took charge of the subject there in June, 1924, included almost a full paper on culture during the various Archaeological periods. Soon thereafter there was a great deal of talk and newspaper-writing on Mohenjo-Daro and the culture which it was thought to represent. The only knowledge of Indian pre- and proto-history then available in a convenient form was through Bruce-Foote's book *Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities*. My interest in megalithic culture was whetted by a desire to know at first hand some at least of the pre-iron age artefacts to be able to discharge my duty of acquainting the young minds with the significance of study of pre-historic cultures. In 1935 a Sindhi student from Khairpur State, U. T. Thakur, began his work for the Ph.D. degree, which was being instituted freshly in the University, under my guidance. He was kind enough to host me in Sind. I took the opportunity and went there early in 1936. Soon thereafter for the first time I was provided by the University with a Research Assistant. Urged by my internal satisfaction of Sind experience and egged on by the new external encouragement, next year I went at the kind and friendly advice and help of the late Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who was in part at least responsible for the discovery of

Mohenjo-Daro and who afterwards became the Director General of Archaeology in India, to Limbdi and other places in Saurashtra. Papers published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* separately but now brought together here under one title, were the result of the tour in Sind.

There are special reasons, besides that of illustrating the brief story of my life narrated under 'I' for the republication of these 'explorations'. They are first, the keen interest shown very early in some of them by foreign students. An American student of Indian anthropology and archaeology writing to me from Mysore on May 17, 1939 says: "When I was in Bombay I saw the collections in the Prince of Wales Museum that you had made in Sind and found that you had published them to some extent in the Bombay University Journal. I was only able to get hold of one article, however, and want to make sure of what you have published ... Also could you tell me where I should write to get hold of copies of these articles for myself and the Peabody Museum Library?" Mr. A. V. Pandya, an archaeologist of note from Gujarat wrote on June 12, 1950: "I shall be very thankful if you kindly arrange to send to me a copy of the off-print of your article on Rangpur excavations at your earliest convenience if possible ... Some sherds of course are lying in the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay, where I studied them some four months back."*

In 1958 when it was announced in the daily papers that Pakistan's archaeologists had discovered at Kot-Diji in Khairpur District a centre of culture more ancient than even Mohenjo-Daro, Dr. U. T. Thakur, who, as I have stated earlier, was my companion and co-worker in my explorations in Sind, published a letter in *The Times of India* drawing the attention of the public to the fact that the culture-centre was discovered at least twenty-three years earlier, by Ghurye and his companions. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, the Director of the National Museum, published his *Directory of Museums in India* in 1959. In his account of the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay he wrote (p. 28): "Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Professor of Sociology in the University of Bombay, presented a collection of pre-historic

* This paper on Saurashtra tour is not reproduced in this collection.

stone implements, pottery, terracotta toys and other objects excavated by him at different sites in Khairpur State (Sind). Later in 1939 he again presented, on behalf of the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi a rich collection of pre-historic finds excavated at Harappa [? = Rangpur]."

There is no mention, anywhere, of the finds from Narujo Dhoro, only a few miles almost due West of Kot Diji, donated along with the Kot Diji ones, though they are the most important. The pottery specimens from Narujo Dhoro are unbroken whole objects, and all the finds were discovered almost on the surface! All these papers are reprinted here. The illustrative plates, however, are cut down to the minimum.

The discoveries of the Archaeological Department at the site of Mohen-jo-Daro have created enough interest in Sind for the ordinary people to speak about mounds known to them and generally to ascribe to them great antiquity. In January 1935 when I decided to visit Mohen-jo-Daro and certain other centres of ancient culture in Sind with one of my pupils, who was intending to write a thesis on the cultural history of Sind, I came to know that there were numerous mounds, not explored by the Archaeological Department, on the eastern bank of the Indus. Some of these mounds, I was told, were situated in the State of Khairpur. Having known that Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Archaeological Department, had explored during his tours only one important mound on the eastern bank of the Indus, viz. the Chanhudaro in the Nawabshah District, I came to the conclusion that a survey of the reported mounds in Khairpur State was very important in view of the fact that they would be a considerable distance North of Chanhudaro and almost due East of Mohen-jo-Daro. After visiting Mohen-jo-Daro in February, I reached Khairpur and made further enquiries with a number of Officers of the State and also with H. H. the late Mir Saheb, who was deeply interested in the antiquities of his State. These enquiries convinced me of the desirability of visiting the places that were mentioned to me during my enquiries. The Government of H. H. the Mir Saheb gave me facilities for my work for which I am very thankful to them. Of the four sites that I explored three have yielded unmistakable evidence of pre-historic culture while the fourth definitely

belongs to the Buddhistic age. I have confined this account* only to the three pre-historic sites.

Naru-Jo-Dhoro

Naru-jo-Dhoro is the name of a hamlet consisting of a few huts of Haris. It is supposed to have been named after a Hindu gentleman who lived there five generations ago. It is said of him that he owned large lands and built a well which forms the main water supply for the hamlet even today. Some river is supposed to have run by its side in olden times and the word 'Dhoro'** meaning 'hollow', 'river basin', supports the traditional account of a river running by the place. The legendary king Dularai who, as is well-known to students of Sind history, figures in connection with the ancient city of Arore is also connected with this place in the traditional story told about this mound. The mound is supposed to be the ruins of a city of that King. As in the story about Arore so in the one about this place the ruin of this city is ascribed to his traditional lust which in this story impelled him to demand the right of the first night with every newly wedded bride. There is also an alternative folk-tale which ascribes all this to a king named Nasha who in the sequel is identified with Dularai.

About two miles east of the Railway Station Tando Masti Khan there appear a number of sand-capped ridges extending over large area. Towards the south-eastern end of the range and in continuation with it lies the ridge which is called the mound of Naru-jo-Dhoro. It lies within a few yards of the beaten track that runs from Tando Masti Khan to Kot-Diji on its southern side and is about 7 miles north-west of Kot-Diji. This mound is distinguished from other sand-capped ridges by its

* From Journal of the University of Bombay, IV, pp. VI (1936) out of the 19 plates illustrating the finds for the original paper only 6 (A—F) are reproduced here for illustration. Full measurements of the pictured objects are given in the original.

** In Kathiawar a mound is generally spoken of as a 'Timba' but at Vala I was informed it is also called by the villagers 'Dhoro'. At Cambay the word used is either 'Tenkra' or 'Dhado'—cf. Sindhi 'Tukkar' and 'Dado'.

reddish colour which it bears because of the pottery-pieces strewn about on its surface.

On reaching the place I could see the pottery pieces and later came across a few broken flakes of chert and flint. In the meanwhile one old villager informed us that somebody had excavated large earthenware pots from the western side of the mound. I got a few trenches dug with the help of the few labourers that I had there with me. Of the twelve small pits dug at various places five yielded no pottery whatsoever either whole or in pieces. The others yielded whole pottery, or pieces of pottery, or stone-implements within two to four feet from the surface. At one place the pit was dug to the depth of about seven feet but owing to the sand falling in I had to give up going deeper. Most of the pots were dug up in the west corner of the mound. The painted pottery-pieces, pl. VI, and bones of a bovine animal were found in the pit on the north-western slope. All the miniature pots, excepting one, pl. II, No. 17, which was found in the pit on the north-western slope, were found in the western-most pit. The stone-implements, pl. XIV, Nos. 7-14, were also found in these pits. The gold piece, which is not figured in the plates, and the largest earthenware pot figured in the plate, No. IV, and two of the shell-bangles, the larger ones, pl. VII, were found in one of the western-most pits. In another pit was found a greenish blue tubular stone-bead. In another pit in this corner were found the other shell bangles and the copper mirror, pl. XIV, 17. The pots excepting in one pit appeared to be lying *in situ*. Only in one pit, from which came the beautiful large vase, pl. III, No. 1, and other vases with red wash, the pots were lying in a heap. The fine small pot with high slender base, pl. II, 24, was found in the pit which was dug on the top of the mound almost at the centre. Almost in a straight line with this pit a few yards away on the north was found in a pit a human burial. The skeleton which was lying about three feet below the surface was very carefully laid and was rather longish, at least six feet in length. It lay on its back with the legs stretched almost due south and the hands lying stretched by the sides. The head and the chest were slightly raised above the line of the rest of the skeleton. The bones began to crumble when they were picked up. Only a few of the long bones and the parietal portion of the skull reached safely to Bombay. Dr. G. M.

