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CONTRIBUTORS

David Roy
A. N. M. Irshad Ali
Binod Kumar Agarwala
Geetika Ranjan
Devashree Bhattacharjee
Chandan Saha
V. B. S. Srilatha Indira Dutt
G. Sasibhusana Rao
M. Ansari

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For details please write to :

NEHU Publications
North-Eastern Hill University
Bijni Complex, Laitumkhrah
Shillong-793 003 (Meghalaya)
Telefax : +91 364 2226316 / 2501902

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Production Assistant : Surajit Dutta
Prepress : Shongdor Diengdoh

Editorial

With this issue we have implemented the last decision of the Editorial Advisory Board to effect certain changes in the format of our journal such as an abstract and key words for each article. While sending out the articles for review continues as in the past, we have found it increasingly difficult to find reviewers for the "science" papers. We have hence wondered if we should propose to the university authorities for a change in the name of the journal from what it is now to the NEHU Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. That would certainly be easier to manage, but good sense suggests that the present nomenclature should be continued till such time as NEHU has a journal of sciences, which is not likely to happen any time soon in future because there are hundreds of journals in sciences with or without impact factor where our colleagues and research scholars from "science" departments can easily try and get their articles published. As its editor, I have no idea about the impact factor of our university journal but I cannot stop worrying about it because it matters a lot to our science contributors and our funding agencies, including the University Grants Commission. Although it is now indexed not only in the *Guide to Indian Periodical Literature* but also in the *Directory of Open Access Journals* our journal is not likely to be listed among the impact factor journals in sciences in the foreseeable future.

The abstract and key words make sense now because we have decided to give free world wide access to the articles published in our journal, which will henceforth certainly increase the visibility and accessibility of the articles published in our journal, although it may create a dent on our revenue generation, which however has seldom been very substantial any way. This is perhaps the story of all university journals in India, if not abroad as well.

In this issue we carry the third and last part of the very important contribution by David Roy on Khasi megaliths and start the first of the three Elwin Endowment Lectures delivered by Professor A. N. M. Irshad Ali of Gauhati University. The other two lectures will be published in the next two issues. The inaugural lecture of Prof. Irshad Ali in this issue is followed by a very significant article on culture by Prof. Binod Kumar Agarwala who teaches philosophy in our university. This highly discursive article is followed by another discursive article by Dr. Geetika Ranjan, who teaches Anthropology in our university and who argues in favour of positivistic anthropology vis-à-vis post-modernist anthropology.

I then take two articles on literature, the first by a doctoral student of Assam University, Silchar and the other by a police officer, yes a police officer, from Agartala. Devashree Bhattacharjee from Assam University has done a good piece on the construction of what is picturesque for a wife of a colonial administrator. I feel proud to know that we have such bright doctoral students in our region. The other article on the realist tradition of Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy by the police officer also deserves attention as well as some accolades for the kind of analytical skills he has displayed in his article.

We then have two articles in hard core science, one by our own colleague from Mathematics and another from the GITAM Institute of Technology. Both of them were recommended for publication by the referees without any significant change. We think they must be good. As editor, I have only taken care of the language, wherever it needed attention, with regard to these two articles.

Finally, we have included two book reviews. The first is by Professor Robbins Burling, Emeritus Professor of Michigan University and the latter by the editor himself. Their reviews are also being published in the e-journal titled *Millenial Asia: An International Journal of Asia Scholars* (http://www.asiascholars.org/millennia-asia.html) with our permission.

T. B. Subba

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The Khasi Megalith-III

The Feeding of the Dead Ceremonies (*Ai Bam*)

David Roy

A year or two after the ceremony of the *mawbah-mawshyieng* described in the previous issue, but not before the lapse of one year, the members of the lineage (*ki kur*) or the children of the male members of the lineage (ki *khun kha*) perform at a time when they can afford it, the ceremony of feeding the dead.

Only one bull or one cow is sacrificed. The sacrificer consecrates it (*u dut masi*) and after killing it in the usual way they remove portions for the *dohiong*, the *dohpha* and the *khwang*, and also the lower jaw and the horns. The sacrificer takes up one heap consisting of each kind of the *dohiong*; holds it in his left hand and pours a libation (*suid*) from the gourd (*skaw*) which he holds in his right hand. This is done in the *nongpei* which is the front part of the house. The sacrificer then says:

Kane la ai bam bha ia phi u/ka Dieng.
Here now good food is given to you u/ka Dieng.

David Roy was the only son of Rai Bahadur Roy Singh (Rai Shabong). He was born at Laban, Shillong on 23rd December 1884. From a young age his father sent him for schooling at Doveton College, Calcutta and he completed his studies from Duff College, Calcutta. He served as a Magistrate in the Assam Civil Service and was posted in various places including the Naga Hills, Garo hills and the Lushai Hills. He took part in the Kuki Expedition in 1919. On his return to Shillong he served as Administrator of the Hima Mylliem. He was a Sub-Divisional Officer at Jowai during the Silver Jubilee celebration of King George V in 1935. He was appointed as the Dewan of Hima Mylliem and Hima Sohra during 1936-46 and through his efforts the affairs of these two Hima were set right and their economic positions revived. He was later conferred with the MBE (Member of the British Empire) by the British Government of the time.

After his retirement, Roy continued to assist the Hima Mylliem and was closely associated with the Federation of Khasi States. He established the Pomlum High School at Pomlum and played a significant role in the formation of the Seng Syngkhong Jingtip of which he also served as President. He was a member of the Indian Science Congress and attended the meetings of the congress at Indore and its Silver Jubilee celebration at Calcutta in 1938 where he presented a paper entitled "Significance of Cowrie Shells in Khasi Ceremonies". He wrote extensively, particularly on Khasi customs, traditions and laws and his writings were published in various journals. He also collaborated extensively in the publication of Sir Keith Cantlie's Notes on Khasi Law *and contributed some chapters of the book.*

He passed away in Shillong on 13th February 1966.

He puts the meat away and he repeats the sacrifice with another heap of *dohiong*, saying:

Kumba la ai bam bha ia phi u/ka Dieng sneng ryngkat phi u Kni u Kong.
As good food has been given to you u/ka Dieng give counsel thou maternal uncle, thou brother.

He puts the pieces away. They keep the *khwang*, the *dopha*, the lower jaw and the horns until the next day.

The next morning they bake three loaves, boil one egg, and they take also half-boiled rice, flour, *dieng pyrshit* leaf, *lakhar* leaf, fermented rice and a gourd. Then they erect three upright stones and one flat stone on the path or at any suitable place. These are only small stones as big as the *maw umkoi* stones and they are called the *mawaibam* stones. When the stones have been put up, they spread a *lakhar* leaf over the flat stone (*mawkynthei*). They make the gourd stand on the leaf, on which they place also the three loaves, the half-cooked rice, the *dieng pyrshit* leaf, the flour, the unboiled rice, the fermented rice, the lower jaw, the horns, and the *khwang*. The sacrificer holds the cooked egg in his left hand, asks for water which he receives in his right hand and sprinkles the water over the egg. Then he puts the egg aside on the leaf for the time being, pinches a piece of each of the three loaves and cuts off pieces of the *dohpha.* He then sacrifices saying:

Kane kumba la ai bam bha ia phi u/ka Dieng.
Here as good feeding has been given for thee u/ka Dieng.

He puts the pieces away, again pinches off pieces from the loaves and cuts a bit of the *dohpha* and he sacrifices, saying:

Kumta kumba la ai bam bha ai bam miat ia phi u/ka Dieng sneng ryngkat phi u Kni u Kong.
Thus as good feeding, good food has been given to you u/ka Dieng give counsel thou maternal uncle and brother.

He puts the offering away, takes pieces of the loaves and of the *dohpha*, and he says:

Kumba la ai bam bha bam miat ia phi u/ka Dieng sneng ryngkat phi long-kha man-kha.
As good feeding, good food has been given to you u/ka Dieng give counsel together thou who causest to be, thou who causest to grow.

He puts the pieces away, peels off the shell of the egg, cuts a bit from the

smaller end of the egg, and he throws this piece up, so that it falls once on the reverse and once on the obverse. He then takes a pinch of the loaves, cuts of the *dohpha*, and takes up all the half-cooked rice, the bread, the flour and the shell of the egg, and he sacrifices saying:

> *Kumba la ai bam bha is phi u/ka Dieng ioh phi ong tang u dkhot, hynrei bad u shynrong bad u shyntaw.*
> As good feeding has been given to you u/ka Dieng lest you say only the fragments and pieces, but also with the shell and the cover.

He places them over the flat stone (*mawkynthei*), pours out a libation on the leaf and says:

> *Kumba la ai bam bha ia phi u/ka Dieng ioh phi ong tang u kpu u dkhot hynrei bad ka 'iad hiar ka 'iad bang.*
> As good feeding has been given for thee u/ka Dieng lest you say only the loaves, only the fragments and pieces, but also with the fermented spirit, the sweet liquor.

They tie the horns and the lower jaw to a stick, hang the *khwang* also on that stick, which is then put up at the back of the central (uncle) stone.

This feeding ceremony (*ai-bam*) can be performed by the children of u/ka Dieng or the members of his matri-lineage. They do this as often as they can afford it. When they perform *ai-bam* for the father, uncle or brother, they sacrifice a bull; for mother, father's mother (*meikha*), or sister they give a cow. They give *ai-bam* for one individual at a time, not for all the dead together. U Mohon Kharkongor, however, says that there are some who give *ai-bam* for the mother and, because they have not the means to do this for the other deceased separately, they call the names of the children together with that of the mother.

The formulae are the same as given above whether the *ai-bam* is given for the father, mother, father's mother or maternal uncle, brother or father's sister. They do not perform this ceremony for father's brother or father's sister. A feast is given to the people who make the *ai-bam* stones, just as it is given to the people who make *mawksing* stones, but it lasts one day for *ai-bam* stones and no *jakhawnei* is served.

The *Mawksing, Mawkhait* or *Mawja* Ceremonies

Mawksing, *mawkhait* and *mawja* are different names for the same stones. These are five upright stones. The middle one is called *mawkni* (uncle stone)

and the two on each side are called *mawbud* (accompanying stones). The lineage members (*ki kur*) erect them near a road or path or at any suitable place. They do this a year or two after the bones have been placed in the *mawniam* and after they have performed the *ai-bam* ceremony.

While erecting them they beat a drum. Afterwards they all go to the family house, the men dancing all the way to the beating of the drum. They do not wear any special dancing dress. On entering the house they continue the dance and they go on drumming and dancing for three days and three nights. They give liquor, rice and meat during this period to the people who have helped in erecting the stones and on the second day they give *jakhawnei*. On the second day they sacrifice a bull or a cow. The sacrificer consecrates it by throwing rice over it, in front of the house in the courtyard. After killing the animal they prepare the *dohiong*, *dohpha* and *khwang;* they take also the horns and the lower jaw and make ready the gourd (*skaw*). The sacrificer performs the ceremony inside the house. There are three heaps of *dohiong*, each containing pieces of the five kinds of interior organs of the animal; the sacrificer takes up one heap as in the *ai-bam* and says:

> *Mynta ba ieng ka mawksing, ka mawmieng, u kawkohkait, ka mawkohja ia phi u/ka Dieng.*
> Now that the *mawksing*, *mawmieng*, *mawkohkait*, *mawkohja* stone have stood up for thee u/ka Dieng.

He puts the offering away and takes another heap saying:

> *Sneng ryngkat ka mei-kha ka mei-pun ba la ieng ka mawksing ka mawmieng ka mawkohkait, ka mawkohja ia phi u/ka Dieng.*
> Give counsel together thou mother who givest birth, thou mother who bearest, that the *mawksing, mawmieng, mawkohkait, mawkohja* have stood up for thee u/ka Dieng.

He puts the meat away, takes the last portion of *dohiong* and says:

> *Kumba la ieng ka mawksing, ka mawmieng, u mawkohkait, u mawkohja ia phi u/ka Dieng sneng ryngkat phi man-kha long-kha.*
> As the *mawksing, mawmieng, mawkohkait, mawkohja* have stood up for thee u/ka Dieng give counsel together thou who causest to grow who causest to be.

Next morning they cook three loaves and one egg, go to the stones taking with them the *dohpha*, the *khwang*, the half-cooked rice, the three loaves, the cooked egg, flour, unboiled rice, a *lakhar* leaf, fermented rice, the lower jaw, the horns and a *dieng pyrshit* leaf. They perform the same sacrifice as

they do for the *ai-bam* ceremony, except that the sacrificer says:

> *Kumba la ieng ka mawksing, ka mawmieng.*
> As the *mawksing,* the *mawmieng* stones have stood.

Other pronouncements are the same as in the *ai-bam* ceremonies. When all this has been done, the horns, the lower jaw, and the *khwang* are tied to a stick which is put up at the back of the *mawkni*, the uncle stone. Each set of *mawksing* is erected for one person only. While erecting the stones they do not mention the names of other departed relatives.

The *Mawbynna* Ceremonies

The *mawbynna* stones consist of five upright stones and one flat table stone, just like the *mawksing*. Any difference that may exist between the *mawksing* (*mawkait*, *mawja*) and the *mawbynna* is uncertain but according to U Mohon Kharkongor, the stones erected some years after the bones have been placed in the *mawniam* are called *mawksing*, if *mawlynti* had been erected when the bones were taken to the *mawniam*, but they are called *mawbynna* if *mawlynti* had not been erected. The last known case – that of Ka Stem Mawri from about 1890 is supposed to demonstrate this. U Mohon Kharkongor was a witness to this ceremony.

The stones are dragged by a large number of men, two men beat drums, another man holding a fly-flap (*sympiah*) sits on the stone which is being dragged, facing those who drag it. He waves the fly-flap chanting:

> *How pynbeit u 'rilud, how pynbeit u 'riphiang. Pynbeit kawei, ryntih kawei.*
> How! Straighten the young cane, how! Straighten the strong cane. Straighten as one, unite as one.

He waves the fly-flap forward to the crowd who are dragging the stone with ropes of cane. They reply: Hoi! Hah! This riding on the stone and chanting is not done when erecting *mawlynti*, and it is said that it was not done for *mawksing* either.

Every night, as long as the dragging of the stones goes on, one head of cattle is sacrificed in the house. It may be either a bull or a cow, whichever is available, but not more than one animal at a time. Each time they do *shim dkhot* or remove the sacramental portions. Every day when the bull or cow is killed, the sacrificer places the *khwang*, the horns, the lower jaw and the *skaw* gourd in the *nongpei* part of the house. He performs the sacrifice with

the *dohiong* as in the *ai-bam* ceremonies, saying:

> *Mynta la ieng ka mawbynna, ka mawkhyllong, ka mawnam, ka mawrong ia phi u/ka Dieng.*
> Now has stood up the *mawbynna*, the *mawkhyllon* the *maw-nam*, the *mawrong* for thee u/ka Dieng.

He puts the meat away, takes the last lot of *dohiong* saying:

> *Sneng ryngkat ka mei-kha, ka mei-pun ba la ieng ka mawbynna, ka mawkhyllong ka mawnam, ka mawrong ia phi u/ka Dieng.*
> Give counsel thou mother who givest birth, thou mother who bearest, that have stood the *mawbynna*, the *mawkhyllon*, the *mawnam*, the *mawrong* for thee u/ka Dieng.

He puts the offering away, takes another heap of *dohiong* and says:

> *Kumba la ieng ka mawbynna, ka mawkhyllon, ka mawnam ka mawrong ia phi u/ka Dieng, sneng ryngkat, phi man-kha long-kha.*
> As have stood up the *mawbynna*, the *mawkhyllon*, the *mawnam*, the *mawrong* for thee u/ka Dieng, give counsel thou who causest to grow who causest to be.

He then puts the meat away.

It takes two or three days to finish dragging these stones as they are big ones. The stones – as they arrive – are kept on the ground until all have been brought, when all the five stones are erected on the same day. When this task has been completed, the relatives feed the men with *jakhawnei* on the place where the stones stand. Only men drag the stones. After they have had the feast of *jakhawnei*, the men stand up and proceed to dance the *shad wait* dance to the beating of a drum. The men dance without special dancing dress. They enter the house while beating the drum and the men dance with the fly-flaps inside the house. On this day they kill all the remaining bulls and cows.

Every day, while the dragging continues, the sacrificer consecrates (*dut*) the bull or the cow by throwing rice over it in front of the house in the courtyard and the animal is then killed. He performs a ceremony with the *dohiong*, but the lower jaw, the horns, the *dohpha* and the *khwang* are kept in the house. On the day the *mawbynna* stones are erected, they consecrate the remaining animals by throwing rice over them, kill them and keep the *dohiong*, *dohpha*, *khwang*, the horns and the lower jaws from all the bulls and cows killed on this last day.

Early next day they cook three loaves and one egg and they go to the stones and sacrifice by placing (*pha*) the *dohpha*, the *khwang*, the *ja-ot* (half-cooked rice), the three loaves, the cooked egg, flour, uncooked rice, fermented rice, and the lower jaws and the horns of all the bulls, and cows killed from the commencement of the *mawbynna* ceremony, and place there a *dieng pyrshit* leaf. The performance of the sacrifice is exactly the same as that in the *ai-bam* ceremonies except that the sacrificer says:

> *Kumba la ieng ka mawbynna, ka mawkhyllon, ka mawrong ka mawnam.*
> As have stood up the *mawbynna*, the *mawkhyllon*, the *mawrong*, the *mawnam*.

The other pronouncements are the same as in the *ai-bam* ritual. At last all the horns, lower jaws and the *khwang* are tied to a stick which is erected at the back of the *mawkni* (uncle stone).

In the Cherrapunjee area *mawbynna* stones are often shaped with chisels and have a rounded top; some have a circular stone placed on top of the central upright stone. A few stones with ornamental tops are at Nongkrem. J. P. Mills found in the forest in Upper Shillong one stone on which a figure had been carved. Sometimes there are more than five upright stones, for example at Laitkor near Shillong there are nine of them. The stones for Ka Kampatwat in remote Sutnga are said to have been originally about 30 in number.

The height of the central upright stone of the *mawbynna* may range from about the height of a man up to, occasionally, twelve feet; usually it is between three to four feet. The next stones on either side are shorter, often about six inches to a foot shorter. The outermost stones are the smallest. This applies to *mawksing* also. The *mawlynti* are usually smaller but not always. The *mawumkoi* and *mawaibam* are smaller but they may be several feet high. *Kpep* stones vary from a foot above the ground to several feet.

Ceremonies Performed for a Husband or a Father

A childless wife may cremate her husband but she cannot remarry until she has handed over his bones to his maternal relatives. She usually hands them over in the night of the cremation without putting them in a *mawkynroh* herself. When the widow and children cremate their husband and father, they keep his bones in a separate *mawkynroh*, not in the *mawkynroh* of their lineage. When the maternal relatives of the father perform the *kynrong-shyieng* or *thep-mawbah*, the widow or the children hand over the bones to

them. The children take out the bones from the *mawphew* or *mawkynroh* in which they were deposited after the cremation. When the cist is opened, the bones are received either by the daughters, or in their absence by the sons, or even by the wife if she does not contemplate remarriage. The sacrificer says:

> *Kane mo ia phi u Dieng ban kyntiew iing, kyntiew sem.*
> Here now for thee u Dieng to take unto the house into the dwelling place.

They take the bones to the house of the wife or of the children where they perform the ceremonies in the courtyard and inside the house. After the completion of the ceremonies they take the bones to the maternal relatives of the deceased father. At this ceremony the relatives from the father's side, the *kpa-kha*, and the children of male members of the widow's lineage, the *khun-kha*, can come and do the *phur*, that is dancing and sacrificing animals. The *mawlynti* (stones of the way) are erected by the children, however, without a *kynton* (mound), but the *mawumkoi* stones are put up near those *mawlynti* stones.

They carry the bones in the basket made like a Khasi coffin, in which are placed also two bundles of fried Job's tears or of Indian corn, each of the bundles containing nine grains, and also the three reeds as described in the ceremonies performed by the line age members in the *thep-mawbah* ceremony. The bones are passed over the fire on the way near the *mawumkoi* and *mawlynti* stones, where they burn the fried grains, the reeds and the *shlan* mat.

The children who have not got the means hand over the bones to their father's relatives without erecting the *mawlynti* stones. They only sacrifice the pigs and cattle, erect the *mawumkoi* stones, and pass the bones over the fire on the way; there, not far from the fire, they then hand over the bones to the members of the father's lineage.

The wife or the children may go and hand over the bones of their husband and father to his lineage members even before those relatives perform the *kynrong-shyieng* or *thep-mawbah* ceremony. The relations do not take the bones into their house but place them directly in the *mawphew* or small *mawkynroh* stone prepared for the bones just as they do with the bones collected after cremation, or even without preparing the *mawphew*, they put the bones in the big *mawkynroh* if there is one in which the bones of some of their deceased relations have been placed. At this time they perform only the

ceremonies with the bread, egg, rice, *dieng pyrshit* leaves, fermented rice, and the gourd from which they pour libations, in the same way as when bones are brought after cremation to be placed in the small *mawkynroh* stone.

Special Features

There are cases described below in which the erection of certain stones, or the placing of the bones in certain cists, may be dispensed with; in certain cases the depositing of the bones in the family cist is not permitted. The *mawkynroh* stone cist, which is built for depositing the bones collected at the cremation of an individual, is called *mawphew* by some, to differentiate it from the other *mawkynroh*, which is the repository of bones of several members. This big *mawkynroh* in which the bones of several deceased persons have been placed, is used only for the members of one minimal lineage, house, *shiiing*, or for the clan (*shikur*) if the clan is small, but not for the major lineage (*kpoh*) of the clan. From these family *mawkynroh* stones the bones of family members are taken finally to the *mawniam* (*mawbah*) which is the last resting place of the bones of all the members of the clan (*kur*).

There are some clans which have no *mawniam*; they finish only with the *mawkynroh* which is erected for the family, house, *shi-iing*. They call these stone *mawphew*. The member of an *iing* may take the bones directly from the individual *mawkynroh* stone, which was put up at the time of cremation, to the *mawniam*, ceremonial stone, without placing them first into a family *mawkynroh*, when there are no other bones remaining in the family *mawkynroh*.

After cremation bones can be brought directly from the cremation ground to the big *mawkynroh,* without making first the small individual *mawkynroh*, and without bringing the bones inside the house. When the bones of a mother or grandmother have been placed in the small *mawkynroh* after her cremation, the bones of those who die after her, of her sons or daughters or of her younger sister, are placed in the cist of the mother or grandmother. When the relatives are ready, they bring all the bones to the house, performing the ceremonies of *thangiap* (ceremonies for the dead) and then take the bones to the *mawniam* with the ritual described above.

When the elder sister dies before her younger sister, the bones of the younger sister may be placed in the *mawkynroh* of the elder sister. But the

bones of a mother or grandmother, who dies after her daughter, are placed in a *mawkynroh* made separately for her. Similarly the bones of younger brothers or nephews may be placed in the small *mawkynroh* of their uncle or elder brother, but the bones of their female maternal relations cannot be put there. They do not place the bones of the elder brother in the small *mawkynroh* of the younger brother, and that of the younger sisters in that of the elder sister.

There are cases in which ceremonies are completed simultaneously, that is, while the dead body is still in the house. They remove sacrificial portions (*dkhot*) of meat from pigs, bulls, cows etc. as has been described for those ceremonies. They take the body for cremation after the performance of the ritual with these portions of meat (*ai dkhot*). After the body has been cremated the bones are collected and taken straight to the *mawniam* ceremonial stone. The bones are then passed over the fire (*syaw*) in the *kpep bah*, big sacred enclosure, and the *niam* ceremonies are performed as when placing the bones in the gin ceremonial stone (*thep-mawbah*) as already described.

Bones can be taken directly to the *mawniam* from the small *mawkynroh* without removing the bones to the other *mawkynroh*. The transfer of the bones into the *mawkynroh* in the *kynroh shyieng* ceremony is done only when many have died and the family is not “ready to go”, that is to take the bones to the ceremonial stone, the great *mawniam* or *mawbah* of the clan. A family may perform the ceremony of taking the bones to the mawniam although the *khun-kha* (children of male lineage members) do not come to do *phur* (give bulls or cows or pigs and perform dances) either because they are poor or for some other reason. The *khun-kha* may have committed some *sang* or act of sacrilege.

The members of the minimal lineage (*shi-iing*) can take the bones to the *mawniam* without waiting for other members of the *kpoh*. They have a right to open the *mawniam* and deposit bones, acting as a single house. Any *iing* that does not have the means to erect stones may perform the ceremonies and place the stones in the *mawniam*. The members of the family pass the bones over the fire in the *kpep* as described above. But children pass the bones of their father over the fire (*syaw ding*) on the wayside.

Members of the clan, men or women, who have committed incest by having sexual intercourse with a person of the same clan, the most grievous sin among the Khasis, have their bones left in the first small *mawkynroh* (*mawphew*). As they have committed *sang* – an act against which there is a

taboo – they are excommunicated from the family *mawniam*. Bones of twins are placed in the *mawniam* like those of ordinary persons.

Ceremonies Connected with the Mortuary Rituals

Ka Sam Pungrei

When the bones are brought to the house, the next morning – if there are persons who are not married, either men or women – they cook rice and when it is cooked they cover it on top with a leaf. They sacrifice, one holding a cock and another a hen, and they both say together:

> *Kumba yn neh yn skhem ka Iawbei Pungrei, U Thawlang Pungrei*
> So will continue, will remain firm the ancestress Pungrei, the ancestor Pungrei.

Then they kill the fowls. At the time when the bones are taken to the *mawniam*, any elderly person says, while pouring a libation from the gourd in the hearth:

> *Hei ioh phi ong duh ka niam ka rukom, ine la ioh ka synjat ka lator na ka jaid.*
> Hei lest you say that the religion, rites and ceremonies is lost, here is received the sign and token from the clan.

He pours out a libation of fermented rice mixed with water only once from the gourd. They perform this when the bones are taken to the courtyard.

Khawrawai

After sacrificing the bull and the cow at night, the owners of the house give the rice called *khawrawai* to the sacrificer next morning. The sacrificer receives the rice by placing both hands together, and he says:

> *Kumba la bei ia phi u/ka Dieng shiphew ngut la hap u khawrawai.*
> As funds have been raised and expended for thee u/ka Dieng the *Khawrawai* has fallen (taken place).

He throws it down the step into the part of the house near the entrance door (*kyndur*) form the somewhat higher floor of the house in front of the hearth (*nongpei*). He repeats the same and says:

> *Kumba la bei ia phi u/ka Dieng shiphew ngut la hap u rawai, sneng ryngkat phi u Kni u Kong.*
> As funds have been raised and expended for thee u/ka Dieng and the (ten), the *rawai* has fallen (taken place), give counsel together to uncle (maternal) and brother.

He throws again some of the rice down the step and with both hands together says:

> *Kumba la bei ia phi u/ka Dieng une u rawai u rawiang, sneng ryngkat phi long-kha man-kha.*
> As funds have been raised and expended for thee u/ka Dieng here is *rawai, rawiang*, give counsel together thou who causest to be who casusest to grow.

And he throws the rice again to the ground.

U lor u kap

U lor u kap means those who are still born and cannot be distinguished as male or female. Rice-beer is placed in a gourd and the sacrificer takes one female cowrie shell, the gourd, rice, *dieng pyrshit* leaf, and a piece of cloth to the courtyard before the bones are taken inside the house. While bones are still in the courtyard, he holds the cowrie shell and the rice in his left hand, and says:

> *Phin wan phi I lor I kap ban poi ha ka niam.*
> Now come ye who are still born to reach unto the religion (rites and ceremonies).

He pours libation (*ksuid*) on the cowrie shell and the rice. He places them in the piece of white cloth, ties them up and places them together with the bones in the courtyard. They perform this when all the bones have been brought but before the bones are taken inside the house.

Cowrie shells are used when bones are not available. For instance when a person dies in a foreign land or in a distant place, or the body was lost in a river or eaten up by wild beasts, they perform the ceremonies with female cowrie shells, using up to five shells instead of bones. The same ceremonies are performed as in the case of *u lor u khap.* The sacrificer says:

> *Phi wan phi u/ka Nar ban poi ha ka niam.*
> Come thou u/ka Nar* to reach unto the religion (rites and ceremonies)

**U/ka Nar* is the name of a person, man or woman, who died in a distant land; in actual ceremony the real name of the individual is used.

The sacrificer pours a libation holding together the cowrie shell and the rice as in the case of *u lor u kap,* and he brings them tied up in a piece of white cloth to the bones in the courtyard. They perform this ceremony when all the bones have been brought into the courtyard but before taking

them inside the house. Either this ceremony may be done first, or that of *u lor u kap.*

Summary

The words used in the ceremonies are addressed to the spirits of the dead, being requests not to repine or have regret or anxiety. They have been given in Khasi and English in the section above, but a typical sample is given here in English, from a ceremony performed for one person only, male or female, for whom the fictitious name u/ka Dieng is used.

Thou who hast lost thy stature, thou u Dieng, do not repine, do not be regretful. Give counsel together give advice together thou (maternal) uncle, thou brother, thou mother who bearest, who gavest birth to u Dieng. Come thou (maternal) uncle, thou brother, give counsel together. Do not repine do not be regretful. Come thou who causest to be and thou who causest to grow (i.e. male progenitors), give counsel together. Do not repine, do not be regretful.

These words are said at the ceremonies for the bones of u Dieng and the mention of the maternal relatives and the mother is not surprising. But it is to be noted that the male progenitors who in the matrilineal system are not of the clan of u Dieng, are also addressed. This proves that the Khasi believes in a connection not only with the mother and maternal relatives but with the father and his relatives as well.

The reverence for those to whom the Khasi is connected by blood and by marriage is shown in the act of obeisance in the *mastieh* dance. The intention is to give a last resting place to the bones where the spirit may be in peace, in the *mawbah* (*mawniam*) of the clan or in the *mawkynroh* if the family is an isolated one.

There is a belief in the connection between the dead and the living. There is also belief in the influence of the dead on the living. No words are addressed to a good spirit or god or to an evil spirit (*ksuid*). It can be asked: Why then are there sacrifices? Writers on religion and anthropologists do not agree on the meaning of sacrifices except that they are a form of communion with the spirit addressed. Nothing is known of the origin of these ceremonies among the Khasis or of the ideas of persons of ancient times who performed them.

The Khasi law of inheritance is connected with these ceremonies.

The one who looks after the mother is the youngest daughter. She takes the family house after her mother's death and is the keeper of the religion (*ka bat ia ka niam*). Her share of the land is generally greater than that given to her elder sisters because she has to bear the main part of the expense in taking the bones to the *mawniam*. But whether the law of inheritance or the ceremonies of disposal of the bones are prior in time is unknown. The youngest daughter should be guided by the maternal uncle (*u kni*) in the management of the family land. In the ceremonies the spirits of maternal uncles are always invoked. Family ties are most important in the Khasi social structure and these ceremonies strengthen them. Economically the close-knit family is suited to the management of large tracts of hill land much of which is owned by families and under shifting cultivation. The family (*shi-ing*) is not allowed to become too large and unwieldy as separation takes place at any rate after four generations.

That the Khasis have stood together although surrounded by other cultures may be due to their sense of unity with their relatives *shi kur shi jaid*, as they say. The centre of their society is the *shi-ing*, the family house. The ceremonies described in this article fortify this sense of unity.

Note: *This is the third and last part of his article.*

Dr. Verrier Elwin and Assam*

A.N.M. Irshad Ali

I

Dr. Henry Verrier Holman Elwin was born on 29th August 1902 at Dover, Kent (England). One of the *dramatis personae* of Indian Anthropology, Elwin came to India in 1927 to join the newly formed *Christa Seva Sangha*, an Anglican Order in Pune (Maharashtra). During the period from 1928 to 1931, Elwin was involved in the national movement as an associate of Gandhi who used to call him 'son'. After 1932, Elwin became associated with the tribal peoples of India. He lived nearly 30 years of his life with the tribals of India and during this period he observed their life and undertook research on them. In 1946, he was appointed as Deputy Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata. In the 1950s Elwin was appointed as Adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs.

From 1920s to early 1960s, Elwin wrote numerous books on poetry, story, novel, folklore, art, anthropological and applied anthropological issues, autobiographical narratives etc. Elwin was also a good lensman.

II

The years Verrier Elwin spent in Northeast India from the 1950s until his death on 22nd February 1964 were probably the most fruitful and meaningful years of his life. He not only spent the last part of his life in the region, but his academic pursuit, philosophical thoughts, working principles and approaches reached most explicit expressions during this period. His works during this period are a clear testimony of this.

In 1947 he was first invited to visit Northeast India by his friend W.G. Archer who was a high ranking army officer. The friendship between Archer and Elwin had developed during their stay in Orissa. During that time Archer collected some folk songs of that area and got them published in English.

A.N.M. Irshad Ali is Former Professor & Head, Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University.

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Their love for folk songs brought them close to one another. Prior to the independence of India, Archer was posted in the Naga Hills.

Elwin's second visit to Northeast India was in 1952. This time he was invited by the former Governor of Assam, Joyramdas Daulat Ram, to prepare a report about the tribes of this region. Accordingly, Elwin visited tribal villages in parts of Dimapur, Kohima and Imphal, and returned to Shillong. This was when he started believing strongly that destiny had sown the seed of his future life in the soils of Northeast India. In his report submitted to the Governor, Elwin wrote: "I may kindly be considered as an individual for whom it would be matter of great pleasure if I could be of some use for the tribals of this region."

Elwin had the experience of encountering criticism from the early period of his coming to India from different quarters due to his characteristic approach to the tribes of India. One of the reasons why he was severely criticized was the reservation policy which be had advocated firmly for the safeguard of the tribals.

III

Following his appointment as the Adviser to the Governor on Tribal Affairs criticism was leveled against his approaches and activities concerning the tribals. In the emergence of a new 'anti-Elwin' wave, a large number of Assamese intellectuals, socially conscious citizens and politicians played the most significant role. Elwin's approach to tribal issues, more particularly concerning the tribals of NEFA, created a fear in the mind of the Assamese. The reason behind their fear was that Elwin's general policy of advocating tribal reservation would affect the age-old political, social and cultural relations between NEFA and Assam.[1] The view expressed in Assam during that period was that Elwin's 'NEFA policy' would separate NEFA from Assam. It was alleged that Elwin had prepared the blue print of creating an 'anthropological museum' in NEFA and the Assamese would be systematically excluded from it.

It is to be noted here that Elwin was very much aware of the historical links between NEFA and Assam. For instance, he wrote (1964:1):

> The history of what is now known as the North-East Frontier Agency ascends for hundreds of years into the mists of tradition and mythology. Of the vast hinterland there are only recent accounts, but a number of ruins in the foothills suggest some contact between the ancient rulers of Assam and the tribesmen

living near the plains. Local tradition regards the country round Sadiya as the ancient Vidarbha (though elsewhere it is identified with Berar) and the archaeological relics of Bhismakangar in Lohit as marking the capital of King Bhishmak, whose daughter Rukmini was carried away by the Lord Krishna himself. The ruins of a fort at Bhalukpung on the right bank of the Bhareli river in Kameng are claimed by the Akas as the original home of their ancestor Bhaluka, grandson of the Raja Bana, who was defeated according to Puranic legend, by Krishna at Tezpur. A Kalita king, Ramchandra, driven from his kingdom in the plains, fled to the Dafla foothills and established there his capital of Mayapore, which is probably to be identified with the ruins on the Ita hill, not far from Doimukh in Subansiri. In the Lohit Division are the ruins for the copper temple Tameshwari, which at one time must have attracted many worshipers, and a place of great sanctity in the beautiful lower reaches of the Lohit River, the Brahmakund, where Parasurama opened a passage through the hills with a single blow of his axe, which is visited every year by thousands of Hindu pilgrims.

Following the Chinese aggression in 1962, the criticism against Elwin became sharper. Such criticisms were even echoed in the Parliament. During that time, the representative of Assam to the Parliament, Hem Barua, raised the question regarding Elwin's book *A Philosophy for NEFA*. He also questioned the justification for keeping a part of India (i.e. NEFA) cut off from the rest of the country. Referring to Elwin as "British Philosopher-Anthropologist", Hem Baruah made critical comments against him. But Baruah's reference to Elwin as "British Philosopher – Anthropologist" was challenged by Oxford-educated parliamentarian and tribal leader Jaipal Sing because by that time Elwin was formally granted Indian citizenship by the Government of India. Jaipal Sing remarked: "Dr. Elwin is more Indian now than Sri Hem Baruah. He is more tribal than Jaipal Sing" (Guha 1999: 277). In this context reference may be made to an obituary by a drama group of Kolkata, the 'Little Theatre' headed by the famous comedian Utpal Dutta, which was published in the daily newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* after the death of Elwin. The obituary stated: "In memory of Dr. Verrier Elwin, the best of Indians" (quoted in Datta 2007).