Kurulkar, Associate Professor of Anatomy in the S. G. S. Medical College, Parel, who is studying the few bones that are intact, tells me that it was a male and that its height could not be less than six feet and was a mesaticephal. In some of the bones, he tells me, the process of fossilisation had definitely started. On making enquiries with the villagers I found that that place was not used at all as a burial place in recent times. Further the orientation of the burial—with feet lying due south—precludes the possibility of its being a Mohammedan burial.* No distinctive pottery was found associated with this burial. In a pit dug in the North-east corner was found the pot No. 4 in pl. No. II, standing on a dish; and embedded in the earth in it was found a fine smooth nummulitic stone about an inch in length.

Nowhere in the pits dug was there any evidence of walls or of bricks. All the stone-implements, excepting eight, were collected from the surface, the largest bulk of them being from the north-eastern slopes. A potter from Kot-Diji, whom I summoned for restoring some of the broken pots, professed his inability to do the same and told me that that type of pottery was not made now-a-days.

Dijiajo Daro

The Daro is situated on a projected ledge of the Takkar on which is situated the Kot Diji fort. It lies about a quarter of a mile to the west of Kot Diji, and just at the north-west foot of the Kot (fort). The highest point is about 14 ft. from the level (two man-heights). Some of the stones used for the walls are too large for one to remove. It is much dug into by villagers for earth for making sun-dried bricks. Thus it is in a hopeless condition for scientific study. Pottery-pieces are lying all over the surface, evidently dug up by the villagers. There are also two types of burnt bricks in pieces lying about, evidently used for walls. None of the walls now standing and visible show any brick-work. Generally they appear to be made of stones with the interstices filled in with earth and sometimes also with rubble.

* Later Dr. Kurulkar informed me that the few bones which he thought to be getting fossilised crumbled away.

In this rubble a number of pottery pieces are seen. It would appear from the volume of the earth that some of the walls were of earth only. There is evidence of at least two settlements one above the other. While noting this fact it must also be mentioned that according to the traditional story this site is supposed to have been the scene of an earthquake, which turned the habitations upside down. The Daro was far larger than it is at present as I am reliably informed that fairly recently a part of it was cut and cleared. Further I am positively assured that from the portion cleared they had gathered some large pots and inkpots of what is known as glazed 'Kashi' work. I have myself found only four pieces of glazed Kashi work figured in plate No. XVI.

The finds mainly consist of pieces of pottery with painted, incised or raised decoration, a few miniature pots, a few, terra-cotta toys, among which the pig deserves special mention, a baked earthenware skin-rubber, flake-tools and core-tools of chert and flint. One rather peculiar find which deserves special mention is a white cowrie shell from which the white portion is rubbed away at three different places. Whether it was used for medicinal or magical purposes is more than can be decided at this stage.*

Hisbani

A little more than three miles from Kot-Diji in its southwest direction there is a small hamlet called Hisbani. Nearby the village on its western and south-western sides there are a number of eminences some of them stony, others fully capped with sand and still others, which are strewn with pieces of pottery. About two furlongs to the north of this and just by the side of the road that leads from Kot-Diji to Theri town there is a large piece of stony ground just a little raised above the level of the road. It was this latter site that was pointed out to me as the Takkar of Hisbani. On my preliminary visit to this site, I collected pieces of rough flake-tools and a few pieces of pottery. The next time I visited this place and began to scour the place

* In my work at both the sites I was helped by two of my pupils, Messers U. T. Thakur and G. K. Sabnis.

thoroughly, I found only two important objects, one a baked earthen-ware spindle-whorl and another a very unique piece of pottery made in two uniform layers the outer one being polished red and the inner one black. I came across some villagers who had come there from the hamlet of Hisbani. I had almost despaired of getting anything more than what I had collected by way of flake-tools and pottery pieces when the villagers told me that the ruins of the real Kot (Fort) of Diji, who was the queen of the celebrated King Dularai, lay very near their hamlet on the south-west side. These are the mounds that are referred to in this account at the outset. They are very extensive and literally strewn with pottery-pieces. I ransacked the whole for about two hours and my search was rewarded with some finds, particularly a decorated bead of flesh coloured carnelian, pieces of pottery, with painted designs in black* on red background, and others with incised designs, and three stones, pl. XIX, 4, 5 and 6. These stones appear to be some kind of implements shaped by means of grinding and polishing. They are of silicious lime-stone. Of the pieces of painted pottery one deserves special mention because it is the only one that I have come across in all my collection bearing an animal design, viz. that of the peacock, pl. XVIII. Towards the eastern end of the mound there was a place which was marked off by rough hewn stones arranged in a rectangle. I got a pit dug there to the depth of about four feet but I came across nothing except a piece of boar's tusk which seems to have been used for some purpose. It is figured in plate XVIII.**

Orangi

The site of Orangi has already been described by Mr. Majumdar in this *Explorations in Sind*. I visited it on two mornings. I need only add that the site seems to be far more extensive than the description given by Mr. Majumdar would lead one to believe. On the area which is directly approached from the landing near the Local Board watering place I picked up a few

* Later when properly cleaned 'black' proved to be white.

** I was told that there were similar mounds at Mirwah, Dalore and Kandiaro but I had no time to visit these sites.

pieces of stone out of which two deserve special mention. One is a curved core-tool almost black in colour and is illustrated in the line drawings B. The other is even more important. It is an axe broken at the butt-end made out of granite-like stone. It is clearly of Neolithic workmanship, pl. XIV, No. 27.†

It will be seen from the plates and the descriptive lists that the various objects found at Naru-jo-Dhoro and Kot-Diji, from the shapes of pots to the knobbed wheels of toy-carts, from the triangular bricks to the small flat rings used as ornamentations, or as charms, the finds have the clearest affinity with the Mohen-jo-Daro culture. Almost all the pots found at Naru-jo-Dhoro, excepting one figured in plate I, No. 10, and not excepting even the miniature pots were turned on the wheel. The ringed bases of the few pots seem to have been separately made and then joined on to the main body. The pots are almost all uniformly baked. Whether they were baked in a kiln or not cannot perhaps be decided now. But in contradiction of what Dr. Makay has said about the firing of pots today in Sind, I must point out that I saw built-up kilns for the purpose of firing pots both at Hala and Schwan, the two places most noted in Sind for their glazed pottery, though at Larkhana I saw that pots were baked in the open. Hisbani pottery-pieces, on the other hand, reveal by their designs perhaps a later age. Orangi, whatever else it might be, clearly was also a Neolithic settlement. It may be pointed out in this connection that for the solution of some of the problems raised by the discovery of the Indus Valley culture, far more ample finds of pottery, associated with Neolithic artefacts are necessary.

*A Buddhist Site Near Khairpur**

About six miles east of the town Kot-Diji in Khairpur State, there is a small group of a few hills cut off from the nearest agricultural land by a stretch of about two or three miles of sandy desert. The site is known as Shiraz Takkar. I visited the site during my tour in Sind in February, 1935, when I dis-

† At Hisbani and Orangi Mr. G. K. Sabnis was working with me.

* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VI, pp. III (1937) three of the 4 plates are reproduced as G and H.

covered some prehistoric sites in Khairpur. In my account of these prehistoric sites, I have referred to a site of the Buddhistic age,¹ which is the same as Shiraz Takkar. The main hill lies north and south and is flanked on the east by another hill, approached by a smaller hillock, lying east and west and on the north-west by another hill lying north and south, also connected with the main hill by a low ridge. There is high ground on the north. The popular story about this site connects it with a king by name Shiraz, who, curiously enough, is said to have been brother or some such close relative of the legendary king Dularai. At present no water is available within two or three miles of the place; but I was told that the legendary story connected with the site speaks of a lake of drinking water having been formed on the northern side of the main hill. On all the three hills, but more particularly on the main and the northern hill there are still standing a number of retaining walls, on the edges of the hills at various heights, made of undressed stone. At one place, on the north face of the main hill, as many as eleven such walls are discernible. It is difficult to surmise what purpose these walls were intended to serve. Were they intended to buttress up the sides of the hillock? I am inclined to think they were not, nor was there any reason to support the rocky sides of the hill. Perhaps they were intended to give the whole site the appearance of a 'Stupa' with these walls forming the tieras.

The site was explored by H. H. the late Mir Saheb of Khairpur who told me that he had found a crystal statue of seated Buddha, copper implements and large earthenware vessels, to see which I could not get any opportunity.

At the top of the main hill there is ample evidence of a number of structures, which must have been dwelling places. The local informant told me that the large earthenware vessels were found buried in the southern end. There are a number of structures standing even now which from their appearance are clearly 'Stupas'. One of them, the largest, has seven tieras, made up of undressed stone filled in with earth and debris. The top appeared truncated. Perhaps formerly it was covered by a dome-shaped earthen structure. The whole appearance

1. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV, pt. VI.

is that of a stepped pyramid with truncated top. I got this opened and carried the digging till the level of the top of the hill was reached. Nothing turned up from the digging. In the rubble and debris-filling I found the pieces of black pottery, which is the first piece in Plate II and a flint flake-chip. The piece of pottery is highly polished on both sides, the result of the polish being visible in the photograph. It is very hard and is very much like China pottery. It would appear from the fact that it was in the filling-in material, that it came from an age previous to the one in which the stupa was raised. In this connection I cannot but draw attention to the rare occurrence of such pottery in Northern India. Such ceramic ware was recently found in a dolmen in Coimbatore district. Dr. C. L. Fabri commenting on it observes: "This ware, not unknown at Mohenjo-Daro, is found associated with late neolithic stone implements all over Baluchistan and South Iran. It is exquisitely finished, stoneware of such perfection that its appearance is almost that of black marble; and as regards the strength and fineness of the clay it can only be compared with Ch'na."² Another find from the filling was a broken flake of flint, trapezoid in section, which is not figured in the plates. It is rather very thin and is generally very much like the flakes from the Naruj-Dhoro and Kotdifi, figured elsewhere.³

Towards the northern end of the main hill, among a number of remnants of former buildings, I discovered a portion of a well made of large bricks each measuring $15\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ and plastered over with lime-mortar. In another part of the hill such bricks were found used in the flooring of a house. The bricks are so hard that the workers, engaged by me, carried a few of them with them to be used as the Dhobi's stone to beat their clothes on while washing them or to clean their pots on.

There are a number of small tumuli on the lower edges on the northern side, which were in all probability small stupas. Some of them were excavated but yielded nothing. One tumulus proved to be a heap of votive tablets of unbaked clay. One of these is figured in plate I. It has the usual 'Chaitya' on it

2. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1934, p. 3.

3. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV, pt. VI.

in relief. The tablets were lying in a heap but placed in pairs, face to face with each other.

Another tumulus on the top of the eastern hill yielded the four objects of unbaked clay figured at the left hand corner in plate II. Two of them appear to be crude representations of Kubera, while the two middle ones are ear-ornaments meant for a far larger image of some godling.

The other objects figured in the plates were all found scattered about the place either on the top of the main hill or on its slopes. Most important among these are the two pieces of pottery with a bird painted in black in plate I. The fabric is excellent and red. The design of the goose on the one and of the crane on the other is in black. It is clear that the ground of the pot was divided into compartments and the bird in each case painted to fill in the space. Each compartment was separated from another with vertical lines in the first piece and with hatched rectangle in the other, both being in black paint. The attempt made in the first piece to be naturalistic by clearly showing the feathers of the bird is very successful. The pose given in both the pictures nicely portrays the idea of movement. What looks like the eye in the first piece is really vacant space from which the black paint has withered away.

The pieces of painted pottery figured in plate II have among them some with designs like those on the pottery of Kot-Diji and of Hisbani.⁴ The most noticeable absence is that of the fish-scale design. Most of the pieces are red and only a few are either buff or pinkish.

There are four spouts and two handles in the collections. Two of the spouts, figured in plate IV are polished. There are a number of other pieces of red pottery which are highly polished. Both the spouts figured in plate I are highly interesting. Though broken, the base of the top one makes it quite clear that it was attached in such a way that its sweep is upward, thus approaching in style a true spout. The lower piece of spout is blackish in colour and must have been a curved one like a true spout. The piece figured in plate IV and tentatively described as a hookah piece is very highly polished

4. *Journal of the University of Bombay*. Vol. IV, pt. VI, plates V and XVIII.

and might have been meant to be a portion of some ornamental pieces of hard pottery. That hard pottery was used as architectural ornament is evident from the number of ornamental bricks and more particularly from the solid piece of pottery, figured in plate I with an incised ornament on it. All this is in keeping with the age of the culture at this site. At other sites of Buddhist age—the first few centuries of the Christian era—similar ornamental bricks are met with.

Two beads one of pottery figured in plate IV and the other of red coral $3/16$ " in diameter, and a piece of Shank-shell, from which pieces were cut off, were also found.

But the most important feature of this small collection is the number of potsherds with incised or relief ornament in various designs. The pottery itself is either red or black. On at least two pieces mica is clearly visible. The piece at the top in plate I has a boldly moulded design in high relief. The six pieces, figured in plate IV, with, what may be called, the flower-petals design show as many different ways of dealing with the design. In one of them the petals are supported at their broad ends on a beaded border. The seventh piece with petal-like relief, better described as the Sundise-design, is very much withered at the end. Comparing these pieces with the pieces from Narujo-Dhoro, Kot-Diji and Hisbani, I find that only two motives are common to Shiraz Takkar postherds and those of Kot-Diji and Hisbani. Of the fourteen postherds and Hisbani⁵ with relief or incised ornamentation only one has a double fillet of beads. This beaded fillet as an ornament occurs on at least three pieces from Shiraz Takkar.

The star or rose-flower of this collection is represented in a Kot-Diji potsherd,⁶ where it occurs precisely in the same combination, viz., of a beaded fillet border. But the execution of the design shows clear difference. The petals, though eight in number in both, are represented by rather longish dots in the Shiraz-Takkar piece, whereas in the Kot-Diji piece clear wedge-shaped strokes are used.

Perhaps this is the proper place to enter into a discussion of

5. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV. pt. VI, plate XVIII.

6. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV. pt. VI, plate XII No. 30.

PLATE I (A)

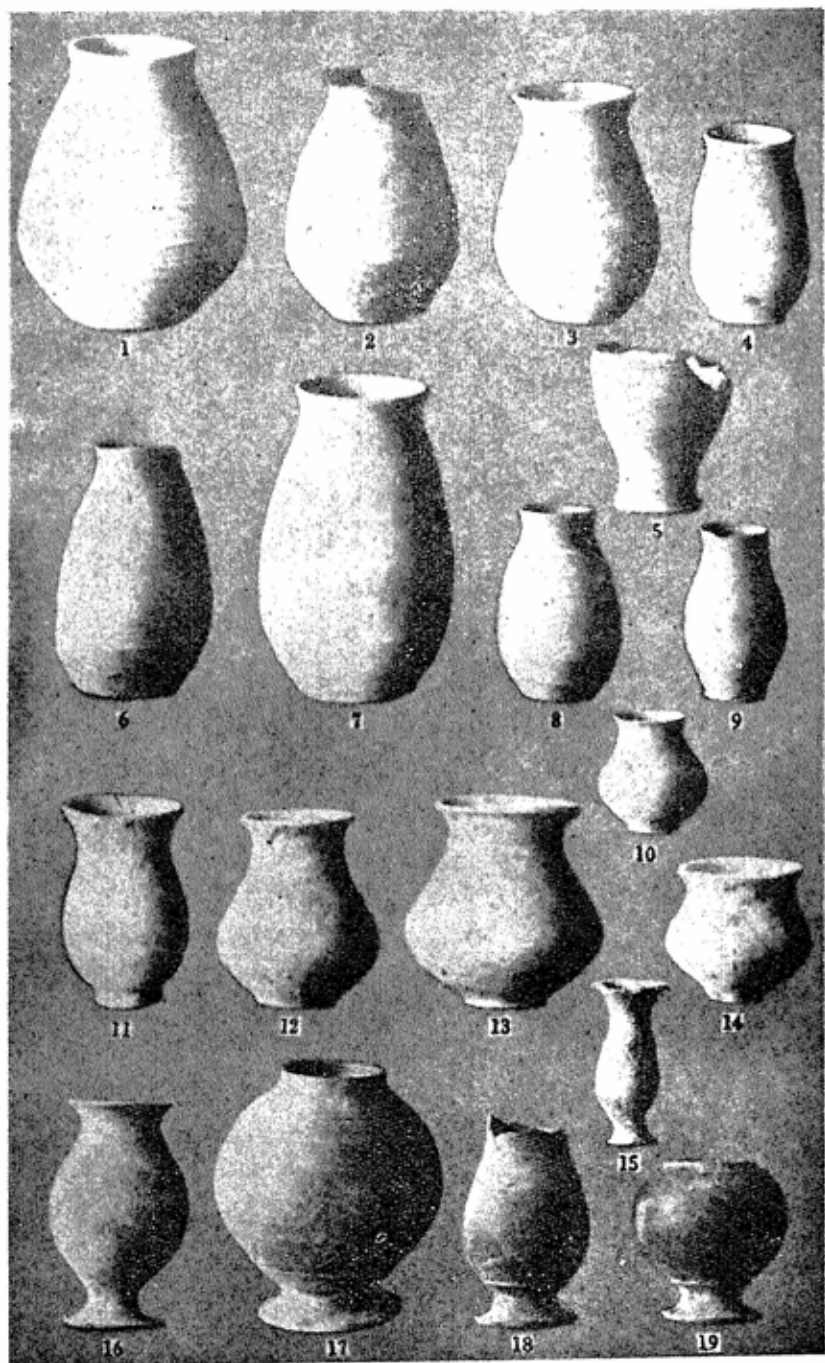


PLATE II (B)