IV

Elwin had deep sense of respect, appreciation and love for Assamese society, culture and Assamese people.[2] Elwin considered himself as an Indian before he was formally granted Indian citizenship by the Government of India prior

to the Chinese aggression of 1962. At the time of receiving the formal citizenship of India, Elwin was at Shillong, the then capital of Assam. The notice granting him Indian citizenship was handed over to him by the Governor of Assam himself. On receipt of Indian citizenship, Elwin (1998: 234-235) wrote:

> About this time I became an Indian citizen which I had been trying to be for a long time past, and which I had been de-facto from my early days in Sabarmati. The order was passed by the Assam Government and friends have raised the question whether this made me an Assamese. Actually, of course, when one becomes an Indian citizen of India as a whole. One day I hope it will be possible to become a citizen of the world. Yet this has given me a special affinity with Assam and I have a great liking of the gentle Assamese people. Constitutionally, NEFA is a part of Assam and from my earliest days in Shillong I felt how important it was that the two areas should be in amity with each other and know each other well. The old days of tribal raids on the inoffensive plains and military relations are happily long over, for NEFA atleast, and the fortunes of the Frontier hills are obviously bound up with their immediate neighbours in Assam.

Elwin wrote that the relations between Assam and NEFA had always been harmonious and that there was need for NEFA together with Assam to become a part of pan Indian environment.[3] Hence, Elwin (1964:47) wrote:

> The NEFA administration has been accused of isolating the hill people from the people of the plains, the most curious charge being that they are doing this by stressing the national language.
>
> This of course, is nonsense. The Administration is not isolating the tribal people at all. Indeed, if it is to be criticized, it might rather be on the ground that it is bringing them a little too quickly into the main stream of modern life. It is pressing forward everywhere with roads which will make the plains easier of access; it is encouraging both the national language and Assamese to help the tribesman to communicate more readily with the outside world; it takes schoolboys on tours around India...

Elwin has also stated in his book *A Philosophy for NEFA* (1964) the following:

> As for the Assamese people, for whom I have great affection, I had included in my book suggestions that every scheme of development process or welfare of NEFA should be submitted to the test whether it would help the tribal people with Assam, and of course, with India as a whole."

Elwin's sense of belonging to Assam and the tribals is also reflected in his stand during the Chinese aggression in 1962. He wrote (1998: 263):

> In Shillong there was some alarm and a number of people sent their families away. Friends put a good deal of pressure on Lila to go away with the children but I took the line that we all belonged to the tribal people and Assam, and since it was obviously impossible to be evacuated, we should remain where we were.

Elwin had a deep sense of appreciation for art and more particularly for tribal art. He had high opinion about the sense of art of the Assamese people. He (1964:256) wrote the following about it:

> The people of Assam are a beauty-loving artistic people. No one can withhold his admiration for the best traditional products of Assamese art, the splendour of its weaving, the grandeur of its temples and the gaiety and variety of its dances. We should expect, therefore, that the tribes living in close proximity of so artistic a people would benefit from the contact.

V

Let us now turn to Elwin's personal relations with some prominent Assamese persons. Elwin had close relations with the former Chief Minister of Assam, B.P. Chaliha. Elwin (1964: 283) writes:

> When I once asked Mr. B.P. Chaliha, the great-hearted chief minister of Assam, what magic he had used for the solution of the many human and political problems of the Autonomous Districts of his state, he replied, 'A little understanding, a genuine respect, a lot of affection'. This is the real magic that works wonders in human hearts.

Elwin (1998:315) has also expressed the following about the Chief Minister:

> The Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. B.P. Chaliha, is a gentle kind man with an exceptional affection for the tribal people. On one occasion before he became chief minister, he visited the Naga Hills and went, without any kind of protection at night to contact some of the rebels in the heart of the forest. On his return he wrote one of the most understanding reports on the Naga problem that I had ever read.

He met a Civil Service Administrator, M.N. Phukan, another Assamese, during the former's second visit to Northeast India in 1952. Elwin's (1998:

227) interaction with Phukan has been mentioned in the following manner with a sense of gratitude:

> We drove from Shillong to Dimapur and then, through Kohima, down to Imphal where we found to our dismay that there was only one small dak bungalow which was so crowded that it looked like a bazaar, and no hotel. We went to the Deputy Commissioner, a pleasant person called M.N. Phukan who had a guest-house in his garden, allowed us to stay in it, and arranged all facilities.

He had high opinion about an Assamese bureaucrat, Satyendranath Barkataki, and close friendship developed between them. In his autobiography, Elwin (1998: 242) has stated: "... S. Barkataki whose knowledge of the tribal areas is profound and whose caustic pen is always stimulating." In his autobiography, Elwin (1998: 276) has also mentioned about the efficiency and attractive personality of Uma Sarma, an Assamese, who was an administrative officer in NEFA.

During his stay in Northeast India, Elwin developed close friendship with Dr. Praphulladutta Goswami, prominent educationist, writer and an internationally reputed folklorist of Assam. Dr. Goswami submitted his thesis for D.Phil in Gauhati University in 1955 under the guidance of Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua. His thesis was on the folklore of Assam. Elwin was one of the examiners of Dr. Goswami's thesis. He highly appreciated Goswami's thesis and offered valuable comments on the same. A portion of his comment was as follows (quoted in Datta 2007): "It reveals considerable reading in the general and international literature of this subject. It shows exceptional powers of organization of comparative material in a clear and readable manner".[4]

The folklore of NEFA and Assam contains many materials indicating unity and closeness between the two regions. During the course of his fieldwork among the tribals, Elwin also collected vast amount of folklore materials on the basis of which he wrote two important books: *Myth of the North East Frontier of India* (1958) and *A New Book of Tribal Fiction* (1970). Many of the folk tales, lores, myths and legends contained in these two books indicate that the people of NEFA and Assam had common ancestors or their ancestors were related to one another.

The relationship between the tribals of NEFA and the people of Assam was also religious. Elwin (1964:4) has stated that the Noctes, who live in

Khonsa area between the Wancho and the Tangsa tribes in the Tirap Frontier Division, had contact with the plains people of Assam for many years. The Noctes were influenced by Vaishnava preachers. Narottam was the Viashnava representative of the Noctes and through him many Noctes embraced Neo-Vaishnavism propagated by Sankardeva between 15th and 16th centuries.[5]

VI

In Assamese language some articles have been written on Elwin. Datta (2007), for instance, has written an article on Elwin and Northeast India. In this article, Datta, a renowned folklorist, has discussed the works of Elwin primarily in the context of the region. Renowned anthropologist Bhagabati (2003:13-75) has discussed the life, literary and anthropological writings of Elwin. The present author (2006:496-497) has also written a brief note on Elwin. Mahanta (2002) has discussed Elwin's association with the tribals of India.

The Assam Sahitya Sabha, a premier literary organization of the state of Assam, brought out a book in 1958 during the 63rd session of the Indian National Congress held at Pragjyotishpur near Guwahati. This book, according to Chaliha (1958), the compiler, is a humble attempt to acquaint and enlighten the delegates, guests, and visitors who assembled at Pragjyotishpur about different aspects of NEFA *vis-à-vis* Assam. In this book, there are references to the views of Elwin about historical, political, socio-cultural and linguistic relations between NEFA and Assam.

Biswajeet Bora, who hails from Assam, has made a documentary film in English on Elwin. The title of the film is *Angel of the Aboriginals: Dr. Verrier Elwin*. This film recounts the works and life of Elwin. Mridumoloy (2010) has written in detail about this film. The film, produced by Maya Kholie under the banner of Kholie Enterprises from Arunachal Pradesh, was screened in 2010 in Mumbai and in International Film Festival in Germany held from July 21 to 26, 2010. This film has earned rave reviews. The documentary was also shown in Turkey during the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences conference held in 2010. The film is a large, colourful canvas like the variegated culture of the tribal peoples, replete with traditional dances and songs, which Elwin believed to be the very essence of tribal culture. The film is a mixture of many rare black & white and coloured footage and old photographs of Elwin taken with the

tribals. Both Lila Elwin, his wife and Ashok Elwin, his son, have been of much help in collecting the data and carrying out the research works for this film. Elwin's character has been portrayed by two actors in different stages of his life – Robin Christopher Pratt from England and Gilles Chuyen from France. This 45 minute film has been shot in various locations, including Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. This documentary has been scripted by Prasenjit Das Gupta, with Utpal Borpujari as consultant. The music of the film has been composed and rendered by Utpal Sharma and cinematography by Bibhu Das, and Shivaji Choudhury is the film's editor.

To conclude, I would like to state what Elwin has once expressed. He mentioned that in India he found sorrow and joy, disappointment and fulfillment but above all, an answer to the prayer: "From the unreal, lead one to real." For Elwin, anthropology was his love and fieldwork was his life (Datta 2002).

Notes

1. Assamese has been the *lingua franca* among different tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh. Assamese was also the link language between the tribals of NEFA and the plains people of Assam. Many tribals of NEFA in the 1950s and 1960s were educated in Assamese medium. A few among them have contributed significantly to Assamese language and literature. For example, Lumber Dai, Tanga Taki, and Yeshe Dorje Thangshi are some of the most prolific writers from Arunachal who have written in Assamese and won laurels for their works (Bora 2011:112). Furer-Haimendorf, the famous anthropologist once remarked that the knowledge of Assamese enabled the tribals of NEFA to deal in equal terms with the people of the plains of Assam (Dasgupta 1958:30).

2. While Elwin was in NEFA, once he visited Tezu and a cultural programme was organized there in honour of him. In that cultural programme, a tribal boy wearing a *gamocha* (an Assamese towel) round his neck sang a Hindi song. A NEFA official and few others objected to the wearing of *gamocha* by the tribal boy while singing. However, the row was over at Elwin's intervention, a compromise was affected and the concerned official was made to apologize (Sirpeece 1958:133).

3. Hazarika's (1963) famous Assamese song entitled *Siangore Gallong, Luhitore Khamti* (literally, Gallong of Siang and Khamti of Lohit) describes the age-old bond of unity, friendship, affection and contact and communication that existed between various tribal groups of Arunachal like Gallong, Wancho, Apatani, Monpa, Padam, Idu, Nocte, Sherdukpen, Tangsa, Aka, Bori etc. and the plains people of Assam.

4. Later, the thesis was published in book form (Goswami 1960) by Gauhati University.

5. In this context, it would be pertinent to quote a news item published in the weekly paper *Asomiya* (Sept. 7, 1957) regarding the observance of the birth anniversary of Sankardeva by the Nyishis:

> The birth anniversary of Sri Sankardev was observed by the Dafla community in the temple of Basudev founded at the confluence of the rivers Rangapjan and Kachikata in the native village of Sri Madhabdev under the Mouza of Kherajghat in North Lakhimpur. On the tenth of 'Bhada' – is the tithi day in the small hours of the morning the Dafla men and women came from a distance of nine to ten miles to join the morning service and after participating in all the four services of the day, departed for their home in the evening. The deep reverence of the Daflas during the time of singing the name of the Lord (Nam-Kirtan) is appreciable. They raised the slogan of the name of Lord Hari while chanting the name, as they sat to participate in the 'Nam-Kirtan'. Everyone present was glad at the sight of their respect for the preceptor and their unshakable belief in religion. It is here that Sri Aghona Chandra Gam – a Dafla – has constructed one 'Manikut Griha' (the abode of the deity) at a considerable cost together with one 'Karapat' and a pavement connecting the Karapat and the holy place. At the foundation ceremony one big 'Bhawna' was performed and many tribals came to witness the function. In this big Bhawna all got together without differentiation and illustrated a sense of brotherhood.

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Performative Culture: A Phenomenological Ontology of Culture

Binod Kumar Agarwala

Abstract

Culture is not an object lying out there in space and time like a table or a chair enduring through time by sheer inertia of its substance. Culture is in being because people belonging to it perform it. Hence all culture is 'performative culture' and there is no 'objective culture' as understood by some social scientists. To understand culture appropriately, we need to understand the mode of being of culture first. So, an attempt is made to answer the question: What is the mode of being of culture? Whatever that we have considered which belongs to culture as its part shares aspects of these in its mode of being. This happens for the simple reason that every aspect of the mode of being of culture as a whole finds place within this whole culture as an accentuated aspect of some part of it. For example festive character of culture as a whole finds place in this whole culture as accentuated aspect of festivals which are part of culture. Same applies to play aspect, theatrical aspect, linguistic aspect etc.

Key Words: Culture, Play, Festival, Temporality, Belonging.

Introduction

Culture is not an object lying out there in space and time like a table or a chair enduring through time by sheer inertia of its substance. Culture is in being because people belonging to it perform it.[1] Hence the locution 'performative culture' is used in the title to distinguish from 'objective culture' as understood by some social scientists. To understand culture, to approach culture appropriately to understand it, we need to understand the mode of being of performative culture first. For, the way to approach any thing to understand it depends on its mode of being. So in this essay we will try to answer the following question: What is the mode of being of culture, which is a performative culture?

Binod Kumar Agarwala is Professor, Department of Philosophy, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

In his magnum opus *Truth and Method*[2] Hans-Georg Gadamer articulates mode of being of art, history and language. All the three are cultural phenomena. So, in understanding the mode of being of culture in this essay I have followed Gadamer's conceptual repertoire, which he has developed to articulate his understanding of art, history and language. Gadamer's conceptual repertoire is phenomenological. Hence what we are articulating here is the ontology or mode of being of culture in phenomenological tradition. This phenomenological ontology of culture brings to the fore the performative aspect of the being of culture very clearly.

Culture as Play

My starting point is the concept of play, as one aspect of the mode of being of culture is the mode of being of play.[3] The mode of being of player does not allow the player to behave toward play as if it is an object and he is the subject. Rather the player is absorbed in the play as he loses himself in the play. Play makes evident that the player is interwoven into an event that he does not control and in which he cannot freely dispose of his subjective horizons of experience and expectations. Play properly is in being when the player plays seriously. Play has its own essence, independent of the consciousness of players. Play proper exists when the players do not conceive of themselves as being-for-itself of subjectivity, and where they do not behave "playfully" as subjective individuals. The players are not the subjects of play; instead play merely reaches presentation (*Darstellung*) through the players. Play is to-and-fro movement that is not tied to any goal that would bring it to an end. Since, the movement of playing has no goal that brings it to an end; it renews itself in constant repetition.[4] The movement backward and forward is central to the definition of play and it makes no difference who or what performs this movement. The movement of play as such has, as it were, no substrate. It is because of this nature of being of play that the same culture continues through changing generations without being tied to people of any generation. It is the game that is played, it is irrelevant whether or not there is a subject who plays it. The play is the occurrence of the movement as such. Hence the mode of being of play is not such that, for the game to be played, there must be a subject who is behaving playfully. Play is not to be

understood as something a person does. The actual subject of play is not the subjectivity of an individual who, among other activities, also plays but is instead the play itself. The primacy of play over the consciousness of the player is fundamental in this phenomenological understanding of play. Play represents an order in which the to-and-fro motion of play follows of itself. It is part of play that the movement is not only without goal or purpose but also without effort. It happens, as it were, by itself. This does not mean that there is no effort by the players; rather it refers phenomenologically only to the absence of strain, felt by players as relaxation. The structure of play absorbs the player into itself, and thus frees him from the strain of taking the initiative. Hence the spontaneous tendency to repetition emerges in the player in the constant self-renewal of play. All playing is a being-played. The game masters the players. It is this fact that constitutes the attraction of a game. The fascination the game exerts consists precisely in the fact that whoever "tries" is in fact the one who is tried. The real subject of the game is not the player but instead the game itself. What holds the player in its spell, draws him into play, and keeps him there is the game itself. Every game has its own proper spirit, by which it suffuses the players. Games differ from one another in their spirit. The to-and-fro movement that constitutes the game is patterned in various ways due to difference in the spirit of the game. The particular spirit of a game is partially manifested in the rules and regulations that prescribe the way the field of the game is filled with to and fro movements. The playing field on which the game is played is set by the spirit of the game itself. It is defined far more by the structure that determines the movement of the game from within by its spirit than by the external boundaries of the open space that it comes up against limiting movement from without. Play sets off the sphere of play as a closed world, one without transition and meditation to the outside world, i.e., outside of play. The world of play is a self-contained whole. All play is playing something, where the ordered to-and-fro movement of the game is determined as one kind of comportment (*Verhalten*) among many other possibilities of comportment.[5] Every game presents the man who plays it with a task. He cannot enjoy the freedom of playing himself out without transforming the aims of his purposive behavior into mere tasks of the game and adopting the tasks of the game as his own aims. And yet the purpose of the game is not really solving the task, but ordering and shaping the movement of the game itself that comes about in solving the task. One can say that performing a task successfully "presents it" (*stellt sie dar*). Here fulfilling the task does not point to any purposive context. Play is really limited to presenting itself. Thus its mode of being is self-presentation. As

self-presentation is a universal ontological characteristic of nature, play is natural. The self-representation of human play depends on the player's conduct being tied to the goals of the game set for him, but the "meaning" of these goals does not in fact depend on their being achieved. Rather, in spending oneself on the task of the game, one is in fact playing oneself out. The self-presentation of the game involves the player's achieving his own self-presentation by playing – i.e., presenting – something. What we have noticed in the mode of being of play also holds good with respect to the mode of being of culture. Play is not only a part of culture, but culture in its entirety shares in the mode of being of play.[6] But it is just one aspect of the mode of being of culture. There are other aspects in the mode of being of culture.

Temporality of Culture

The second aspect of culture is its radical temporality. In the previous section it was seen that play as well as culture is self presentation of itself. All presentation is potentially a representation for someone, i.e. the spectator. The mode of being of play is not determined merely by the fact that players are completely absorbed in it, but also by the fact that they play their role in relation and regard to the whole of the play, in which not they but the audience is to become absorbed. The spectator has methodological precedence in that when the play is presented for him, the meaning that the play bears within itself is understood and that can therefore be detached from the behavior of the players.

When play comes to its true consummation in being understood by the spectator, the play undergoes *transformation into structure*.[7] Only through this transformation does play achieve ideality, and emerge as detached from the representing activity of the players and consist in the pure appearance (*Erscheinung*) of what they are playing. Now play is in principle repeatable and hence permanent. In this sense it is a structure (*Gebilde*). In relation to the players, the play has an absolute autonomy. In being presented in play, what is emerges. Audience is supposed to recognize what it "is."

There is another aspect of transformation which emerges when it is contrasted with change. Transformation is not change, even a far-reaching change. Change always means that something in what is changed also remains the same and is maintained as such. However totally it may change, only something changes in it. To put it in philosophical jargon all change is change of quality, i.e., of an accident of substance, but the substance remains

the same. But transformation means that something is suddenly and as a whole something else that this other transformed thing that it has become is its true being, in comparison with which its earlier being is nothing. Culture is not a substance with changing qualities. There cannot here be any gradual transformation leading from one to the other, since the one is the denial of the other. Thus transformation into structure means that what existed previously exists no longer. But also that what now exists, what represents itself in the play, is the lasting and true. This gives what we called transformation into structure its full meaning. The transformation is a transformation into the true. In being presented in play, what is emerges. It produces and brings to light what is otherwise constantly hidden and withdrawn. Audience is supposed to recognize what it "is." So, one belongs to culture not only in the mode of player but also in the mode of spectator.

Here arises a possible objection. How can our being-in-the culture be interpreted as the engrossment of the player and spectator in the play of culture? Player is playing on the stage while the spectator cannot enter the stage, his entering on the stage would destroy the play. So our engrossment in *the culture* cannot be of the mode of *player* and *spectator* simultaneously since it is contradictory. How can we get out of this contradiction? Our being in the culture, with our engrossment in it as *players* and *spectators,* is radically temporal in nature. This temporal and historical nature of our being-in-culture helps in avoiding the contradiction mentioned above. We are the spectators of the past of the play. The temporal difference and distance ensures the condition of our being *spectators*, we cannot go back to the past to interfere in it. *We* are players of the play that is going on now. Hence there is no contradiction. This condition of historicity of our being-in-the culture has to be understood properly. The *spectators* of the *play* that has taken place in the past, are themselves would be players of the play that is continuing. Since there is no *telos* of the play outside itself, the players cannot organize their activities with reference to it to participate in the *play*. Hence, would be players become spectators of the *past of the play* to learn how to continue the *play* themselves.

Theatricality of Culture

Hence, in all cultures the traditional religious festive celebration required theatrical representation understood in the widest sense.[8] "It fulfilled the particular function of gathering the religious community for the festival."[9]

The theater was "able to serve as a gathering point in which the onlookers were of no less significance than the players."[10] In the theater "the onlooker becomes indeed a mere onlooker." An onlooker is an onlooker because he senses the tension that exists "between the prevailing form of real life and the enchanted world presented on stage."[11] According to Gadamer, "Clearly this represents a task of moral transcendence since we all know that the marvelous events presented on stage show us life as it really should be. As is well known, Schiller saw the function of the theater as a moral institution in that it anticipated in the stage play the transition to a genuine ethical form of social life. This moral transcendence returns the onlooker to the innermost recesses of his being. He is no longer a participant in the sense in which those who took part in the religious or secular celebration were participants. He is nothing but an onlooker, and this is reflected by the specific form of the stage in front of him. In the darkness, the solitary onlooker hears from the stage the call of moral transcendence."[12]

So, thirdly, theater in one form or another is not only part of culture, but also culture in its totality of being, and shares in the theatricality of theater as explained above, which is required by its radical temporality. But this radical temporality of play of culture displays other ontological features of culture also.

Multiple Possibilities of a Culture

"Transformation into structure" that takes place for the spectators of the play points to the ideality, repeatability, and permanence of the play. Play is structure – this means that despite its dependence on being played it is a meaningful whole which can be repeatedly resented as such and the significance of which can be understood. But structure is also play, because it achieves its full being only each time it is played. No doubt we make a differentiation between "what is being represented" in the play from the representing activity of players who are presenting the play, but play as structure, play as understood, play as what is presented does not exist anywhere independently of the representing activity of players. To put it another way even though we make a distinction between a play and its performance, yet play has its being in performance. What we have called a structure is one insofar as it presents itself as a meaningful whole of what is presented in performance.

The variety of the performances or realizations of such a structure are not subjective variety of conceptions of the same play. Rather these multiplicity

of performances are play's own possibilities of being that emerge as the play explicates itself, as it were, in the variety of its aspects. Hence there cannot be any canonization of a particular representation as a correct representation of the play. A "correctness" striven for in this way, to look for a unique correct representation of the play, would not do justice to the true binding nature of the play, which imposes itself on every player immediately, in its own way, and does not allow him to make things easy for himself by simply imitating a so called correct model. In the socio-cultural world there is no such unique correct model of any socio-cultural world to be imitated or preserved. Every age has to understand one's own socio-cultural world in a different way, every linguistic community articulates its culture in different way. If a people erect a canonical presentation of culture to be emulated for all times, they falsify their own culture.

The "freedom" of interpretative choice is not external and marginal phenomena rather the whole performance is both bound and free. It is bound because it is an interpretation of the play, but it is free in that there can be multiplicity of interpretation. In a certain sense performance probably is re-creation, but this is a re-creation not of the creative act of subjectivity but of the play itself, which has to be brought to representation in accord with the meaning the player has found in it as spectator.

In view of the finitude of our historical existence, it would seem that there is something absurd about the whole idea of a unique, correct interpretation. Here the obvious fact that every interpretation tries to be correct serves only to confirm that the non-differentiation of the performance from the play itself is the actual experience of the play. The distinction between the play and its performance is available only where the interpretation breaks down. In other words, when the performance does not become, as such, thematic, then the play presents itself through it and in it. When a people erect a canonical presentation of culture to be emulated for all times, then they have lost the understanding of 'what it is" that is presented, and it becomes a mechanical performance without anything being presented.

It is interesting to note that culture presents its multifarious views in multiplicity of languages, as play presents its multiple possibilities of interpretation and performance for different spectators in different situations. And yet neither culture nor play loses its identity in being dissolved into their multiple possibilities. Rather all the possibilities belong to the same culture and the same play.

So, the fourth aspect of culture is that it maintains its identity even when it presents itself differently through time. We ask what this identity of the play and the culture is that presents itself so differently in the changing course of ages and circumstances. It does not disintegrate into the changing aspects of itself so that it would lose all identity, but it is there in them all. They all belong to it. They are all *contemporaneous* with it. Thus we need to understand the radical temporality of play and the culture, i.e., we need to understand the culture in terms of time.

The Festive Nature of Culture

This brings us to the fifth aspect of culture. Culture has being in celebration, to use a metaphor, as it does not exist as an object in itself (*Gegenstand*). This emerges from the understanding of radical temporality of culture. The being of the culture is contemporaneous of every time. This kind of temporal structure is exhibited by festivals. It is in the nature of periodic festivals, at least, to be repeated. We call that the return of the festival. But the festival that comes round again is neither another festival nor a mere remembrance of the one that was originally celebrated. The time experience of the festival is rather its *celebration*. From its inception – whether instituted in a single act or introduced gradually – the nature of a festival is to be celebrated regularly. Thus its own original essence is always to be something different (even when celebrated in exactly the same way). An entity that exists only by always being something different is temporal in a more radical sense than everything that belongs to history. It has its being only in becoming and return. A festival exists only in being celebrated. This is not to say that it is of a subjective character and has its being only in the subjectivity of those celebrating it. Rather, the festival is celebrated because it is there. The same is true of play and culture: it must be presented for the spectator, to be understood, and having understood what it is that is being presented, present it himself in his time as a player. This is how the play exists in understanding playing of the play in one's own time.

We need to understand how this happens. The being of the spectator is determined by his "being there present". Being present does not simply mean being there along with something else that is there at the same time. To be present means to participate. If someone was present at something, he knows all about how it really was. It is only in a derived sense that presence at something means also a kind of subjective act, that of paying attention to something. Thus watching something is a genuine mode of participating.

This idea lies behind the original Greek concept of theoria. Theoros means someone who takes part in a delegation to a festival. Such a person has no other distinction or function than to be there. Thus the Theoros is a spectator in the proper sense of the word, since he participates in the solemn act through his presence at it. In the same way, as Greek metaphysics conceives the essence of theoria and of nous as being purely present to what is truly real, for us too the ability to act theoretically is defined by the fact that in attending to something one is able to forget one's own purposes. But theoria is not to be conceived primarily as subjective conduct, as a self-determination of the subject, but in terms of what it is contemplating. Theoria is a true participation, not something active but something passive (pathos), namely being totally involved in and carried away by what one sees. That is to say the spectator engrossed in play is not to be conceived as the self-conscious subjective observer standing over against the object to observe it methodically.

There is also an essential difference between a spectator who gives himself entirely to the play of culture and someone who is merely a curious onlooker. It is characteristic of curiosity that the onlooker is as if drawn away by what he looks at, that he forgets himself entirely in it, and cannot tear himself away from it. But the important thing about an object of curiosity is that it is basically of no concern to the onlooker; it has no significance for him. There is nothing in it which he would really be able to come back to and which would hold his attention focused permanently. It is the formal quality of novelty – i.e., abstract difference – that makes up the charm of what one looks at out of curiosity. One becomes bored and jaded when the novelty wears off after some time. But, in contrast that which presents itself to the spectator as the play of culture does not simply exhaust itself in momentary transport, but has a claim to permanence and the permanence of a claim. The "claim" is very significant here. "A claim is something lasting. Its justification (or pretended justification) is the primary thing. Because a claim lasts, it can be enforced at any time. A claim exists against someone and must therefore be enforced against him; but the concept of a claim also implies that it is not itself a fixed demand, the fulfillment of which is agreed on by both sides, but is rather the ground for such demand. A claim is the legal basis for an unspecified demand. If it is to be answered in such a way as to be settled, then to be enforced it must first take the form of a demand. It belongs to the permanence of a claim that it is concretized in a demand.[13] So the play of culture has a permanent claim and a claim of permanence that needs to be concretized as a demand by being understood. Here there is no

distinction of is and ought. The play of culture is moral and ethical like the *sittlichkeit* of Hegel and ethos of Aristotle. This explains why player has to be spectator and spectator has to be player. This is the permanent claim always needing to be concretized, placed by culture on us to which we belong.

Thus, contemporaneity is not a mode of givenness of an object to a subjective consciousness, but a task and an achievement that is demanded of one as a claim of the culture to which one belongs. It consists in holding on to culture in such a way that it becomes "contemporaneous," which is to say, "contemporaneity" does not mean "existing at the same time." Rather, it names the task that confronts one, the task of understanding as a spectator and playing as a player in culture, so that the moral and ethical culture continues to be in being permanently.

So we can say, not only periodically returning festival is part of culture, but also culture in its totality of being has a share in the festive nature of the festival. To understand the festive character we have to first answer the question: what is the festive character of a festival? Gadamer has provided the decisive answer to this question. He writes, "Naturally, this quality need not always be associated with joy or happiness, since in mourning we also share this festive character together. But a festive occasion is always something uplifting which raises the participants out of their everyday existence and elevates them into a kind of universal communion. Consequently, the festive occasion possesses its own sort of temporality. It is an essentially recurrent phenomenon, and even a unique festival celebration bears the possibility of repetition within itself. The commemoration of a special occasion is itself enacted in a festive fashion. Enactment is the festival's mode of being, and in the enactment, time becomes the *nunc stans* of an elevated presence in which past and present become one in the act of rememberence….the mystery of festive celebration lies in this suspension of time. In contrast to such festive occasions, we are in our everyday lives constantly bound by particular functions and time-limits. In the festival, the particularity of our purposes gives way to communion in a heightened self-fulfilling moment which does not acquire its significance from any task still to be accomplished and does not gain from any further purpose to be achieved. The decisive thing is not just the fact that we are lifted out of everyday life, nor the fact that we do not expect the festival to serve any ulterior purpose. The decisive and characteristic thing is that it presents us with a positive content of its own."[14] Modern civilization which is dominated by an extreme form of life which is dependent on the achievements based on "the deliberate

and calculating pursuit of power and material advantage" and the "tendency toward acquiring and manipulating things" fail to notice this positive content of the festive celebration. According to Gadamer, "the original and still vital essence of festive celebration is creation and elevation into a transformed state of being."[15] In this kind of genuine creation "something drawn from within ourselves takes shape before our own eyes in a form that we recognize and experience as a more profound presentation of our own reality. This overwhelming truth is summoned up from hidden depths to address us. In pagan antiquity, this occurred through the manifestation of god, and in Christian ritual, the sacrifice of the Mass has a comparable significance."[16] But this creation is also a rhythmic recurrence. In Gadamer's words, "it is an intrinsic characteristic of every festival that it enjoys a specific, rhythmical recurrence that elevates it above the flow of time, in a kind of cosmic rhythm, it assures that not all time pass by indifferently in the same homogeneous way. On the contrary, in the course of festive time, the heightened moment returns."[17] Culture does not exist and endure in a linear empty time; rather culture has its being through constantly returning fulfilled time.

Culture as Representation

The sixth aspect of culture is that it is representation. It is mentioned before that culture as play presents something, i.e. what it is, which needs to be understood. The special sense of presentation proper to culture needs to be understood clearly. We need to compare it with and distinguish it from the sacred representation performed by the *symbol* and secular pure indication performed by *sign*. Not all forms of "representation" have the character of culture. Symbols, badges and signs are also forms of representation, yet none of them wholly exhibit the representation involved in culture.

The essence representation involved in culture is different from two extremes of representation, i.e., *pure indication*, which is the essence of the sign, and *pure substitution*, which is the essence of the symbol. There is something of both in culture. Hence culture as a whole not only shares in the nature of both sign and symbol but also contains them as its part and hence turning culture into a semiotic web, like a literary text.

Representing done by culture includes indicating what is represented in it and yet culture does not represent as a *sign*. To fulfill this function of representation culture draws attention to itself, by being striking, clearly foreground itself and presenting itself as an indicator. But a sign, being distinct

from culture, does not attract attention to itself in such a way that one lingers over it by getting absorbed in it. A sign is something that points away from itself. A sign is there only to make present something that is absent in such a way that only the absent thing comes to mind. A sign does not invite the viewer to pause over its own intrinsic interest as is the case with culture. A sign is something schematic and abstract as they point not to themselves but to what is not present – e.g., to the curve ahead or to one's page.

Of all signs, the memento most seems to have a reality of its own. It refers to the past and so is effectively a sign, but it is also precious in itself since, as a bit of the past that has not disappeared, it keeps the past present for us. But this characteristic is not grounded in the being of the object itself, i.e., in the being of memento itself. An object from the past has a value as a memento only for someone who still recalls the past. Mementos lose their value when the past, of which they remind one, no longer has any meaning. Furthermore, someone who not only uses mementos to remind him but makes a cult of them and lives in the past as if it were the present has a disturbed relation to reality. A culture is not a memento in this way however old it may be. An old manuscript of it may be a memento, only as a physical object coming from past, but not as a literary work of art.

A memento also does not cause us to linger over it but over the past that it represents for us. But a culture points to what it represents only through its own content. By concentrating on it, we too come into contact with what is represented. The culture points by causing us to linger over it in reading like a literary work of art, for its ontological valence consists in not being absolutely different from what it represents but sharing in its being. What is represented comes into its own in culture, as it does in the literary work. It experiences an increase in being. But that means it is there in culture as it is there in the literary work itself.

The difference between a culture and a sign has an ontological basis. The culture does not disappear in pointing to something else but, in its own being, shares in what it represents. This ontological sharing pertains not only to culture but also to what is called a *symbol*. Neither symbol nor culture indicates anything that is not at the same time present in them themselves. Hence the problem arises of differentiating between the mode of being of culture and the mode of being of symbols.

There is an obvious distinction between a symbol and a sign, for the symbol is more like culture itself. The representational function of a symbol

is not to point to something that is not present. Instead, a symbol manifests the presence of something that really is present. This is seen in the original meaning of "symbol." A symbol is used for achieving recognition between separated friends or the scattered members of a religious community and to show that they belong together. It not only points to the fact that people belong together, but demonstrates and visibly presents that fact. The "*tessera hospitalis*" is a relic of past life, and its existence attests to what it indicates and it makes the past itself present again and causes it to be recognized as valid. The word "symbol" is derived from Greek word "symbolon". In Greek tradition "symbolon" was a technical term for a token of remembrance. "The host presented his guest with the so-called *tessera hospitalis* by breaking some object in two. He kept one half for himself and gave the other half to his guest. If in thirty or fifty years time, a descendant of the guest should ever enter his house, the two pieces could be fitted together again to form a whole in an act of recognition. In its original technical sense, the symbol represented something like a sort of pass used in the ancient world: something in and through which we recognize some-one as already known to us."[18] A symbol makes present the whole without itself being that whole, by pointing out to those pieces which when associated with it will lead to that anticipated whole. Religious symbols function as distinguishing marks and the meaning of these symbols by being understood unites everyone. What is symbolized is in need of representation, inasmuch as it is itself nonsensible, infinite, and unrepresentable, but also capable of it. It is only because what is symbolized is present itself that it can be present in the symbol. In the words of Gadamer, "In the case of the symbol… and for our experience of the symbolic in general, the particular represents itself as a fragment of being that promises to complete and make whole whatever corresponds to it. Or, indeed, the symbol is that other fragment that has always been sought in order to complete and make whole our own fragmentary life."[19]

A symbol not only points to something but also represents it by taking its place. But to take the place of something means to make something present that is not present. Thus in representing, the symbol takes the place of something: that is, it makes something immediately present. Only because of the presence of what it represents is the symbol itself treated with the reverence due to the symbolized. Such symbols as a crucifix, a flag, a uniform have so fully taken the place of what is revered that the latter is present in them.

The concept of representation used above to describe culture essentially shows the proximity between cultural representation and symbolic

representation. In both cases, what they represent is itself present. Yet a culture as such is not a symbol. Through their mere existence and manifesting of themselves, symbols function as substitutes; but of themselves they say nothing about what they symbolize. One must be familiar with them in the same way as one must be familiar with a sign, if one is to understand what they refer to. Hence they do not mean an increase of being for what is represented. It is true that making itself present in symbols belongs to the being of what is represented. But its own being is not further determined by the fact that the symbols exist and are shown. It does not exist any *more* fully when they exist. They merely take its place. Hence symbols' own significance (if they have any) is of no importance. They are representatives and receive their ontological function of representing from what they are supposed to represent. In contrast culture represents through itself, i.e., through the increment of meaning and being that it brings. But this means that in it what is represented is there more fully, more genuinely, just as it truly is.

Hence a culture is situated halfway between a sign and a symbol. Its representing is neither a pure pointing-to-something nor a pure taking-the-place-of-something. It is this intermediate position that raises it to a unique ontological status. Artificial signs and symbols alike do not – unlike culture – acquire their signifying function from their own content, but must be taken as signs or as symbols. We call the origin of their signifying function their "institution". In determining the ontological valence of culture, it is decisive that in regard to culture there is no such thing as "institution" in the same sense.

By "institution" we mean the origin of something's being taken as a sign or functioning symbolically. In this fundamental sense, even so-called "natural" signs – e.g., all the indications and presages of an event in nature – are instituted. They function as signs only when they are taken as signs. But they are taken as signs only because the linkage between the sign and the signified has previously been established. This is also true of all artificial signs. Here the sign is established by convention, and the originating act by which it is established is called its "institution." So too the symbol has to be instituted, for only this gives it its representational character. For what gives it its significance is not its own ontological content but an act of institution, an installation, a consecration that gives significance to what is, in itself, without significance: for example, the sign of sovereignty, the flag, the crucifix.

So far we looked at the representation from the side of that which does the representation and found that culture that does the representation is

neither fully sign nor fully symbol but shares in the representing function of both. Now let us look at representation from the point of view of what is represented to find out how is that, which is represented in culture, represented in culture. Is it represented as a copy or represented as mirror image? We start from the view that the mode of being of culture is *presentation* (*Darstellung*) and ask ourselves how the meaning of presentation in culture can be understood.