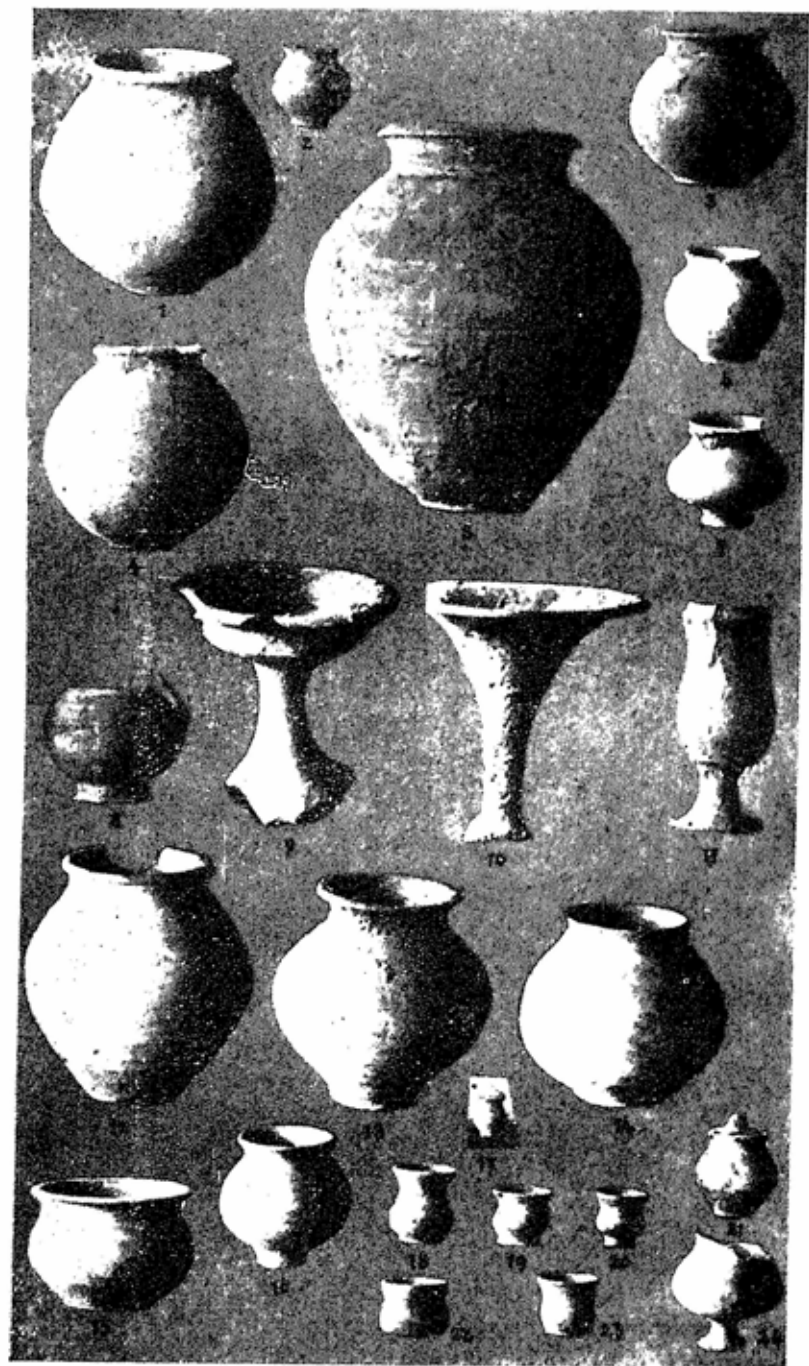


PLATE IV (C)

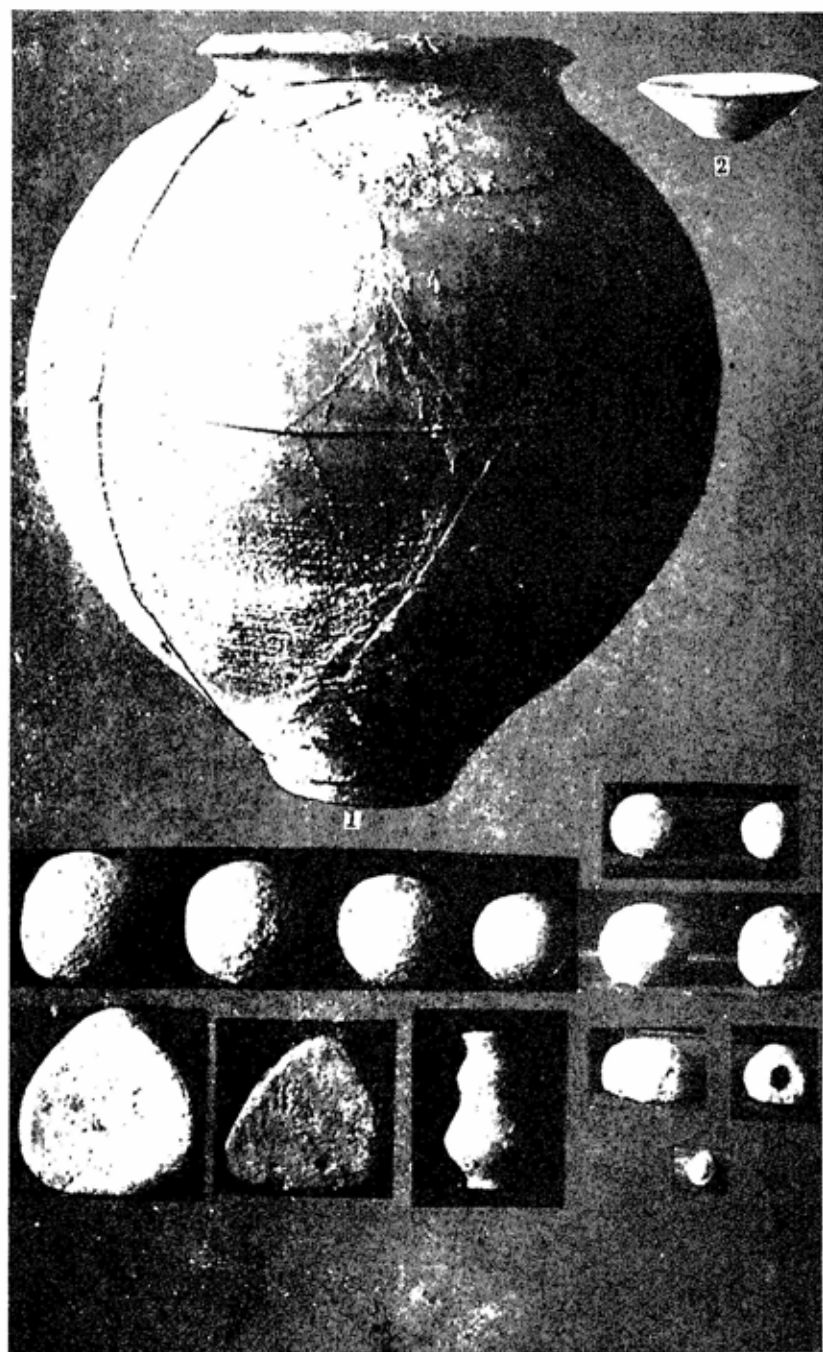


PLATE V (D)