The essence of a copy is to have no other task but to resemble the original. The measure of its success is that one recognizes the original in the copy. This means that its nature is to lose its own independent existence and serve entirely to mediate what is copied. Thus the ideal copy would be a mirror image, for its being really does disappear; it exists only for someone looking into the mirror, and is nothing beyond its mere appearance. But image is neither a copy nor a representation, for it has no separate existence. The mirror reflects the image – i.e., a mirror makes what it reflects visible to someone only for as long as he looks in it and sees his own image or whatever else is reflected in it. It is not accidental, however, that in this instance we still speak of an image (*Bild*), and not of a copy (*Abbild*) or illustration (*Abbildung*). For in the mirror image the entity itself appears in the image so that we have the thing itself in the mirror image. But a copy must always be regarded in relation to the thing it means. A copy tries to be nothing but the reproduction of something and has its only function in identifying it (e.g., as a passport photo or a picture in a sales catalogue). A copy effaces itself in the sense that it functions as a means and, like all means, loses its function when it achieves its end. It exists by itself in order to efface itself in this way. The copy's self-effacement is an intentional element in the being of the copy itself. If there is a change in intention – e.g., if the copy is compared with the original and judgment is passed on the resemblance, i.e., if the copy is distinguished from the original – then its own appearance returns to the fore, like any other means or tool that is being not used but examined. But it has its real function not in the reflective activity of comparison and distinction, but in pointing, through the similarity, to what is copied. Thus it fulfills itself in its self-effacement.

A representation, by contrast, is not destined to be self-effacing, for it is not a means to an end. Here the presentation itself is what is meant insofar as the important thing is how the thing represented is presented in it. This means first of all that one is not simply directed away from the presentation to what is represented. Rather, the presentation remains essentially connected

with what is represented – indeed, belongs to it. This is the reason why the mirror throws back an image and not a copy: what is in the mirror is the image of what is represented and is inseparable from its presence. The mirror can give a distorted image, of course, but that is merely an imperfection: it does not perform its function properly. Thus the mirror confirms the basic point that the intention is the original unity and non-differentiation of presentation and what is represented. It is the image of what is represented – it is "its" image, and not that of the mirror, that is seen in the mirror.

Culture depends on the identity and non-differentiation of presentation and what is presented, still this means that a consciousness of the presentation that increasingly differentiates and departs further and further from identity can never detach itself entirely from it. Rather, non-differentiation remains essential to all experience of culture.

The conception of culture, however, is not fully covered by the model of the mirror image. It only shows the ontological inseparability of the presentation from "what is represented." But this is important enough since it make clear that the primary intention in the case of culture is not to differentiate between what is represented and the presentation. That special intention of differentiation that we call "aesthetic" differentiation is only a secondary structure based on this. It distinguishes the representation as such from what is represented. It does not do so by treating the representation the way one usually treats copies. It does not desire the presentation to cancel itself, so that what is presented can exist by itself. On the contrary, it is by affirming its own being that the presentation enables what is presented to exist.

At this point the mirror image can guide us no further as a model. The mirror image is a mere appearance – i.e., it has no real being and is understood in its fleeting existence as something that depends on being reflected. But the presentation has it own being. This being as presentation, as precisely that in which it is not the same as what is presented, gives it the positive distinction of being culture as opposed to a mere reflected image.

That the representation has its own reality means the reverse for what is represented, namely that it comes to presentation in the representation. It presents itself there. It does not follow that it is dependent on this particular presentation in order to appear. It can also present itself as what it is in another ways. But if it presents itself in this way, this is no longer any incidental event but belongs to its own being. Every such presentation is an ontological

event and occupies the same ontological level as what is represented. By being presented it experiences, as it were, an *increase in being*. The presentation itself is an ontological emanation of that what is represented.

Essential to an emanation is that what emanates is an overflow. What it flows from does not thereby become less. We need to get beyond substance ontology or ontology of objects. We need to think afresh the basis of the positive ontological status of culture. There should be no hesitation in accepting that the original one culture is not diminished by the outflow of the many representation from it, this means that its being increases. The *presentatio* is an event of being – in it being appears, meaningfully.

"Belonging" to Culture

The seventh aspect of the mode of being of culture is that, we belong to culture. *Belonging* refers to the transcendental relationship between being and truth. For *belonging* knowledge is conceived as an element of being itself and not primarily as an activity of the subject according to Gadamer.[20] That knowledge is incorporated in being is the presupposition of belonging to the being.[21] Here thought does not start from the concept of a subject that exists in its own right and makes everything else an object. In this thinking there is no question of a self-conscious spirit without culture which would have to find its way to culture: both belong originally to each other. The relationship of belonging together is primary. Hence, to belong to being of culture thinking must always regard itself as an element of being of culture itself. In thinking what thought experiences is the movement of the thing, i.e. culture itself. We need to recover and learn this kind of thinking which is the self giving of the being of culture to thought, if we want to recover concept of belonging, if we want to go beyond the idea of the object and the objectivity of modern scientific knowledge toward the idea that subject and object belong together, i.e. we belong to the culture. Our involvement in the play of culture as spectator and player ensures that the understanding belongs to the being of culture understood.

For this we need to understand the figure of spectator of play of culture and the distance from culture that it implies even when he belongs to culture. In the context of culture, experience of spectator is of the nature of occurrence, i.e. in the experience of the culture something occurs. Seen from the point of view of the spectator belonging to culture, "occurrence" means that he is not a active knower seeking an object, "discovering" by

methodological means what was really meant and what the situation actually was, though slightly hindered and affected by his own prejudices. Here there is an element of passivity of thought that needs to be acknowledged. The actual occurrence is made possible only because the word of the culture that has come down to us as tradition and to which we are to listen really encounters us and does so as if it addressed us and is concerned with us and this occurrence define correctly the meaning of belonging as it pertains to our experience of the culture. From cultural tradition what addresses us and how it addresses us cannot be controlled actively. The temporal distance from the past ensures that we are not in control of that which addresses us from the past.

On the other side, that of the thing, i.e., culture, this occurrence means the coming into play, the playing out, of the content of cultural tradition in its constantly widening possibilities of signification and resonance, extended by the different people receiving it. Inasmuch as the cultural tradition is newly expressed in language, something comes into being that had not existed before and that exists from now on. As we noted when the play transforms into structure by being understood by the spectator, this ideality of play that is understood is not something subjective but the very possibility that is of the play itself, that is there henceforth, which was not there before this understanding. Here understanding of the spectator is not a methodic subjective activity of the spectator, but the activity of the play itself that the spectators suffer in which what is represented in the play emerges into being henceforth.

Methodic activity of the scientific observer is based on the model of seeing the alienated object standing over against him. But the idea of belonging (*Zugehörigkeit*) to the culture is related to the idea of *hearing* (*hören*) also. "It is not just that he who hears is also addressed but also that he who is addressed must hear whether he wants to or not."[22] It is a moral and ethical demand. When one looks at something, he can also look away from it by looking in another direction, but one cannot "hear away" in this way. Because of this difference between seeing and hearing, the latter has primacy as the basis of belonging. "There is nothing that is not available to hearing through the medium of language."[23] All the other senses have no immediate share in the universality of the verbal experience of the culture. They only offer the knowledge of their own specific fields, but hearing is an avenue to the whole because it is able to listen to the logos. We need to recover the ancient insight into the priority of hearing over sight to recover the idea of

belonging. Since, the language, which we hear, is universal in the sense that everything can be expressed in it, in contrast to all other experience of the world language opens up a completely new dimension, the profound dimension from which cultural tradition comes down to those now living. Belonging is brought about by tradition's addressing us. Everyone who is situated in a tradition – including even the man who considers himself free from all history like the social scientist– must listen to what reaches him from it. The truth of tradition is like the present that lies immediately open to the senses.

And yet the mode of being of cultural tradition is not sensible immediacy unlike what is the case with mode of being of objects of science. Immediacy of sensible givenness does not provide the basis of being of culture. It is language and vividness of articulate discourse that is the basis of being of culture. In Gadamer's words, "Vividness is here an authentic presence of that which is narrated: "we literally see it before us." And yet we also know that here it is the imaginations of the reader and listener that bring such presence about – a singular form of presence, which is surely not that of an unequivocal and fixed pictorial representation."[24] In interpreting its texts, the hearer who understands it relates its truth to his own linguistic orientation to the world. This linguistic communication between present and tradition is the event that takes place in all understanding. Here it is interesting to note that language is not only a part of culture but also the entire culture shares in linguisticality in its being to be able to reach every contemporary generation. That is to say culture reaches us as a text to be understood.

This structure of the hermeneutical experience of culture totally contradicts the idea of scientific methodology. It itself depends on the character of language as event of conversation. Language as event means among other things that the use and development of language is a process of conversation, which has no single knowing and choosing consciousness standing over against it to guide it unlike what happens in artificial technical language of science. The other more important point is the one namely that what constitutes the hermeneutical event proper is the coming into language of what has been said in the tradition. This is an event that is at once appropriation and interpretation. This event is not our action upon the culture, but the act of the culture itself.

The modern scientific method that dealt with the objective thing in itself is alien to it and it is only an "external reflection." The true method was an action of the thing itself. This assertion does not mean that hermeneutical

cognition is not also an activity, or an effort. But this activity and this effort consist in not interfering arbitrarily with the immanent necessity of the unfolding of thought unlike what happens when one latches onto this or that ready-made notion as it strikes one. Certainly, the thing does not go its own course without our thinking being involved, but thinking means unfolding what consistently follows from the subject matter itself. It is part of this process to suppress ideas "that tend to insinuate themselves" and to insist on the logic of the thought. In all thought, only pursuing what consistently follows from the subject matter can bring out what lies in it. It is the thing itself that asserts its force, if we rely entirely on the power of thought and disregard obvious appearances and opinions. The hermeneutical experience of the world is an activity of the thing itself, an action that, unlike the methodology of modern science, is a passion, an understanding, an event that happens to one.

The hermeneutical experience of the world requires rigor of uninterrupted listening. A thing does not present itself to the hermeneutical experience without an effort special to it, namely that of "being negative toward itself." A person who is trying to understand a text of cultural tradition has to keep something at a distance – namely everything that suggests itself, on the basis of his own prejudices,[25] his own habitus,[26] as the meaning expected – as soon as it is rejected by the sense of the text itself. The experience of reversal (which happens unceasingly in talking) has its presence here. Explicating the whole of meaning towards which understanding is directed forces us to make interpretive conjectures and to take them back again. The self-cancellation of the interpretation makes it possible for the thing itself – the meaning of the text – to assert itself. The movement of the interpretation is dialectical not primarily because the one-sidedness of every statement can be balanced by another side, this is, as we shall see, a secondary phenomenon in interpretation – but because the word that interpretatively fits the meaning of the cultural text expresses the whole of this meaning, i.e., allows an infinity of meaning to be presented within it in a finite way.

The objectifying procedure of natural science and the concept of being-in-itself, which is intended in all knowledge, is only an abstraction when viewed from the medium of language. Abstracted from the fundamental relation to culture that is given in the linguistic nature of our experience of it, science attempts to become certain about entities by methodically organizing its knowledge of the culture. Consequently it condemns as heresy all knowledge that does not allow of this kind of certainty and that therefore cannot serve the growing domination of being of culture. But we need precisely this kind

of heretical knowledge to belong to culture. What exactly is the nature of knowledge, understanding and thinking that belongs to the being of culture understood which enables us to belong to and to participate in cultural world uncovering social solidarities? What is the element of happenstance in this kind of thinking, which amounts to the activity of the thing itself that the understanding mind suffers? What is the discipline that needs to be exercised in the effort needed for the happening of understanding? These are questions that will be taken up in another essay. Here it suffices to say that when spectator understands the meaning of the play going on he recognizes "what it is" that is played. By recognition is not meant knowing something again that we know already, i.e., what is familiar is recognized again. According to Gadamer, "The joy of recognition is rather the joy of knowing *more* than is already familiar. In recognition what we know emerges, as if illuminated, from all the contingent and variable circumstances that condition it; it is grasped in its essence. It is known as something."[27]

Conclusion

From our investigation of the mode of being of culture one structure has come out clearly: whatever we have considered which belongs to culture as its part whether it is play, festival, theater, language, or any other item, shares its aspect in its mode of being. This happens for the simple reason, which is also our concluding thesis, that every aspect of the mode of being of culture as a whole finds place within this whole culture as an accentuated aspect of some part of it. For example festive character of culture as a whole finds place in this whole culture as accentuated aspect of festivals which are part of culture. Same applies to play aspect, theatrical aspect, linguistic aspect etc.

End Notes

[1] Many studies in anthropology have taken performance by actors and experience by onlookers as their organizing concepts, yet none of these studies have tried to open up the multiplicity of dimensions inherent in cultural performance. Some have seen performance only in public, highly conventionalized, authentic, spectacular, theatrical, or ritualized events, while others have extended performance to the analysis of cultural behaviour at any level, including mundane everyday events. For Dell Hymes, performance is "the interpretable, the reportable, the repeatable", and the "doable" in social action applying primarily to "authentic or authoritative" performance for an audience (*In Vain I Tried to Tell You*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,1981, pp.82-84). Victor Turner defined performance as social or cultural drama, in which he included such mundane communicative phenomena as

"speech behavior" and "the presentation of self in everyday life", as well as the more grandiose "state drama or social drama" (*The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1986, pp. 77, 81). For Richard Schechner, the key questions in the analysis of performances are "who performers are, how they achieve their temporary or permanent transformations, and what role the audience plays" (*Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). In Schechner's view, "there is a unifiable realm of performance that includes ritual, theater, dance, music, sport, play, social drama, and various popular entertainments" (1988:257). Stanley Tambiah has theorized that ritual acts are performative (1) "in the Austinian sense" by analogy to speech acts, (2) as staged performances using multiple media, or (3) as "indexical values ... attached to and inferred by actors" (*Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cam- bridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, p.128). Edward Bruner's "anthropology of experience" includes expressions, which he defined as "representations, performances, objectifications, or texts" ("Experience and Its Expressions," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press,1986, p.5). He asserted that "the anthropology of performance is part of the anthropology of experience" ("Experience and Its Expressions," p. 6). The close relationship between performance and experience has also been noted by Dwight Conquergood, who stated that "performance-centered research takes as both its subject matter and method the experiencing body situated in time, place, and history" ("Rethinking Ethnography: Towards a Critical Cultural Politics**",** *Communication Monographs* 58(2),1991:187). Gary B. Palmer and William R. Jankowiak have tried to combine performance of actors with experience of onlookers through the imagery of theater. In their view, "It is through performances, whether individual or collective, that humans project images of themselves and the world to their audiences...When we observe performances and physical constructions, we experience them as mental imagery…Every performance has some significance for its audience. In the experiencing of performances, we find commentaries, intended or not, on ourselves and our communities. As we accept or reject these commentaries and act accordingly, we function as intersubjective cultural beings." ("Performance and Imagination: Toward an Anthropology of the Spectacular and the Mundane," *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (May, 1996), pp.226- 227). Thus, it appears that the multidimensionality of performance and experience involved in culture need careful examination. The current state of divergent views of performance theorists need to be combined in a common frame of reference. There is a need to resolve some of the grosser discrepancies so that the anthropologies of performance and experience can differentiate and coordinate in a more coherent theoretical framework. Those interested in a detailed bibliography on the subject should consult, William O. Beeman, "The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 22 (1993), pp. 369-393.

[2] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, Second, Revised Edition, Translation revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, (Continuum, London, New York) 2004.

[3] Here we follow the phenomenological description of play given by Gadamer in *Truth and Method*, Second, Revised Edition, Translation revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, (Continuum, London, New York) 2004, pp.102-110 and *Relevance of Beautiful and Other Essays*, Translated by Nicholas Walker, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 22-31.

[4] But Pierre Bourdieu will object to this snobbery of a philosopher claiming to play a purposeless game. Criticizing Kant's *Critique of Judgmnt*, which is a cultural object, he writes pejoratively, "Asking to be treated as it [the *Critique of Judgmnt*] treats its object, i.e., as a work of art, making Kant's object its own objective, i.e., cultivated pleasure, cultivating cultivated pleasure, artificially exalting this artificial pleasure by a roué's ultimate refinement which implies a lucid view on this pleasure, it offers above all an exemplary specimen of the pleasure of art, the pleasure of the love of art, of which, like all pleasure, it is not easy to speak. It is a pure pleasure, in the sense that it is irreducible to the pursui of the profits of distinction and is felt as the simple pleasure of play, of playing the cultural game well, of playing on one's skill at playing, of cultivating a pleasure which 'cultivates' and of thus producing, like a kind of endless fire, its ever renewed sustenance of subtle allusions, deferent or irreverent references, expected or unusual associations… 'Empirical' interest enters into the composition of the most disinterest pleasures of pure taste, because the principle of the pleasure derived from these refined games for refined players lies, in the last analysis, in the denied experience of a social relationship of membership and exclusion. The sense of distinction, an acquired disposition which functions with the obscure necessity of instinct, is affirmed… " *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Translated by Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachuaetts, 1984, pp.498f.

[5] Roger Caillois has distinguished at least four basic comportments in the games: agon: competition; alea:chance; mimicry: simulation; ilinx: vertigo in his *Man, Play, and Games*, Translated from the French and with an Introduction by Meyer Barash, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961.

[6] That nature of culture in its entirety shares in the nature of play and play is not just part of culture has been noticed by Johann Huizinga in his *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, (London, Paladin), 1970; Jacques Ehrmann, "Homo Ludens Revisited" *Yale French Studies* No. 41, *Game, Play, Literature*, (1968), pp. 31-57; and Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp.102-110, *Relevance of Beautiful and Other Essays*, pp. 22-31.

[7] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p.110.

[8] Cf. William O. Beeman, "The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 22 (1993), pp. 369-393.

[9] Gadamer, *Relevance of Beautiful*, P.61.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid. Pp. 61-62.

[12] Ibid. P.62.

[13] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p.123.

[14] *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays*, tr. Nicholas Walker, Ed. Robert Bernasconi, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, Pp.58-59.

[15] Ibid. P.59.

[16] Ibid. P.60.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *The Relevance Of the Beautiful and Other Essays,* Translated by Nicholas Walker, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p.31.

[19] *The Relevance Of the Beautiful and Other Essays*, p.32.

[20] Gadamer develops his conception of *belonging* in his *Truth and Method*, pp. 453-457. We follow him here.

[21] As ancient thinker as Parmenides considered this to be the most important signpost on the way to the truth of being. As latest as Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher, tries to recover the idea of belongingness by developing his conception of *habitus*. He writes, "To speak of habitus is to include in the object the knowledge which the agents, who are part of the object, have of the object, and the contribution this knowledge makes to the reality of the object. But it is not only a matter of putting back into the real world that one is endeavouring to know, a knowledge of the real world that contributes to its reality…It means conferring on this knowledge a genuinely constitutive power…" *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Translated by Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p.467.