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14



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26



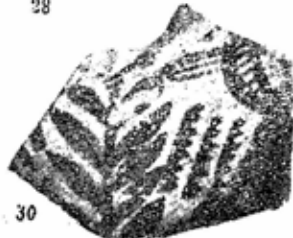
27



28



29



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31



32

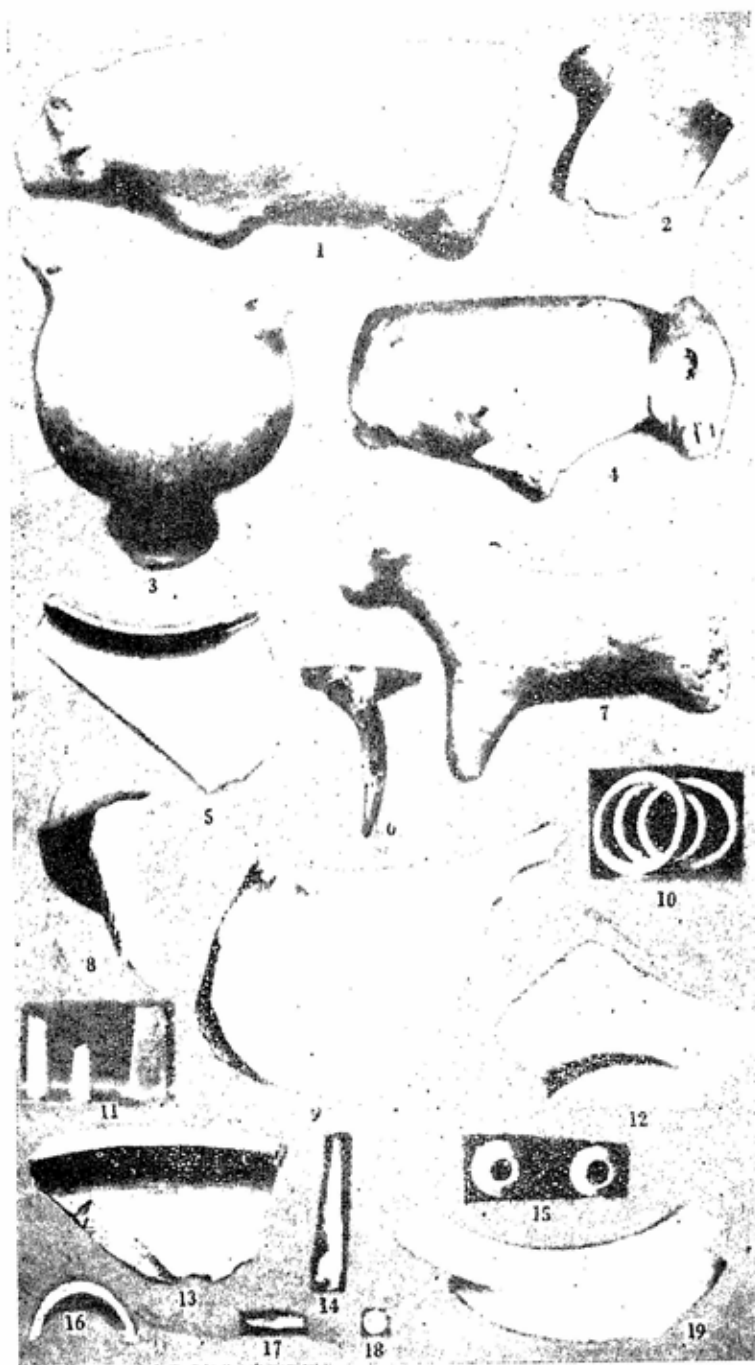




PLATE I (G)

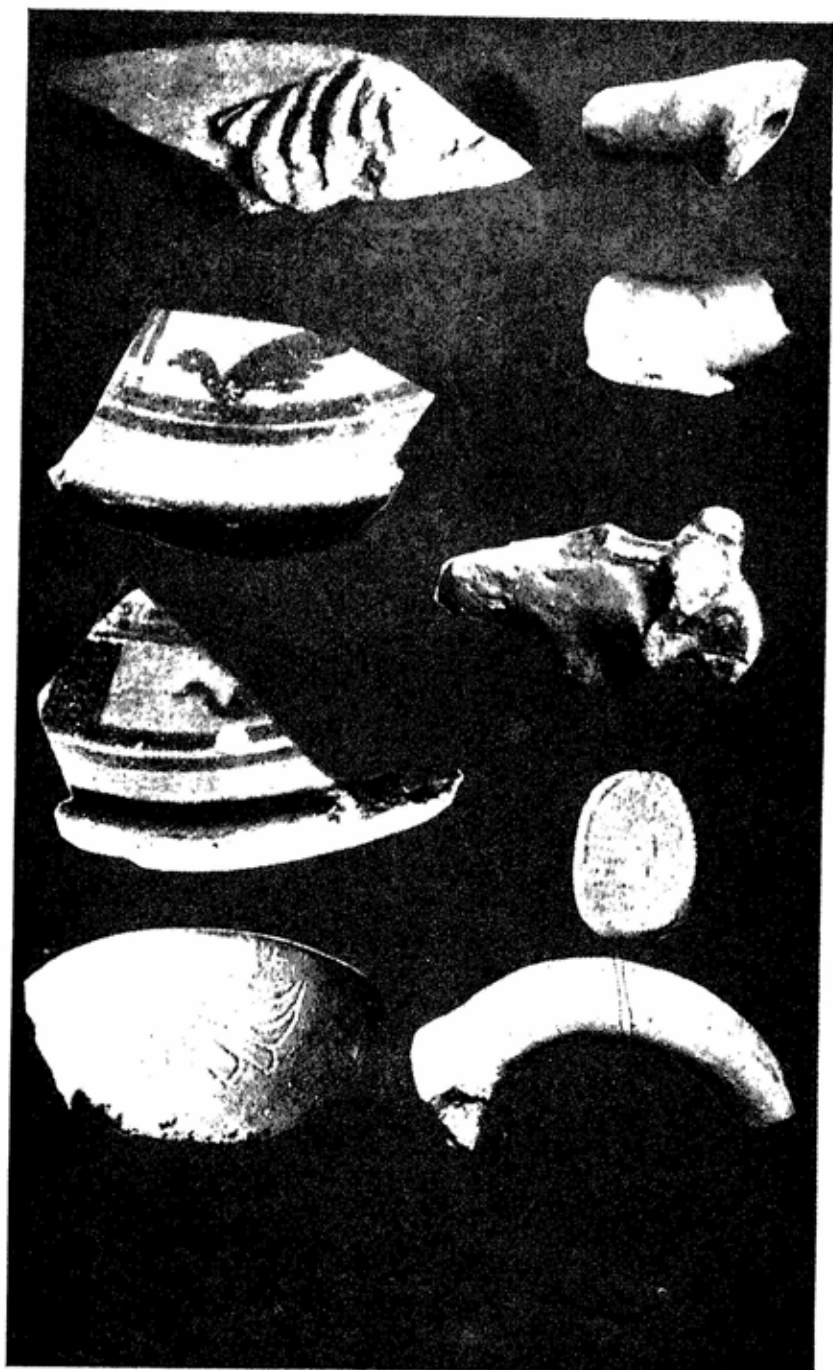
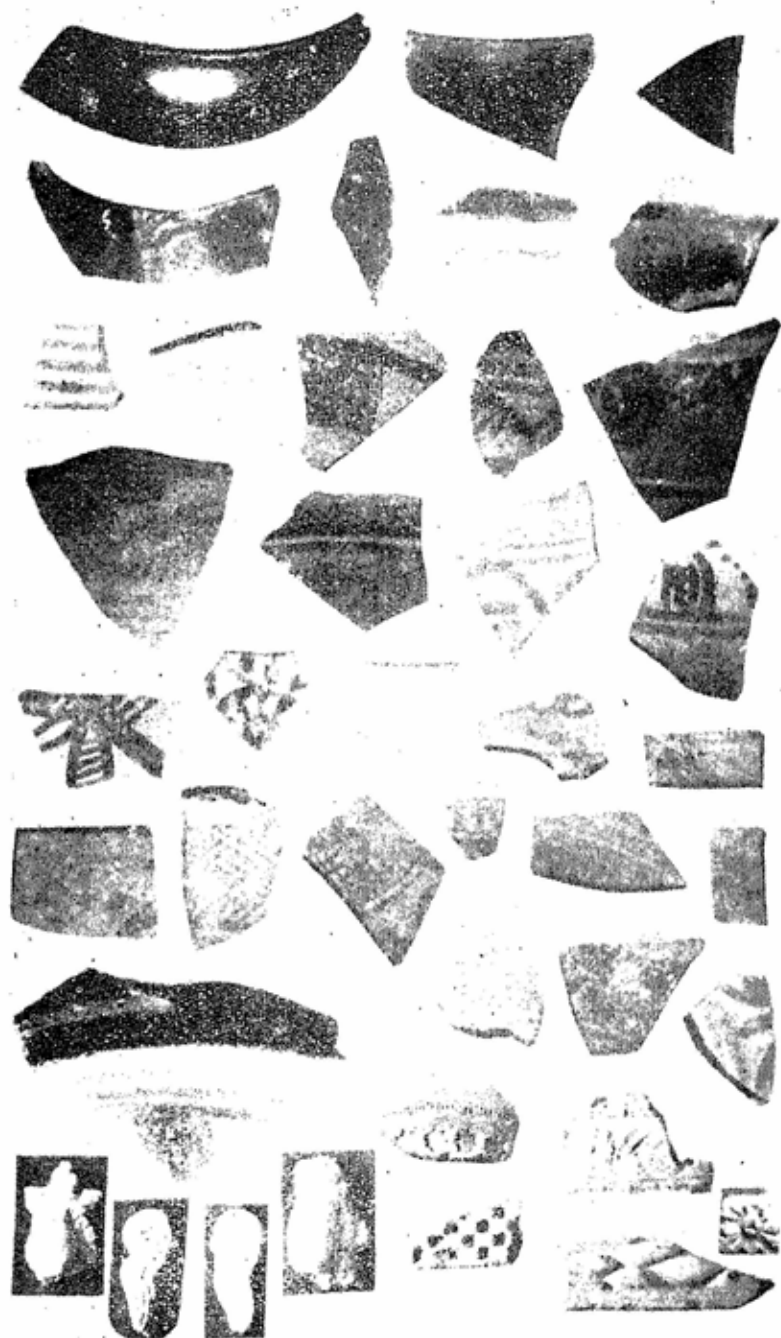