[22] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p.458.

[23] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p.458.

[24] Gadamer, *Relevance of Beautiful…,* pp.162f.

[25] For understanding the role of prejudice cf. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 268-306.

[26] For history of 'habitus' cf. Roy Nash, "Bourdieu, 'Habitus', and Educational Research: Is It All Worth the Candle?" *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Jun., 1999), pp. 175-187.

[27] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p.11.

Ethnography of Development: Challenges and Promises

Geetika Ranjan

Abstract

Ethnography as a tool for social research plays a vital role in the development of a people. The present article argues for the indispensability of ethnographic research for arriving at the actual understanding of a people. It addresses the need to cast aside the obsession with post modernist view on ethnography if the goal is to undertake meaningful research.

Key Words: Ethnography, Development, Anthropology, Post Modernism, Fieldwork.

Introduction

Ethnographic writings entail a detailed description of a culture on the basis of fieldwork. It is a firsthand account of the way of life of a community. Cultures are many and vary from each other. Ethnography forms the medium of conveying the knowledge about a culture to others. Such a simplistic and harmless looking endeavour has come under tremendous onslaught by a group of scholars - the post modernists - who decry the characteristics of modernists' ethnography based on detachment, scientific neutrality and rationalism (Rabinow 1986). For them, "neither the experience nor the interpretive activity of the scientific researcher can be considered innocent" (Clifford 1983: 133) and since the collection of anthropological data is shrouded in subjectivity, it is not possible to analyze that objectively (Taylor 1979). Said (1978), Fabian (1983) and Inden (1986), and others have pointed out that the relationship between the observer and the observed as embodied in orientalist literature and in anthropology generally spilled hegemony and inequality between people.

Post modernist anthropologists insist that the study of 'other cultures' (Beattie 1968) by one who is an outsider comes with the baggage of one's

Geetika Ranjan is Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, North-Eastern Hill University.

own views, one's own cultural ethos and it is through these that he interprets the culture under study (not that they consider auto-ethnography to be the ultimate solution). Therefore the study of other cultures cannot be objective. There is bound to be bias in this search for meaning of the other culture and as such the claim of ethnographic writings about telling the truth is a fallacy. They make a clarion call for deconstruction and the need for a new understanding of representation in knowing the truth about a culture. Post Modernism urges anthropologists to give up cultural generalizations and the task of giving laws and switch to description, interpretation, and the search for meaning (Ferraro 2006).

From the above it becomes quite clear that the post modernist anthropologists have been making a conscious effort to cling on to the ghost of colonial ethnography and 19th century cultural evolutionist theorists' shortcomings to make their point of view much more conspicuous than it actually deserves. It cannot be denied that the earliest writings on the tribes in India by administrator ethnographers smack of ethnocentrism. Elwin mentions that John Butler uses derogatory terms to refer to the Assamese people, the Khamptis, the Singphos and the Abors and in similar vein J.F. Needham addresses the Mishmis (Elwin 1989: 187). Yet there are many handbooks and monographs written by the anthropologically oriented administrators which deserve attention. *Tribes and Castes of North – West Provinces of Agra and Oudh* by Crooke, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Thurston and Rangachari are some such works (Sarana 2005: 90). These works, with all their weaknesses and strengths, did at least herald the documentation of various tribes and caste groups in India.

Anthropological ways of doing fieldwork and writing ethnographies have travelled a long way since the days of colonial administrators. Right from the times of Franz Boas, the imperativeness of studying specific cultures empirically has been the cornerstone of the discipline. Further, while there is no denying the fact that it is necessary to dissect or deconstruct 'development', "if Anthropologists have to make politically meaningful contributions to the worlds in which they work they must continue to make the vital connection between knowledge and action" (Gardner and Lewis 1996:153).

Ethnography

Ethnography has two meanings – one refers to the process and the other to the product of the process. It is the ethnography of fieldwork that gives rise

to the text. It is not just a descriptive account of the way of life of a particular people because in anthropological studies description cannot be neatly separated from analysis and interpretation. Now the crisis of representation questions the traditional fieldwork methods and debates over the very nature of Anthropology itself. The post modernist stance that participant observer is flawed and there is no true objectivity in Anthropology seems to be a rather loud statement. The post modernists' vociferous call for the search for meaning is made out to sound novel, unprecedented and a road untraveled earlier, but this is not the case. Nevertheless the over emphasis on deconstruction and interpretation undoubtedly signals that "they may fail to see the forest for the trees" (McGee and Warms 1996:481).

While Marcus and Fischer write that the purpose of cultural critique is "to generate critical questions from one society to probe the other" (1986:117) and the aim is "to apply both the substantive results and the epistemological lessons learned from ethnography abroad to the renewal of the critical function of anthropology as it is pursued in ethnographic projects at home" (1986:112), it is urged that caution is exercised while doing so, so that the specificities and the diversities are not all agglomerated on a common plinth where they actually do not belong. The post modernist contention of a 'borderless world' (Appadurai1991) seems too utopian an idea to find any semblance in actual reality. In fact Uberoi rightly remarks, "The aim and method of science are no doubt uniform throughout the world but the problem of science in relation to society is not" (1968:119).

Anthropology for Development

Post-modernism haunts social science today (Rosenau 1992: 3). It is a powerful fire that threatens to burn everything including itself (Ahmed 2009:46). In Anthropology itself, there are those who believe that postmodernism has taken the centre stage and that "the ingression of postmodernist thought and its tendency to undermine all efforts at legitimation of the scientific project" has precipitated a crisis in the discipline (Nencel and Pels 1991: 1-2). This has led to the widening of friction between academic anthropology and development anthropology. For academic anthropology, development anthropology is second-rate, both intellectually and morally (Gow 1993), and the latter views the former as irrelevant, both theoretically and politically (Little and Painter 1995). Amidst these arguments Scheper-Hughes minces no words when she writes, "If we cannot begin to think about social institutions and practices in moral or ethical terms, then anthropology strikes

me as quite weak and useless" (1995: 410). As the debate goes on, it becomes pertinent to reiterate the need to look into the time and the situations against the backdrop of which ethnographic writings have come up. Once we do that we are again reminded of the fact that ethnographies reflect specific cultures and specific time periods and so any generalization about such writings being mere fictions is nothing short of sheer injustice meted out to them and their writers.

When India became independent, the government plans focused on ensuring that the villages were equipped with basic requirements for quality living – education, infrastructure, health facilities etc. Thus Indian villages witnessed experiments such as the implementation of Community Development Programmes and Panchayati Raj. For proper implementation and fruition of such developmental programmes, leadership and particularly political leadership played a pivotal role. The planners and policy makers of the newly born independent India realized that development of the country depended upon the development of the villages.

It is at this stage when ethnographic writings by F.G. Bailey, D.N. Majumdar, L.P. Vidyarthi, S.C. Dube, David Pocock, and Oscar Lewis unveiled the relationship between leadership, power and democracy, bringing out the subtleties and nuances of latent tensions lying beneath the day to day workings of the village life.

S.C Dube's highly acclaimed work, *India's Changing Villages* (1958), on the performance of the Community Development Programmes, required an intense fieldwork oriented approach to assess the actual working of the government-initiated programmes. Mandelbaum points out that a section of this book is devoted to the contribution a social scientist can make to the action programmes and writes that "Dube was conscious of the fact that while doing ethnography his role should be that of an analyst rather than a therapist and that he needs to be cautious of not to give in to the urgency for too quick results and wholesale advice" (Mandelbaum 1959:700). The fine line segregating the analyst in the ethnographer from the therapist in him is in reality a rather blurred one and the erstwhile ethnographers held the control button to ensure that they do not trespass into the area of the therapists.

However, if one goes through some ethnographic writings of 1950s, including Dube's, one finds it difficult to draw a clear line between description and analysis. Some years later Dube is more candid in his views in his keynote address to the Tenth World Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological

Sciences (1978) where he "castigates Third World anthropologists for not playing a more decisive role of enriching the discipline with the articulation of grass-roots consciousness" (quoted in Padia 2008:62).

One finds D.N. Majumdar's *Himalayan Polyandry* (1962) falling in the same category. In this monograph Majumdar as a fieldworker describes the polyandrous people, the Khasa, and analyses the impact of the Community Development Projects introduced in their area. Khasa along with others such as Lohar, Badai, Bajgi and Koltas together are known as Jaunsari tribe – the people of Jaunsar Bawar. Majumdar's work pointed out that the Khasa (Rajput and Brahmins) formed the highest rung of the society and the Koltas were looked down upon as untouchables. The Khasa are elites, landowners who use Koltas as bonded labourers, whose plight has been brought out by Nadeem Hasnain in his book *Bonded Forever* (1982).

In his various works (1937, 1947, 1950), Majumdar highlighted that development of a people is quite an uphill task. There is a gnawing gap between the documentation of the ideals underpinning development and their replication into reality, as contact of weaker people with caste Hindus has drained them economically and psychologically. Majumdar urged for initiation of planned cultural contacts with the tribals through the assistance of anthropologists. According to Madan "anthropology could offer useful knowledge and usable advice to the policy maker, the administrator and the social worker… The changed situation in the early 1950s offered new challenges and he (Majumdar) responded to them swiftly and energetically' (Madan 1994:29). For him, cultural relativism stretched to extremes by some American anthropologists had no meaning. He openly explained cultures as 'dominant' and 'decadent' (1994:219) in order to emphasize on the urgency required in attending to the obstacles that were there in the process of development. It is pertinent for the outsider to explain the feel of the insider without mincing words in order to really sensitize the planners and implementers about how exactly they need to proceed in improving the quality of life of a people. The relevance of their works can be garnered from the fact that as ethnographers they attempted to understand the picture of developmental programmes when they were implemented.

In this era of awakening of sorts, Vidyarthi comes hard on Indian anthropologists. According to him, the non-Indians have continued to influence Indian anthropologists to such an extent that anthropology in India has overlooked what may be termed as 'Indianness' and this is because Anthropology in India has not progressed under the spell of unthinking imitation

(Vidyarthi 1977:76). Majumdar had long back given a wakeup call to the fraternity of anthropologists in India to "separate the native warp from the foreign woof" (1939:1-2). In similar vein, Uberoi also makes a plea that we "concentrate on decolonization, learn to nationalize our problems and take our poverty seriously" (1968:123). Asad also points out that the roots of Anthropology lay "in an unequal power encounter between the West and the Third World" and this has helped "in maintaining the structure of power represented by the colonial system" (1973:16f). How strongly the need for mental decolonization was addressed could be garnered from the fact that in 1976 social scientists from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe came together under the canopy of UNESCO and together raised the necessity of ending the dependency of social sciences in the developing countries on the West. They reiterated that "there has long existed an imbalance between intellectual 'imports' and 'exports' between the Third World countries and the advanced nations of the West. There has been an abundant flow into the developing countries of ready-made conceptual models, theoretical frameworks, research techniques, etc., whereas the flow in the reverse direction has been the raw data, whether collected by foreigners or native scholars" (Madan 1977:9). Vidyarthi, as an ethnographer, was more daring in his approach than his contemporaries and did not believe in entertaining the dilemma of oscillating between the roles of the analyst and the therapist. He was emphatic in driving home the relevance of action oriented research as the cornerstone of anthropology of that time. He encouraged Indian anthropologists to provide solutions to the problems of industrialization, urbanization and tribal development in their fieldwork based research. Considering leadership to be crucial for the development of rural and tribal areas, Vidyarthi wrote extensively on the theoretical and empirical sides of the issue (1967, 1976) and also took into account the then growing trend of student unrest spearheaded by student leaders in Chotanagpur (1976).

Thus the decade of the fifties and the sixties was a very significant period in India's history of development. Various ethnographers covered the underlying tensions and factional politics in the village (Pocock 1957, Seagel and Beals 1960). The intimate nexus between caste, power and politics and how this lethal combination called the shots at the village level was the focus of some other ethnographers (Dube 1969, Beteille 1969).

Many anthropologists have contributed to the study and understanding of rural and tribal problems. Their ethnographic works focus on the plight of the tribals who are standing at cross roads, being often displaced by the

ambitious development projects. Their writings were the result of in-depth fieldworks. Scholars like L. P. Vidyarthi, Sachidanand, Dharani Sinha, B.K. Roy Burman, B.N. Sahay, and L.K. Mahapatra decried the bureaucratic approach and the 'imputed needs' theory of planners and administrations. They also highlighted the 'felt needs' of the tribals, their locus in forests and hills and their unique cultural heritage which the tribes were not ready to compromise with.

These ethnographic works also draw attention to the fact that anthropologists should enter into the policy area and conduct policy studies and do what Richard Fox says about "Anthropology of the present" (1991). There are anthropologists who still adhere to the anthropology of the past that was built on the plinth of positivism and value-neutrality. For Laura Thompson (1976) the anthropologist should not adopt the 'part of an administrator, developer, manipulator, "do gooder". There are others who consider such views to be dated. For instance, Dell Hymes (1974) and Elizabeth Colson (1985) consider the direct involvement of anthropologists in administration as the need of the hour. The anthropologist 'undertakes policy analysis and informs the people of decisions and their consequences and provide them with tools of effective political participation' (Davis and Mathews 1980).

The fetish for objectivity in anthropological research was never to be equated with a mechanical understanding of a people *sans* empathy. Fieldwork is a matter of years when both the subject (the researcher) and the object (the informant) influence each other. However, an anthropologist needs to continuously and consciously remember that he is doing research. He may be an intruder for them. That is why writing ethnography seizes to be a concern of mind alone, but of heart or soul as well (Sahay 2010). To empathize with people, one need not be in similar shoes. I do not agree with Rosaldo (1984) when he writes that he could only truly understand the rage in Ilongots' grief getting manifested in head hunting when he lost his wife. It would not be a utopian thought to believe that an ethnographer can very well relate to the abject realities of life like poverty, ignorance and exploitation.

An Ethnographer at Work

The road for an ethnographer attempting to understand the workings of leadership, administration, developmental plans etc is not an easy one to tread. Being in the field amidst diverse interests vying for power, parity, position and peace the ethnographer usually finds oneself in a no man's land.

I did fieldwork among the Bhoksa tribals from 1997 to 2005. Bhoksa comes under the category of a Primitive Tribal Group (a constitutional term being opposed by many). They inhabit the Terai region of Uttaranchal – a region earlier feared as the land of malaria, marshes and tigers and later envied for being the rice bowl of the state. They cleared this area in the remote past and have lived there ever since. At the time of Partition the State government initiated the process of inviting refugees from Pakistan such as the Rai Sikhs to settle in Terai. Their aim was to generate revenue for the State by making the most out of the fertile soil. As a result the Rai Sikhs usurped Bhoksa land in large measure in no time. The State government went a step further and regularized this usurpation. By 1969 the Land Regulation Act was implemented but most of the land had already exchanged hands. The problem of land alienation reduced the Bhoksas to a state of abject poverty. When I started my study the Panchayati Raj was implemented. This had given rise to the dual nature of political leadership at the level of the village. Among the Bhoksas, there was the traditional village headman whose office continues to exist as a matter of tradition and there was the elected headman as per the provisions of the Panchayati Raj.

My study revolves around the role of leadership in bringing about the change and how far the institutions like Panchayati Raj have actually empowered the Bhoksas. I realized that Bhoksas despite being a numerically dominant group continues to be a marginalized group.

As a woman ethnographer studying politics of a vulnerable group living side by side with the Rai Sikhs representing money and muscle power, I was a subject of constant scrutiny by the subjects themselves. Here I report one such instance. One day I went to meet a woman village head – the Gaon Pradhan in a Bhoksa village with prior appointment. She had left for the field as informed by her husband and brother-in-law. As I waited for her, what followed was myself being interviewed and my credentials under investigation. The brother-in-law was an under graduate and had not heard of Anthropology, a discipline still struggling to find a place in many universities and colleges in India. I had to fall back on Sociology to sound credulous. Further I was also asked to come with some books the next day. I was often seen with suspicion by the political elites in the area and had to exercise great caution in the field and repeatedly tried to send out the signal of being just a neutral learner.

The challenges of doing fieldwork especially one focusing on the politics of power that goes hand in hand with the legislation and execution of

development initiatives are manifold. Thus doing ethnography is sometimes like walking a tight rope. An ethnographer observes the subjects, but he is also constantly observed by them. As an outsider, a city person undertaking the study of politics and development of a rural community, I was facilitated by the headman and the members of the Gram Panchayat. It did not take too long for the message to spread that I was a *guest* of the headman, as a result of which I was shown a lot of respect by the villagers and spoken to in a rather politically correct manner. However after the initial formal encounters the villagers became more relaxed and comfortable in my presence. It is actually a continuous struggle for an ethnographer to maintain a fine balance between empathy and aloofness, between the heart and the mind, in order to objectively understand the 'true' picture. Furer-Haimendorf opines, "Any realistic and unbiased analysis of the present situation of the Indian tribes must inevitably contain some references to the failures as well as the successes of government policies and include also some criticism of those responsible for the misfortunes of many communities. Such outspoken criticism may be considered inappropriate on the part of an observer who throughout his fieldwork has benefitted from the assistance of numerous government officials. Yet no good purpose can be served by turning a blind eye to corrupt practices and the resulting failures of policies, thereby distorting the picture of the true conditions of tribal populations" (1982:xii).

Conclusion

Deliberations on post modernism continue to be an important academic activity. Undoubtedly post modernist thought has raised some pertinent epistemological issues. However it appears that post modernists have exaggerated the past mistakes of ethnographers. Rather than falling into the snare of theoretical moorings the need of the hour is to become, what Scheper-Hughes calls 'barefoot anthropologists', who would not be trapped in false idealism of seeing no evil, hearing no evil and speaking no evil, but rather be "the producers of politically complicated and morally demanding texts and images capable of sinking through the layers of acceptance, complicity, and bad faith that allow the suffering and the deaths to continue without even the pained cry of recognition of Conrad's evil protagonist, Kurtz: 'The horror! the horror!'" (2006:507-508). The need of the hour is "not a retreat from ethnography but rather an ethnography that is personally engaged and politically committed" (Scheper-Hughes 2006:511). Writing a dialogical ethnography (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995) to justify the inclusion of voices

from all quarters of a people and for simplifying the interpretation of meaning seems to be a rather naïve solution to the 'weaknesses' of modernist ethnographic writings. If ethnographic texts are fictions for the post modernists, dialogical ethnography looks fictitious. What is required is a moderate post modernist position to let Anthropology contribute to addressing issues related to problems and development. I accept that ethnographies dealing with various dimensions of development and empowerment may be interpreted differently by different readers in different times. However the interpretations would vary only in terms of degree. Finally we may remember what Madan writes: "Anthropological representations, their claims to holism notwithstanding, express particular visions of reality. Far from being their weakness, this is, I think, their strength. An absolute truth value may not be claimed for any one of them. This does not mean that they are all equally useful: the criteria of correspondence, coherence, and parsimony should apply. Any claims to the contrary will only land us in a Kafkaesque situation of the kind where people lose faith in the notion of time because different clocks in the house show the hour variously" (Madan 1994: 106).