PLATE II (H)



the significance of the designs incised on the relief as regards the determination of time-sequence of Indian pottery. While fabric, colour and painted design of pottery have very often been compared as between different peoples, countries and cultures, incised or relief design has not yet received the attention of scholars that it deserves perhaps because of its rather rare occurrence.

The earliest datable culture in India so far is the Indus-Valley civilisation; its best representative is the culture of Mohenjo-daro; its best representative is the culture of Mohenjo-daro in Sind. Among the huge find of pottery at this site, it seems, pottery with incised ornament is very rare, only seven potsherds being illustrated in Sir John Marshall's great work; and there does not seem to be a single potsherd with ornamentation in relief. One of these seven pieces Sir John Marshall assigns to the Buddhist period. The remaining six pieces, which may be considered to be specimens of prehistoric pottery, show four types of incised ornamentation: (i) rosettes placed in rows so close to one another as to overlap, the rosette being made of lines obliquely arranged round small vacant space; (ii) intersecting circles so arranged that in each circle a figure is formed by the segments of four circles; (iii) thick and rather deeply rounded crescents in concentric circles; and (iv) thin and rather open crescents, almost like little nail marks, arranged in concentric circles, leaving some open space between two circles. Of the first design Sir John Marshall remarks: "This design is exceptionally interesting, as it is exactly like the design on the inside of a flat based pan found at Kish which belongs to the period of Hammurabi (2180 B. C.)."⁷ It is to be noticed that this design does not occur on pottery anywhere else in India. Even in Sind, even the extensive exploration of Mr. N. G. Majumdar has failed to trace it at any of the sites examined by him. In my collection from Kot-Diji and Hisbani there is a large number of potsherds with various incised and raised designs, but this type of rosette is not represented therein.

The second design, that of the intersecting or interlacing circles, is found on the potsherds found by Mr. Majumdar at a depth of thirty feet in the Ghazi-Shah Mound but is not met

7. *Mohenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, p. 291.

anywhere else,⁸ either in the pottery from other sites excavated by him or in my collection from Kot-Diji and Hisbani. Nor does it occur in the collection of prehistoric pottery made by Bruce Foote⁹ from Gujarat, the Deccan and Southern India or in the pottery of Adichanallur and Perumbair described by A. Rea.¹⁰

The thin crescentric design—thin crescents, which almost appear like nail-marks, arranged in concentric circles, the crescent being placed always in the same direction—seems to be the most common one in the prehistoric pottery of Sind but is not met with in the prehistoric pottery of Gujarat, the Deccan and Southern India nor in the protohistoric and Gupta pottery from North India. It is noticed on potsherds from Narujo-Dhoro, Kot-Diji, Hisbani and Shajo-Kotiro.¹¹ The fourth design appears on a potsherd from Alimuradmound¹² but with further elaboration. The crescents are placed in the reverse direction in every other row.

Of the designs on pottery discovered by Mr. Majumdar in other sites in Sind one occurs on a dish from Narujo-Dhoro. In the pottery from Lohumjo-daro the interior of a dish was decorated with incised strokes, probably denoting shooting rays of the Sun.¹³ The same design occurs on the underside of a dish from Narujo-Dhoro, illustrated in plate VII.¹⁴ Another fragment of a vase from Lohumjo-daro is described as having incised strokes at the neck but it is clear from the photograph in pl. XXXI that it has also a braided ornament in relief at the shoulder. Braided ornament in relief occurs on one of the potsherds from Shiraz Takkar and is fairly common on the prehistoric pottery from Southern India.

The black polished pottery with incised designs discovered by Mr. Majumdar from the Jhangar mound has variety of designs. The patterns comprise 'a row of circlets, triangles, lozenges and

8. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48, p. 102.

9. *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*.

10. *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*.

11. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48, p. 138.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

14. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV, pt. VI.

slanting strokes, a group of uprights alternating with a cross and two parallel zigzag lines'.¹⁵ None of these are represented in the pottery from Kot-Diji, Hisbani or Shiraz Takkar. Perhaps a potsherd from Hisbani, plate XVIII answers the description of the first pattern, which is also noticed on a sherd from Vastravi in Baroda State.¹⁶ Slanting strokes as well as zigzag lines occur on a number of potsherds from Southern India.

The most distinctive and also, it would appear, the most common design on the incised pottery from Kot-Diji and Hisbani is that of a dot surrounded by one, two or three concentric circles, further embellished or not with a circle or circles of dots, sometimes rather roughly done but often executed very well. It is not found on any pottery from other sites in Sind or from Bhita, but in its simple form, with a dot in the centre of a circle or two, occurs on two potsherds from Southern India — one from Rawalkonda in Hyderabad State and the other from Malyam in Bellary District.¹⁷ The other dotted patterns from Hisbani seem so far to be peculiar to that pottery, except that the simple fillet of dots bordered above and below by a line in relief occurs in three or four potsherds from Shiraz Takkar.

It would thus appear that on the whole the designs on the potsherds from Shiraz Takkar differ very materially from those of the earlier Indus-Valley culture, which again may conveniently be divided into three periods with reference to incised patterns; the first, represented by the potsherds of Mohenjo-Daro and a few from other sites examined by Mr. Majumdar, from Kot-Diji and Hisbani; the second, by a few potsherds with hatched triangles and cross and parallel lines from Jhangar mound which appear to show similarity, as will be shown later on, with incised pottery from Persia, Baluchistan and Mesopotamian Jemdet Nasr; and the third, by the large majority of potsherds from Hisbani, a few from Kot-Diji and some from Jhangar mound. The Shiraz Takkar incised and relief pottery may be considered to mark the fourth stage.

The grooved lines pattern occurring on some sherds from Shiraz Takkar is represented in the Bhita pottery in a layer

15. *op. cit.*, p. 69.