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The Female Colonial Gaze in the Northeast: Politics of the Picturesque

Devashree Bhattacharjee

Abstract

Colonial discourses by White women were greatly informed by the conventions of the picturesque. Women coming to the colonies in the imperial era were stuck in positions of ambiguity. Privileged on grounds of race, and yet victimized in masculinist politics of deprivation, White women, in their writings, manifested both complicit and contradictory approaches to the policies of the Raj. In their writings on the picturesque, on one hand, women made wide references to pictorial landscapes, wild scenes and exotic sounds, presenting the East as a commodity for consumption by the West, and on the other, evoked idioms of 'plunder' and 'exploitation' to flaunt reservations against the Empire's utilitarian schemes, causing destruction of virgin lands. The cult of the picturesque, as manifested in women's discourses in Northeast India, depict how women viewed these frontier regions from a distinct perspective, offering critiques on dominant power-policies of the Empire, and subverting stereotypical ideas with regard to the Other's land.

Key Words: picturesque, White women, gender, Northeast, Other.

Introduction

The significance and implications of gender in the study of discourses of power have been widely reiterated in the wake of the emergence and elaboration of the field of feminist historical sociology over the last few decades. The "false effect" of male domination in history has been pointed out with the assertion that women who did not get the opportunity to taste power were nonetheless, important "makers of history", although their views and experiences were never recounted in official narratives and discourses.[1] This has necessitated the urgency of reclaiming unexplored writings by women throughout the eras of history, in order to envision major events of history and their intricacies from a new gender perspective. In such efforts towards

Devashree Bhattacharjee is the Ph.D scholar, Department of History, Assam University, Silchar.

a gender reconstruction of history, postmodernist theorists have focused particular attention on the existing lacuna in the field of researches on discourses of White women during the colonial period, and on the necessity to retrieve these lost voices. White women coming to the colonies during the imperial era were stuck in positions of ambiguity. The colonial power-matrices, founded on the ideological premise that imperialism as a symbol of power and hegemony was a male domain, confined women to situations of marginality. Excluded from vital administrative structures, and yet compelled to adopt the image of an English 'memsahib', White women saw their essential individuality being lost in the interstices of colonial power-politics. When White women took to writing their narratives, they found an apt platform to challenge the gender-power dimensions of colonial representations, forged by the colonial masters to subsume the personality of the White women under that of the imperial men, and restrict them from proving their agencies in the Empire. Writing proved for the White women a medium to carve out a unique female Selfhood which was obscured under the haughtiness of masculine ideologies. Women's visions, filtered through the distinct 'female' gaze, subverted existing paradigms of imperial power policies, offering alternative perspectives on the 'Other', and debunking prevalent colonial myths with regard to the colonies and their people. All the same, writing, as a mode of articulation, remained fairly a male-dominated preserve till the nineteenth century, causing women's crucial voices and perceptions to be either effaced or elided, or registered with distorted manipulations in male-governed metanarratives.

In the wake of the emergence of gender studies in historiography, such neglected voices have begun to be reclaimed from the peripheries, in order to open up exciting and unknown terrains in colonial and gender studies. White women's writings on the picturesque, in particular, have been found to provide interesting studies in imperialism, depicting not only how women perceived the world differently from men, but also offering deeper implications for debates on such issues as women's roles in colonialism. The picturesque, in the imperial era, was a well-designed medium to shape British accounts of colonial landscapes and cultures.[2] In Victorian Britain, landscape paintings had become a fashion with the elite, and White women's attempts to fall back upon the art of the picturesque was an intended politicized move on their part to associate themselves with the privileged elite at a time in history when they themselves were a deprived group in their nation. White women coming to the colonies were highly preoccupied in a search for the sublime and the romantic. Full of anxieties about the new lands they visited, women

developed curious interest in the dresses and customs of indigenous groups, and in the pictorial landscapes of nature generated by vibrant skies and scenic lands. The exotic trees and mountains, enchanting sounds and inimitable flora – all went into the promotion of the feeling of the picturesque, which provided a benign aesthetic mode for the apprehension of the alien. Women's discourses on the picturesque were motivated more by feelings of emotion and sensitivity than by notions of materialism as advocated by William Gilpin and other early theorists of the picturesque. Gilpin, one of the greatest amateur artists of the eighteenth century, had conceived of the picturesque as a 'materialistic' mode of appropriation of the world. Through a series of "uninspiring landscape sketches" Gilpin had stressed that the picturesque essentially called for an introduction of an element of ruggedness and irregularity.[3] Following the notions and ideologies of Gilpin, a later theorist, Uvedale Price, even produced a list of items which he considered suitable for the picturesque. These included – antique cottages, broken temples, ruined castles, haunting landscapes, dilapidated huts, shaggy hovels, worn-out goats and cows, ill-clad children and beggars – anything that evoked the sense of ruggedness and defied any feel of the beautiful.[4] Such undercurrents regularly surfaced in male ethnographic accounts, reinforcing the imperial myth of the colonies as 'unfurnished' lands of heathens and barbarians, which could be sublimated and 'cultured' only with British intervention. With White women, the picturesque took a new shade, and moved more towards a romantic sensibility and a compassionate perception of the colonized land and its people. Themselves marginalized at the hands of men, women found it difficult to adopt the hegemonic imperial voice which conceived of other countries and people as 'savages' for justifying domination over them. White women's discourses manifested a rather "instinctive empathy" and defensive attitude towards the 'Other' and his virgin territories.[5] Impressions of beauty were regularly apparent in White women's depiction of the colonized landscape, demonstrating an implicit desire on the part of White women to collude with the Other as co-victims in the politics of deprivation. Colonial strategies of penetration of virgin territories were disputed upon on the grounds that these schemes were leading to rapid vanishing of beautiful landscapes. In the female colonial vision, even the rocky cliffs evoked a romantic sense of the picturesque. Such stances on the picturesque were grounded on specific ideologies of gender and feminism. All the same, gender was never the sole determinant of women's subjectivity. Women's personalities and perspectives operated along multiple axes, of which race and class were two other major determinants. Standing at the crossroads of feminist, racial and colonial

ideologies, White women frequently articulated views which were not contradictory but complicit with the policies of the Empire. Portrayal of distasteful approaches towards the natives now and then exposed how the feminine picturesque gaze was equally grounded on an implicit sense of power and hierarchy. Women's involvement with the cult of the picturesque in the colonial era, thus, never operated from a single perspective. Similarly, it was not just a passive means for disseminating or compiling information, but a mode for illuminating the larger themes of power, gender and culture that were in operation.

When British colonialism spread to the peripheral Northeast frontier regions of India, the parameters of the picturesque underwent multiple nuances. In a land where, on one side, were frightening encounters with strange, tattooed beings, scary witches and sorceresses, indestructible Naga head-hunters, uncanny cults and eerie rituals, dense forests, harsh climate and hostile routes, on the other hand, were mellow visions of pretty Manipuri girls, patronizing 'Maharajas' and 'Senaputtis' with their posh costumes and pleasing attire, charming hillsides and pastoral agricultural fields, which inspired the sense of romance and beauty. Experiences of hardships in the frontier regions provoked feelings of awe and disdain towards the 'strange' natives and their land, but the compassionate gaze of the marginalized Victorian wife developed complicit feelings towards the 'Other' world, its landscape, its cultural traits, inducing a pleasant feel of the picturesque. Ethel St. Clair Grimwood, who accompanied her husband on a political mission to Manipur, was highly charmed by the exoticism of the region and its natural sights and sounds, which seemed to be capable of offering the greatest delight to the eyes and ears, and deserved to remain steeped in their pastoral simplicities, away from the commercialized meshes of a modernized world:

> A pretty place, more beautiful than many of the show-places of the world; beautiful in its habitable parts, but more beautiful in those tracts covered with forest jungle where the foot of man seldom treads, and the stillness of which is only broken by the weird cry of the hooluck, or the scream of a night-bird hunting its prey.[6]

Preferences for the serene, un-trodden 'jungle' over beautiful 'show-places' symbolized White women's rejection of the fakeness of modernization and utilitarianism which accompanied colonialism and was responsible for the disappearing of many natural habitats of the world. Northeast India, which had come under the grips of British colonialism very late, had still much of its

pastoralism and naturalness intact. The glorification of delicately preserved rural scenery and life were attempts on the part of White women to idealize the old order of rural beauty and pastoralism vis-à-vis the new order of industrialism, mechanization and social elitism. Such contestations of colonial domination over nature also operated as sites of resistances to male domination over the feminine self. In male discourses, nature was encoded as 'feminine', to be dominated and subordinated by a 'manly' colonizing culture. Domination of the native landscape was equated with a voyeuristic consumption of the female. White women challenged such masculinist assumptions from a feminist perspective, defying the Empire's policies of exploiting virgin nature and landscape which they saw as male's devouring of the female:

> Villages buried in their own groves of bamboo and plantain-trees dotted the plain, and between each village there were tracts of rice-fields and other cultivation. The whole valley looked rich . . . [7]

Narratives of White women in Northeast India recurrently flaunted anti-utilitarian perspectives, denying the technical commercialization of agriculture which was a hallmark of the imperial project but responsible for destruction of the old peasantry. Elsewhere, the women writers went on to negate the cult of hunting which was another arch symbol of imperial expansionism, but also a weapon for destruction of many rare and exotic species. The violence of hunting was read as a violence of the male over the female:

> In two days once my husband got eighty-two ducks and thirty geese. He did great execution with an eight-bore he had, and generally knocked over half a dozen or so at a time with it . . . I never liked it when we had caught them and they used to be consigned to my husband's boat, as I could not bear to see them killed . . . it seemed butchery to shoot them.[8]

All such sentiments were reflective of women's responses to the then ongoing trends of transformation of natural landscape, and Britain's huge intrusions into the rural countryside for commercial pursuits. Ownership over the virgin lands and properties of the natives was looked upon as a pre-condition of colonial power. White women moved away from such capitalist strategies, and idealized the natural landscape and its inmates under threat by 'civilizing' forces and colonial power. In their attempts towards such idealization, White women often went to the extent of rendering the Other's

land as an abode of unparalleled beauties, the destruction of which would be a gruesome act. In Northeast India, the virgin, mountainous sceneries produced an irresistible appeal for the White women and provoked them to develop feelings of adoration for the region. To Ursula Graham Bower, the uncorrupted, nature-clad ambience of the region presented an ethereal experience:

> One behind the other the hills stretched away as far as the eye could see, in an ocean of peaks, a wilderness of steep fields and untouched forest, of clefts and gulfs and razorbacks which merged at last into a grey infinity. That landscape drew me as I had never known anything to do before, with a power transcending the body, a force not of this world at all.[9]

Similar sentiments were also experienced by Mary Mead Clark during her sojourn in the region, when every sight and sound of nature seemed to stir the mind towards romanticism, making her wonder how such beauties of nature languished in ignorance:

> On and on we went, up and down the lower hills, crossing mountain streams, through forests of stately trees with delicate creepers entwining their giant trunks, their branches gracefully festooned with vines, and orchids swaying in the breeze. For all ages past, unobserved and unappreciated, this wilderness of beauty has budded and put forth, only to delight the eyes of Him, who makes even the desert to blossom as the rose.[10]

White women's fascination with the region was also occasioned by pleasing visions of the tribal folk, whose lives, steeped in innocence, far away from the fakeness of commercial culture, moved the heart towards a longing for the same unspoiled simplicity. Often, the White women were stuck to admiration at the sight of the colourful costumes of the tribal folk, which appeared very picturesque in their eyes:

> Some of the Manipuri girls are very pretty. They have long silky black hair as a rule, and fair complexions, with jolly brown eyes. They cut their hair in front in a straight fringe all round their foreheads, while the back part hangs loose, and it gives them a pretty, childish look. They dress very picturesquely in bright-coloured striped petticoats fastened under their arms, and reaching to the ankles. Over this a small green velvet zouave jacket is worn, and when they go out they wear a very fine muslin shawl over their shoulders, and gold necklaces and bracelets by way of ornament.[11]

All the same, while on one hand, there were ample instances to induce feelings of admiration for the region, on the other hand, the extremely hostile climate and geographical conditions, supplemented by flies, pests and diseases, often disturbed the "smooth facade of the picturesque", leaving way for disdain and regret.[12] On such instances, White women adopted the hegemonic masculine gaze, sketching the colonized 'Other' and his country as apathetic to every trace of aestheticism and hygiene:

> This heavy precipitation . . . causes excessive vegetable growth and decay, and induces, as would be expected, such malaria and fever . . . we passed a comfortless night with rats and cockroaches, and in wakeful fear of snakes and centipedes.[13]

The politicized gaze was perceptible on many other occasions. Since the female gaze worked within the colonial system, it was continually influenced by its power-politics. In the imperial era, images of the 'Other' as threatening, devious and even 'fiendish' were reinforced to serve as a foil to the European Self, and help in the consolidation of the Western rationalized Self. As Indira Ghose maintained: "The philosophical self-creation of Europe was thus dependent on the constitution of the other".[14] Similarly, Jean-Paul Sartre observed: "the European has only been able to become a man through creating monsters and slaves".[15] The imperial desire to 'degrade' and control the 'Other' defined the female colonial gaze too, resulting in White women's 'constructions' of the tribal warriors and hill-men in fearful and awesome images:

> A group of hillmen scattered before us and stood on the roadside, staring . . . The sight of them was a shock . . . Bead necklaces drooped on their bare, brown chests, black kilts with three lines of cowries wrapped their hips, plaids edged with vivid colours hung on their coppery shoulders. Tall, solid, muscular . . . [16]

In the same way, White women expressed 'shock' at the eerie rituals and cults holding sway over the natives of the land. To Helen Barrett Montgomery, the practice of head-hunting appeared to amount to the extreme limits of human indecency and barbarism, leading her to term the natives of the land as "animists", who were fit only to be dominated and tamed by stronger hands:

> On the mountains and in the forests are the many tribes of primitive people, the Garos, Nagas, Mikirs, and others, savage and blood-thirsty. In the old days their fierce marauding bands made life insecure to dwellers in the plain, and the Garo and Naga head-hunters wore with pride their necklaces of cowrie shells, each shell of which represented the head of a human victim they had slain.[17]

Head-hunting, however, did not carry identical connotations for all the White women. To some, it symbolized the 'archaic' and primordial custom of the native civilization which was under threat of being swept away by the advancing culture. Ursula Graham Bower spoke of the encroaching effects of colonization on the tribal culture, where head-hunting was celebrated "unabated", "in elaborate rituals".[18] Women's stance on headhunting at such times approached close to the philosophy of Felix Padel, who contended that in the eyes of many 'civilized' people looking on the native culture, the tribal societies seemed neither "backward" nor "less fully evolved", but only a culture whose evolution had "a different emphasis".[19] To the White women, at times, even the frightening Naga warriors with their fearful war-accessories carried a picturesque appeal:

> Dressed in the gayest colored cloths, caps of bear skins and of bamboo splints decorated with feathers, quills, boar tusks, tufts, and tassels of bamboo shavings and monkey tails, their appearance is most fantastic. Spears and battle axes, brightened for the occasion and glittering in the sun, and newly decorated war shields add much to the picturesqueness of the scene.[20]

White women's writings on the picturesque were also informed by the tenets of Orientalism. Notwithstanding the fact that women were practically amateurs in the professionalized field of Orientalism, which was a highly politicized and hegemonic school of discourse, White women's narratives revealed a desire on the part of the 'memsahibs' to uncover the ancient and classical heritage of India to the West. An image of antiquity was sought for, to place India in contrast to a progressing Western civilization. In *A Corner in India*, Mary Mead Clark attempted to re-discover and illuminate the ancient architecture, archival remains and other remnants of the bygone nobilities of the region before the Western world:

> That portion devoted exclusively to the royal family, embracing an area of many acres, was enclosed by two parallel brick walls, within which were the king's palace, treasury, and guard house. Their arched roofs, outer and

> inner walls, and floors are of heavy brick masonry, noble relics of ancient days . . . A little outside the walled enclosure, located on the embankment of an excavated lake, is a fine temple of chaste, symmetrical proportions . . . Joy-hagor, *hagor* meaning ocean, really Joy's ocean . . . Surrounding this was a high wall, within which there were enacted plays, games and contests with wild beasts for the entertainment of the royal family.[21]

Elsewhere, by speaking of the region as a land where even "unicorns once roamed", Clark evoked an Orientalist image of the region as a timeless entity, primeval, surreal, and 'fantastical'.[22]

The picturesque gaze, in this manner, operated from different vantage points. Often, the simultaneous appeals of sensuality and spirituality evoked such admiration in the hearts of the women that they looked upon themselves as pilgrims to the region. Mary Mead Clark was overwhelmed by the picturesque visions unravelled by the "perpetual snow-capped peaks kissing the heavens", like the "son of Brahma", reminding of a "passage" from earth to the heavens "through the ethereal dome".[23] At other times, extreme veneration gave way to commercial considerations, and White women again appeared as agents of the Empire, gauging the lovely, pastoral fields of the region as nothing else but commodities, and potential sources of resources for exploitation:

> An alluvial plain of great fertility, about fifteen hundred miles in length, with an average breadth of fifty miles . . .[24]

Another significant hallmark of the picturesque was the 'capturing' of native sights of the East for the purpose of serving as 'trophies' in the archives of the West. Although such acts implied a 'plundering' of the essence of the East, they were an integral part of the imperial project, and White women often took pride in their roles in such projects:

> After the party had explored my room, we used to rejoin the others, and take them all out into the garden, allowing them to pick the flowers, and decorate each other, and then my husband would photograph them.[25]

White women's discourses on the picturesque, wrought with contradictions, reflect women's genuinely ambiguous and contradictory

position in the Empire. Marginalized within the male-dominated power regime, White women had developed empathetic perceptions towards the land which was also under domination. However, the obligation of 'duty' towards the Empire made them suspend all feminist ideologies in favour of colonial sentiments, and appear as mouthpieces of the Empire, proclaiming the supremacy of the imperial regime by putting the land and environs of the 'Other' in contrast to British sophistication:

> As I looked for the first time into the hard faces of these hill people . . . how little I thought that soon our commodious, pleasant bungalow, with its garden and its flowers, situated on the bank of the artificial lake at Sibsagor (Sib's or Siva's Ocean), would be left for a home in a small bamboo mat house in the mountain wilds.[26]

All the same, despite ambiguities, it remains evident that White women, in their narratives on the picturesque, left much valuable accounts on the native culture and ambience, which can serve to unfold an entire discourse on ethnography in Northeast India from a gendered perspective. White women in the colonial era resorted to writing primarily in order to contest male domination in the sphere of 'production' of knowledge. The picturesque served for the White women as a frame within which they could fit their contributions to the domain of knowledge, and question the hegemony of 'official' facts and policies. The picturesque, likewise, helped the White women overcome many sub-continental threats and colonial anxieties by amassing them within an aesthetic frame. Filtering of multiple visions and perspectives in the female discourses helped demolish the flat, one-dimensional image of the 'cold' memsahib as branded about in male discourses, and uncover the 'memsahib' in the image of a complex human being with her own exclusive visions and perspectives. What was most significant about these White women was that unlike the European officials and planters, these women came to the colonies not in a search for fame or fortune but only to bear the torch of civilization and solace in a savage land. As Marian Fowler remarked, those 'first ladies of the Raj' went to the colonies "willingly, motivated by duty and love. They went to India not to govern, but to give, looking not for power and a place in history . . . ".[27] Undergoing multiple pangs of loneliness, despair, hardships, these women carried out their existence in the frontier lands with unbeatable courage and heroism. The pastoral fields and pristine ambience of the frontier regions opened up a totally new world of uncorrupted simplicity before them from which they could never detach themselves, and this was what made

them develop an instinctive sense of affinity with the regions. In fact, so great was this association that even years after their return to England, White women reminisced fondly upon their experiences in the region, speaking of their eternal bonds with it:

> We had come home; what could be the matter? How could one explain that home was no longer home, that it was utterly foreign, that home was in the Assam hills, and that there would never be any other, and that for the rest of our lives we should be exiles? [28]

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Recasting the Realist Tradition in Modern Drama: A Reading of G. B. Shaw and John Galsworthy

Chandan Saha

Abstract

George Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy, two late 19th and early 20th century dramatists from realist tradition focused in their plays on the types of contemporary social problems and their incredible repercussions on society. The study aims at clarifying the position of Shaw and Galsworthy in the battle of reestablishing better human society on the earth in the midst of snarled social conventions. The purpose is to analyse the dramatic products of Shaw and Galsworthy and to find out the causes and natures of human suffering, especially the suffering of the underdog, the downtrodden, the poor, the suppressed and the oppressed. Both G.B. Shaw and Galsworthy were uncompromising realists who exposed various manifestations of social malevolence in their plays. They kept in mind detachment and objectivity in dealing with social problems. They were not conscious of any desire to solve those problems in their plays or to effect great reforms. Their only ambition in drama, as in other works, were to present truth – the realist culture, to produce in them a sort of mental and moral ferment, whereby vision might be enlarged, and imagination livened and understanding promoted.