16. Bruce Foote, 39.

17. *Ibid.*, plates 34 and 27.

which Sir John Marshall thinks to be pre-Kushan¹⁸ — roughly before the beginning of the Christian era. It is also met with in South Indian prehistoric pottery, Bellary and Mysore.¹⁹ The Shiraz Takkar pattern of a fillet dots with a moulded line above and below appears in one piece of prehistoric pottery from Southern India.²⁰ In the pre-Kushan layer at Bhita also occurred pots with projecting mouldings. What exactly these mouldings represented we are not told. It is tempting to compare them with three or four pieces from Shiraz Takkar which show festoon and foliage design in moulding and to class them together with similar patterns from Southern India.²¹

Pottery decorated with a band of thumb-impressions, with flower petals cut in relief and with bosses in bands was discovered at Bhita, near Allahabad, in a layer which is ascribed to Gupta period by Sir John Marshall. A bowl from the same site with a rough floral design is assigned to the mediaeval period.²² The pattern of thumb-impressions is not noticed in the potsherds from Shiraz Takkar, the top piece in plate III being clearly not such, but is very common in South Indian prehistoric pottery. It occurs in the Adichanallur and Perumbair collection.²³ Bruce Foote has illustrated this pattern in plates 32 and 39 and has described one special modification thereof in plate 39, viz., twitched thumb-nail. The petals design from Bhita is of a different type from that of Shiraz Takkar, the petals being rounded with thin outline and naturalistic. One piece from Mysore described by Bruce Foote as with a leaf-design may be properly regarded as having petals-pattern.²⁴ One potsherd from Kot-Diji has a round boss pattern, while three such sherds from South India are figured by Bruce Foote in plates 27, 36 and 59. The cord or braid pattern noticed on two pieces from Shiraz Takkar, figured in pl. III is well represented in South Indian pottery. It figures on one potsherd from

18. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for, 1911-12.*, pp. 82-85.

19. Bruce Foote, plates 36, 29.

20. *Ibid.*, plate 36 cl. plate 28a.

21. *Ibid.*, plates 39, 40.

22. *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.

23. Rea, *op. cit.*, plates VII and XI.

24. *op. cit.*, plate 37.

Perumbair,²⁵ and on the sherds from Anantpur and Bellary districts.²⁶ The festoon design of two pieces from Shiraz Takkar in plate IV in all probability finds its counterpart on a sherd from Mysore figured by Bruce Foote in plate 34 (257d).

South Indian pottery has many other decorations, incised or in relief some of which are complex. The leaf-pattern, either with or without further elaboration of a creeper-design, is particularly distinctive. Zigzag lines, angular, rounded or wavy, in relief, cross-hatching or diagonal grating, pitting, small or large, fillet of raised small squares or rectangles, heavily moulded strokes, bipinnate and keyhole patterns are some of the more important ones not met with in the pottery from other parts of India. One decoration of peculiar interest met with in the pottery from the cairns of South India is the inlaid wavy line, the incised wavy line being filled in with paint and polished.²⁷

In the prehistoric pottery from Baluchistan incised or relief ornament is very rare. In Mr. Hargreave's collection there is only one pot — from Mastung, a shallow dish — which bears an incised ornament. The decoration may be described as a grain or seed motive — arranged on two sides of a central rib which runs horizontally. One vessel from Nal has raised bosses in the centres of circles,²⁸ which form of decoration may be compared with the Kot-Diji and South Indian pattern already noticed. In his extensive tour in Gedrosia, Sir Aurel Stein discovered very few potsherds with incised or relief design, which are figured in XXXII of his work.²⁹ The patterns noticed on them are: fillet of shells, incised wavy line, corded fillet and slanting strokes arranged about a central rib so as to give the appearance of some kind of leaf. On the other hand, his researches in the Upper Swat valley have yielded mostly pottery with incised or relief design in association with Buddhistic remains. The designs consist of slanting strokes arranged about a central rib, triangular depressions in two bends, slanting strokes in two

25. op. cit., plate XI.

26. Bruce Foote, op. cit., plates 35 and 29.

27. *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. VII, Madras pottery, pp. 7-9.

28. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 35, plate III and p. 48.

29. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 43.

bands with a fillet of dots between them, braided relief, fillet of thumb and finger impressions, three grooved lines running horizontally, fillet of small dots with impressed circles round them, raised star between two lines, fillet of circular bosses, band of small dots surrounded by two or three lozenges and wavy or zigzag line.³⁰ Perhaps on one potsherd (Bir. 9) there is a pattern of petals like that on the Shiraz Takkar potsherds. It is clear that there is the greatest similarity of patterns between Buddhistic Upper Swat Valley and Shiraz Takkar and that some of the patterns of the so-called prehistoric pottery from Southern India are identical with those on pottery of the Buddhist age in the Upper Swat Valley. One relation that becomes clear from this study is that in North Western India and in the adjacent areas on the west, culturally related to it, variety of incised and relief decoration and its dominance in the ornamentation of pottery is chronologically later than the painting of designs. Further, just as the culture of Sind was affined to that of Baluchistan in prehistoric times, so in the Buddhistic age it had similarity with that of Baluchistan and rather closer one with that of the Upper Swat Valley. The potsherds from Shiraz Takkar and Kot-Diji which bear an elaborate design of the circles and dots motive seem to stand apart without any real counterpart in these areas or even in Southern India in this that the design seems to cover the whole pot. Perhaps they are modern.

I should not like to close this study without drawing attention to the peculiar importance of two potsherds from Jahangar Mound figured in plate XXI. (12 to 21)³¹ in which the ground of the pot is divided into compartments and these filled with triangles or other design with lines. The ground itself, where the pattern is to be filled in, has first the reeded pattern. This disposition of incised lines, oblique or straight or curved, to fill compartments is met with in the few pots with incised pattern from Bampur mound in Persian Baluchistan and are figured in plates XX, fig. 2 and XXI, fig. 4 by Sir Aurel Stein in his lecture — reprint, "The Indo-Iranian Borderlands". The potsherd with triangles filled in by lines placed obliquely has its

30. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 42, plate I.

31. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48.

counterpart in the incised pottery from Jemdet Nasr. Dr. Mackay thus remarks about the incised pottery from Jemdet Nasr: "The designs most frequently used were hatched bands and triangles. The latter were always placed with the apex uppermost, and the interiors were filled in with a simple crisscross hatching made with a single point ... Very little of the pottery was decorated with incised designs, and this form of ornament was apparently reserved [for a particular type of jar]. Only small fragments were found of jars incised with triangular designs."³² It should be noticed that the two triangles which can be seen on the potsherd from Jhangar, appear to have their apexes uppermost.

32. *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 233.

Appendix I

GHURYE SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY
CELEBRATION*

DR. G. S. GHURYE, Professor of Sociology, University of Bombay, will be reaching his sixtieth birthday on the 12th December, this year, 1953. His friends, admirers and students propose to celebrate the occasion in a fitting manner and a Committee for the purpose has been duly constituted.

A Chancellor's Medalist in Sanskrit in 1918, Dr. Ghurye was deputed by the University to Cambridge for his Ph.D. in Sociology. On his return, he joined the University Department of Sociology as its head in 1924. Since then, for over a quarter of a century, hundreds of students, some of whom occupy distinguished position in many of the Indian Universities, have had the benefit of his learning, scholarship and outstanding abilities as a teacher. Over fifty of them have completed their research work under his guidance and have qualified themselves for the M.A. and the Ph.D. degrees of the University.

Besides his work as a teacher in the Department of Sociology, Dr. Ghurye has to his credit several outstanding books and dozens of Research Papers and Articles, published in journals of Universities and Learned Societies. His study of Caste, recently published in Second Edition, is one of the pioneering

* Appeal issued on the occasion.

works in the field. His *Indian Costume* has been regarded by competent authorities as a testimony to his "firm grasp of the subject and shrewd observation". His *Culture and Society* has been declared in a leading article of *Nature* "to correct some shallow thinking". His *Race Relations in Negro Africa* has been viewed as a sound sociological analysis of the African Racial problem. His *The Aborigines-so-called and Their Future* has succeeded in raising the problem of the aborigines from the plane of anthropology to that of sociology, while his *Occidental Civilisation* has been welcomed as a stimulating, suggestive and thought-provoking work suitable alike for study and reference".

Dr. Ghurye has also been closely associated with several Learned Societies and Cultural Organisations both in India and abroad. He was elected President of the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress in 1935 and President of the Ethnology and Folklore Section of the Oriental Conference in 1937. He was also President of the Bombay Anthropological Society from 1944-1950. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association since 1950, and is an elected Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences in India. Dr. Ghurye was for several years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, representing the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He has also worked on the I.L.O. Expert Committee on Indigenous Labour during the years 1949-1952. It was mainly through his initiative and efforts that the Indian Sociological Society was founded in 1951, and he is at present the Founder President of the Society.

This is indeed an outstanding record of single-minded devotion and pioneering service to the cause of social sciences in general and Sociology in particular. Extended over a quarter of a century and more, it is a great achievement especially in a country like ours with its relative backwardness in this field, an achievement which must be duly appreciated and honoured. We, therefore, appeal to all to extend their fullest co-operation to the Committee and make the proposed celebration a success.

Prof. A. S. Altekar
Principal M. Ballaguer, S. J.

Prof. M. S. Gore
Dr. B. S. Guha

Hon'ble Mr. Chief Justice

M. C. Chagla

Prof. S. K. Chatterji

Dr. R. G. Dhaygude

Shree Harsiddhabhai Divetia

Shree S. R. Dongerkery

Shree A. A. A. Fyzee

Prof. D. R. Gadgil

Hon'ble Mr. Justice

P. G. Gajendragadkar

Principal V. K. Gokak

Dr. M. Mujeeb

Dr. D. N. Mujumdar

Prof. D. P. Mukerji

Sir Manilal B. Nanavati

Shree R. P. Patwardhan

Rt. Hon'ble

Dr. M. R. Jayakar

Principal V. K. Joag

Maham. Dr. P. V. Kane

Shree Nityanand Kanungo

Dr. (Mrs.) I Karve

Dr. S. M. Katre

Shree D. K. Kunte

Sir Rustom P. Masani

Shree Vaikunthalal L. Mehta

Dr. A. D. Pusalkar

Dr. H. D. Sankalia

Dr. B. G. Vad

Sir N. J. Wadia

Prof. A. R. Wadia

Appendix II

A PROPOSAL FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL VARIATION IN THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTH ASIA

The Project in Summary

THE PROJECT is a study of dynamic features of separate regions within the countries of South Asia.

The first phase of this study would be a pilot project to deal with two selected areas, namely, Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Broad Results to be expected from the Project

No study of the dynamic features of any region within a South Asian country has so far been made in America, Europe, or South Asia itself. The project is aimed, first of all, to fill this gap.

Many studies have been made recently and are being made of South Asian countries or of aspects of life within those countries on a national overall basis. Other studies have been made or are in progress of the grassroot elements or units of human society in South Asia, that is, of villages and village institutions. The study of cultural areas lies midway between these two other types of studies and should thus complete the continuum of national, regional, and local life.

Such a study should illuminate studies made on the wide national basis by defining, and describing the regional elements, making for harmony or discord, that combine to constitute the country (nation-state) as a whole.

It should also have an advantage for village or tribal or caste studies. In current research on South Asia small research projects can cover only small areas. In the absence of larger classifications they cannot generalize their findings in relation to any unit larger than the one actually being surveyed. There is no way of knowing the whole to which sample village or town studies can be related. Until there is agreement on some overall scheme of analysis, the information gathered in small discrete studies can be called cumulative only in a very loose sense.

The project is not conceived as leading to any action program. It would be pursued as a scientific and scholarly undertaking. Studies under the project, however, might prove of value not only to scholars, but also to South Asian governments (national, state, local) in promoting the general welfare of their citizens and of the regions immediately concerned.

The Problem

A characteristic feature of South Asia is the subdivision of its countries (nation-states) into regions notably differentiated from one another. In each of the five separate countries of South Asia there exists a fundamental cultural [complex] which is the core of its nationhood, but each country also has within it a number of well differentiated cultural areas.

In South Asia the most important regions are:

- (1) in India: Bengal, Assam, the Northeastern Hill Areas, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Central India, Uttar Pradesh, East Punjab, the Kashmir Valley;
- (2) in Pakistan: West Punjab, the Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan, East Pakistan;
- (3) in Ceylon: Central and Southern (Sinhalese) Ceylon, Northern (Tamil) Ceylon;
- (4) in Afghanistan: Eastern Afghanistan, Western Afghanistan;

- (5) in Nepal: Eastern Nepal (including the valley of Kathmandu), Western Nepal.

At present we cannot say with any degree of precision or finality what marks off one South Asian region from the others. We are only vaguely and uncertainly aware of what constitutes "Bengali" loyalty or "Kerala" loyalty or any other regional loyalty. What makes a Bengali or a Tamilian or a Maharashtrian or a Gujarati feel himself a member of a particular regional entity? His feeling is not merely a negative one, that is, a feeling that in being a Tamilian or some other he is distinct from members of other cultural groups, is *not* one of them. It is much more a positive feeling. He is aware, more or less consciously, that he possesses institutions, practises, values, norms of behaviour which are characteristic of his group and as a total constitute his ideal way of life. He may not, probably has not tried to, identify, analyze, systematize these possessions. Nor has anyone tried to do so for him on any inclusive scale.

The Pilot Project

It is proposed here that Maharashtra and Gujarat be the subjects of the pilot project. These two areas have the following advantages for this purpose:

- (1) they are important and critical areas in Indian national affairs today;
- (2) they stand in some degree of contrast and the study of each will therefore provide controls upon the study of the other;
- (3) they have long and well-developed traditions in literature, art, history, religion, commerce, law, in many respects outstanding (for example, the great sites of Ajanta and Ellora, which are situated in Maharashtra, require a systematic study such as was denied them in the former Hyderabad State); they also preserve interesting tribal crafts and rituals (as among the Bhils in Gujarat); they have strong living traditions of arts and crafts.

It is proposed that the pilot project be a joint undertaking by the University of Pennsylvania through its Department of South Asia Regional Studies and institutions in India.

*Method of attacking the Problem in respect to
Maharashtra and Gujarat*

A method of attacking the problem has to be worked out. The approach now being considered is as follows:

1. First, a preliminary inventory would be taken of each region with respect to a number of aspects of its life:

- (a) Geologic formation and geographic features, climate, soil groups, vegetation types, crops and crop combinations
- (b) Economic resources, their present utilization; current economic relationships, such as channels of internal distribution of goods and collection for export; potentiality for future development in view of pending technological advances; patterns of communication
- (c) Settlement types (villages, towns, cities) viewed according to morphology (external forms of buildings, arrangement, layout of streets, etc.) and function (activities of inhabitants, agriculture, trade, transportation, governmental administration, etc.)
- (d) Ethnic composition; social institutions; population distribution and movement
- (e) Language distribution and dialect patterns
- (f) Religious variation; cult distribution
- (g) Archaeology and history
- (h) Art forms and their history; handicrafts
- (i) Administrative patterns
- (j) Interest groups

The purposes of this inventory are several. First, the distribution of the various cultural features mentioned will be capable to a large degree of being separately mapped, and the maps can be compared or superimposed to determine whether correlations exist or do not. With these maps it will be possible to test hypotheses (such as "Maharashtra, that is, the region in which 50 per cent of the population speaks Marathi, is

confined to the region of black-cotton soils and/or the basaltic lavas", or "Gujarat is an area of semi-arid climate", or "A distinctive complex of castes is found in Gujarat," etc.)

Secondly, the inventory would lead to identifying the significant aspects of the region for each topic listed above, the dynamic features making for social change, and the areas of important culture contact (acculturation).

Thirdly, the inventory would help to designate and define problems for investigation. (Types of problems which might be designated are: the position of Brahmans in Maharashtrian society, or the political and economic roles of Brahmans vs. non-Brahmans in Gujarat and Maharashtra, or the reasons for the economic contrast between Maharashtra and Gujarat, or the role of the communications network of each area in affecting the ratio of socio-economic change, or the nature of the Hinduization (or Sanskritization) of the Harijans in each area.)

The inventory should be taken rather quickly. Much of the work can be done in libraries; some supplementing by field work will doubtless be in order.

2. As soon as feasible, studies should be launched of classical literatures (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Old Gujarati, Old Marathi, possibly some others) to ascertain: (a) conceptions of regional differentiation in India; and (b) conceptions of Gujarat and Maharashtra as cultural regions.

Similar studies should also be made of modern Marathi and Gujarati literature.

Here again, the approach is to be dynamic, that is, to identify and assess the ideas or conceptions which have influenced the minds of people to think of these regions as separate entities, and which affect their minds today.

3. A series of problems for research would be selected on the basis of the inventory and the survey of literature mentioned above which would prove cumulative in their effect and would yield a dynamic description of the two areas. The research should give a picture of the two regions as maintaining or losing old characteristics, as continuing or ceasing to function as regions, or as being displaced by new regional conceptions in India.

The study of these topics would constitute the main feature of the pilot project.

In pursuing the project a very large use will be made of the area languages as tools of research. It is through these languages that we may expect to identify and exploit important data relating to various aspects of regional cultures. Many recent studies of modern South Asia, outside of village studies, have relied largely on material published in English. But the material published in the modern spoken languages, which is varied and abundant and in many respects primary source material, has been left largely unexplored, and the cultural elites aside from those speaking English have had relatively little attention. The already great importance of the modern languages for the exploration of regional cultures is likely to be enhanced as education and administration under current government programmes in South Asian nations continue to extend the use of those languages and to curtail the use of English.





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