Key words: Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, realist tradition, modern drama.

Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy were very witty realists who loved to present people with the absurdity of their conventional way of thinking. Their satires range widely over such real subjects as heroism in war, physicians and their power over life and death, religion, the battle of the sexes, education and heaven and hell. In their plays Shaw and Galsworthy combined realistic moral problems with ironic tone and paradoxes. Discussion and intellectual acrobatics are the bases of their drama. Although Shaw and Galsworthy's

Chandan Saha is Deputy Superintendent of Police, Agartala, Tripura. (chandansaha.2010@rediffmail.com.)

plays focus on real ideas and issues, they are vital and absorbing, enlivened by memorable characterizations, a brilliant command over language and dazzling wit. They were successful in recasting the realist tradition in drama.

George Bernard Shaw wrote several plays with social and political themes under the banner of realism. To a large extent those plays dealt with issues such as poverty and women's rights and implied that socialism could help to solve the problems created by capitalism. Under capitalism people have been forced to impose restrictions that in a socialist nation would have no sense, in order to save the proletariat from extermination. From realistic point of view Shaw's philosophy was creative evolution. He tried to present a coherent and comprehensive view of human nature and of human life, and also to show the way in which human life should best be lived in tangled capitalist conventions.

Shaw penned drama as the instrument of highlighting the realist tradition. According to him by getting rid of poverty people will get rid of the unhappiness and worry which it causes. To defend themselves against this, women, like men, resort to artificial happiness, just as they resort to artificial insensibility when they have to undergo a painful operation. The ferocity of the resistance to their attempt to abolish artificial happiness shows how indispensable it has become under capitalism. Any social change which abolishes poverty and increases the leisure of routine workers will destroy the need for artificial happiness, and increase the opportunities for the sort of activity that makes people very jealous of reducing their fitness by stimulants, and people should get to the possibility of discarding all those social restrictions on personal liberty which the prevalent dearth of happiness and consequent resort to pernicious artificial substitutes force to impose.

He can be considered as a fighter with a realistic approach against the man-made problems in the class-ridden society. He is one of those realists who have the courage to face the truth and declare that a number of time-honoured institutions and conventions are neither holy nor divine and that they must not be allowed to outlast their utility. He was not concerned with pity in the play. He was concerned to diagnose sham and release vitality. To some extent he played the role of a blatant propagandist for the intellectual enlightenment of the people in general. In his view there was not merely some social evil or injustice here and there, but the whole social structure was distorted and based on false assumptions. In order to bring home this truth to the readers or audiences, he often indulged in gross exaggeration,

which is the basis of caricaturist's art, but he was distinguished from a caricaturist by his sincerity of purpose. His aim was not merely to raise a laugh, but also to bring about the much needed social reform. He has shown that most of our sentiments are based on poverty and inequality, which are the poisons that will destroy our civilization in the long run. Thus, Shaw was against typical social conventions. In a positive or constructive way he criticized the customary beliefs and established customs and ideas coated with common sense.

Shaw was not guided by any established notion; instead he was guided by a self-originated rational approach over-flooded by the sympathy to down-trodden society. Being a member of the Fabian Society he had deep dislike for the bourgeoisie class. In a sense he was inspired by Marxian ideology which foregrounded his moral support for the proletariat – subordinate class. His inner thoughts are reflected in the portrayal of social reality with the aim of producing in his readers or audiences a sort of mental and moral ferment for social reform. He was first, last and all the time, a realistic critic. He was in search of the object of his criticism for its underlying ideas and subject these to his test of the logic of events. Most of his criticism directed towards society's ideas in religion, politics and morality that gave him the identity of an iconoclast.

He saw drama as a vehicle for presenting, in entertaining and provocative form, his realistic views of abuses and contradictions of the social order and his suggestions of the true way in which to view human experience and institutions. His object was to satirize, not the invented characters in the plays, but the audience. In his desire to shock rather than to lull, to provoke rather than to amuse, Shaw put into his characters' mouths reality based discussions in which his characteristic wit and love of paradox were given full play. A favourite device of his was to stand the popular view on its head, thus both outraging and titillating his audience from the realistic end.

Shaw aimed at bettering of the lot of humanity by subjecting accepted conventions and institutions to the cold, searching light of his penetrating intellect. All his plays are about some important aspects of contemporary realistic social life or some important social evil or social institution which he considered an evil, and which was scrutinized with courage and determination. Thus he to a large extent was inspired by Shavian Drama. The most important element in a Shavian Drama is its discussion of some important social

problems. Instead of the conflict of wills, as in the romantic drama, we have the conflict of ideas and the conflict of speech in Shaw's dramas. Ideas are more important than feeling, and when he dealt with emotions he left much to be desired. To some extent he failed to devise satisfactory emotional situations. Thus, he used play as a vehicle for intellectual stimulation and provocation. Though he was concerned with both people and ideas he gave more emphasis on ideas. For the sake of reality Shaw invariably attempted in mocking and scoffing at the weaknesses of human nature and society.

He was inspired by the thought that to the mass of oppressive and unjust laws that protect property at the expense of humanity, and enable proprietors to drive whole populations off the land as well as off the heart. He further added that the ridiculous social distinctions between manual labour and brain work, between wholesale business and retail business, are really class distinctions, resulting in complete chaos, waste, havoc, suffering division of mind, friction, clash and conflict in society.

According to Shaw, socialism plays a great role in transforming the power of life and death from private hands to the hands of the constitutional authorities, and regulating it by public law, resulting in the great increase of independence, self respect, freedom from interference with tastes and ways of living, and, generally, all the liberty. Money as a means of freedom is thrown away on the people who are physically rich. In the funniest way he expressed through his dramas that socialism would be unendurable because it would dictate what to eat, drink and wear, leaving no choice in the matter, when people are cowering under a social tyranny which regulates meals, clothes, hours, religion and politics.

Where there is society there are conventions. In other words, society consists of conventions. Shaw upheld the idea that nobody can live in society without conventions. Being a realistic he had to preach one form of unconventionality at a time. Realism reflects in his treatment of the various themes of his plays.

Shaw has expressed himself realistically on every subject between heaven and earth – literature, art, medicine, religion, politics, morality, marriage and family relations, racial prejudices, poverty and social standards. In fact, his plays contain many sermons on social follies and social vices.

In *Arms and the Man* (1894), the realistic criticism is less fierce. Shaw's radical realism, his utter disregard for conventions, his keen didactic

interest and verbal wit often turn the stage into a forum of ideas. The play[1] has Balkan Setting and makes light hearted, though sometimes mordant, and fun of romantic falsifications of both love and warfare.

The playwright may be considered hysterical but, as an artist, has a capacity to renounce personal happiness in the interest of some larger realistic purpose. This is a significant theme for Shaw; it leads on to that of the conflict between man as spiritual creator and woman as guardian of the biological continuity of the human race that is basic to *Man and Superman* (1903). It is shown in this play that an idealistic, cerebral man succumbs to marriage. The play[2] contains an explicit articulation of a major Shavian theme – that man is the spiritual creator, whereas woman is the biological "Life Force" that must always triumph over him. Shaw expounded his philosophy that humanity is the latest stage in a purposeful and eternal evolutionary movement of the "life force". The play's hero, Jack Tanner, is bent on pursuing his own spiritual development in accordance with this philosophy as he flees the determined marital pursuit of the heroine, Ann Whitefield. In the end Jack truefully allows himself to be captured in marriage by Ann upon recognizing that she herself is a powerful instrument of the "Life Force".

Shaw continued, through his play, to explore realistic consciousness[3] and to point out society's complicity in its own evils. In *Major Barbara* (1905), Shaw has his heroine, a Major in the Salvation Army, discover that her estranged father, a munitions manufacturer, may be a dealer in death but that her principles and practice, however unorthodox, and religious in the highest sense, are those of the Salvation Army. The play thus postulates that poverty is the cause of all evil and Shaw upholds the idea that man can achieve aesthetic salvation only through political activity, not as an individual.

Pygmalion (1913) is a realistic picturisation of love and English class system. It is also a study of the clever treatment of middle-class-morality and class-distinction. It is a combination of the dramatic, the comic, and the realistic corrective that gives Shaw's plays their special flavour. Based on classical myth, *Pygmalion* plays on the complex business of human relationships in a realistic world. Phonetics Prof. Henry Higgins tutors Eliza Doolittle, not only in the refinement of speech, but also in the refinement of her manner.

Like Shaw, Galsworthy occupies a conspicuous place as a writer of realistic plays in modern English drama. His plays deal with the problems of contemporary life in a realistic manner. To a large extent his plays deal with

the problems of contemporary social life. He deftly combines the realism of a social reformer with the missionary outlook of an idealist. Galsworthy maintains complete impartiality and objectivity in the presentation of social reality.

Galsworthy aims at the representation of contemporary life in its familiar everyday aspects. To Galsworthy, romantic flights were quite unnecessary, the humdrum world around us, with all its welter of conflicting forces, provides sufficient dramatic material for artist's purpose. His presentation and criticism of social questions earned for him the reputation of a powerful social realist in English drama.

He is fundamentally a modern realist. His plays mirror contemporary society. He had a profound humanitarian outlook of life and he tried to the best of his ability to adopt a realistic attitude. He was slow to condemn individuals. He was not sentimental in his approach and only rarely did he rely upon pathos for the effect of his scenes. He had an excellent sense of dramatic architecture and although his emphasis was not on individuals, he had the power to give the realistic quality to the persons with whom he dealt.

His realism should not be confused with the photographic representation of life. His realistic plays are poignantly shaped and inspired by high intention and imagination. He dealt with social reality like a social reformer. The social problem was the raw stuff of realism – a means through which he made his communication, evaluation and expression. To a large extent his imagination is enlivened by constructive imagination. He gave us impressive close ups of life at its most damnable, but he had the artist's love of design, his eye for detail. His plays deal with contrasts.

Galsworthy's plays realistically describe modern society and its problems. He totally eschewed the romantic element in his presentation of problems. Ideas, institutions, morality, class interests and social forces form its main theme. Many of Galsworthy's plays are based on an inexorable incompatibility between the justice of society and what is actually just. He also handled definite problems of marriage, of sex relationship, of labour disputes, of the administration, of the law, of solitary confinement, but for him the individual problem leads always to the general relations between individuals within the social organism. He suggested no practical reform, though reform appeared in his constant indication of existing wrongs. His solution was not practical but ethical. The source of evil for him laid in failure of imagination and sympathy.

He depicted the familiar aspects of every day life in a natural manner. He explored the dramatic possibilities of the common place. He minutely observed life around him and tried to create in his plays an atmosphere of absolute truth. He endeavoured to depict the realistic picture of society and its problems. But he did not hold any view on social or moral progress of mankind. He analyzed problems and institutions, particularly English ones, from the point of view of a liberal compassionate, upper middle-class man. His civilized social criticism reflects the virtues of such a mind.

Galsworthy observed complete impartiality in the treatment of social realism. An incorruptible lover of truth, he attempted to shape all his plots and problems with the greatest impartiality, allowing both sides to air their opinions and throwing light on their ideas in all possible way. All of his plays exhibit the same features – the omnipresence of a fundamental social problem expressed in a severely natural manner, without straining of situations or exaggeration of final issues, a corresponding realism of dialogue, leading at times to an apparent ordinariness, a native kindliness of heart added to the sternness of the true tragic artist and a complete absence of sentimentalism even when pitiful scenes are introduced.

While dealing with the theme of social realism Galsworthy upheld various pictures of society in his plays. A society and its institutions which are set up to punish wrong doer and maintain law and order, may inflict inexpressible misery and even injustice on innocent people. He also talks of social deterioration which arises inevitably out of social injustice. The drunkard, the swindler, the criminal and the prostitute were not so to begin with. Social injustice done to them has done them incalculable damage and has turned them into what they are. Topics dealing with such social problems formed interesting themes of Galsworthy's social tragedies. There are then dramatic themes bound up with the tragedy of idealism. There are also instances of social tragedy arising out of caste feeling.

In the portrayal of social realism, Galsworthy very subtly and cleverly championed the cause of the downtrodden, the poor, the underdog, the suppressed and the oppressed. He was opposed to blind materialism and took umbrage against the wealthy, leisured people. The impartiality in a play is very remarkable. The suspense is maintained throughout since the scales are held evenly. The interest of the reader never flags.

Galsworthy was above all a realist with a noble heart and singularly free from those foibles of vanity that frequently accompany the generous

gestures made by smaller hearted men. He hated crookedness, custom and fear. His own conventional upper middle-class upbringing brought him into little contact with the lower social orders, yet he understood their laws and their difficulties as well as he understood those of his own class.

As a writer of realistic plays, Galsworthy skillfully reproduced an atmosphere of absolute reality. His plays are solid and honest with no ornamentation, no claptrap. *The Silver Box* (1906), reveals the truth of the old adage that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Society with its ominous invisible presence decides that the rich shall be preferred to the poor. Jack Barthwick, the rich and influential politician's son, and Jones, the thief of no connections and no money, commit theft. Barthwick goes scot free but Jones, deemed to be a nuisance to the community, is convicted and imprisoned. The most significant point in this play is with reference to the legal machinery in our society. The author exposes the hollowness of the law courts and the justice that is meted out to the people through these legal institutions. Two persons are guilty of the same crime, but so vicious and depraved is the legal system that the rich man escapes punishment and the poor man is punished for the same crime.

In *Strife* (1909), Galsworthy upholds the picture of extremism and violence. Roberts and Anthony are two chief protagonists in the play and they are vehemently opposed to each other. They are extremists and cannot understand other man's point of view. They want to fight to the finish. Both want to dominate each other and do not agree to budge even an inch from their declared stands. The result is both have to suffer humiliation and disillusionment. They do fight for something personal but they are leaders of two different social forces and therefore, they also fight for the welfare of the classes they represent. But the fight leads them nowhere. An agreement which had been proposed before the strike began is reached at between their followers. They are overthrown. The conflict between them leads to suffering and loss. The playwright exposes how suffering weighs heavily on the starving men and their families.

In *Justice* (1910), Galsworthy shows the cruelty of the English judicial system and the heartless destruction of innocent lives that it causes without presenting a single villain. It deals with the situation of a weak-willed young man who forges a cheque in order to get money to help his unhappily married lover to find a new life. In this play, Galsworthy vividly exposes the inefficiency of the administration of justice and the evils in jail administration. It is conceived as an ecstasy of rage against human oppression.

Galsworthy succeeded in making drama out of little people. In *Loyalties* (1922), he succeeded in expounding the very idea of social realism. The play[4] deals with anti-Jewish feeling and discrimination against a racial minority. Captain Dancy, a brilliant and dashing officer in the British army during the First World War becomes the victim of social convention.

Conclusion

Thus, Shaw and Galsworthy may be considered as realists who, in their plays, place before their readers or audiences the truth about the complexities of life, their purpose being to make people think and understand the inartisticity of realism. They spread realism and demolish all that is false and irrational by focusing on it the searchlight of logic and reason. But their realisms are not always photographic realisms: there is also much heightening of reality. Though in order to achieve realistic purpose, the playwrights often resort to exaggeration of reality they never lead to distortion and falsification of reality.

Both Shaw and Galsworthy were realists and exposed social realism through their plays, yet there are slight differences between them in handling the theme of realism. Shaw often indulged in gross exaggeration whereas Galsworthy never did so to achieve the purpose of realism. Shaw allowed his own personality to intrude in presenting the sides of a case. On the other hand, Galsworthy presented both sides of a case with rigid impartiality and insight. He never intruded himself though he was with the downtrodden in mind, as doing so would destroy the purpose of awakening the conscience in the mind of the masses to abolish social problems.

While portraying social realism, Shaw almost invariably attempted at mocking and scoffing at the weaknesses of human nature and society, but Galsworthy never attempted to do so. Shaw was a blatant propagandist for the intellectual enlightenment of the people, but Galsworthy was never a propagandist, as he believed in detachment and objectivity while dealing with a social problem. To Shaw, drama was a means of reformation, not preaching whereas Galsworthy was a preacher, not a reformer.

Shaw had actually more imaginative sympathy than is usually conceded to him, but his satiric gift, his genius for derision caused him to appear cynical. He was carried away by his own views to such an extent that he failed to enter adequately into the view point of others. He would scoff and curse because his intellectualism turned into witty satire and attack. He used plays as a vehicle for intellectual stimulation and provocation. But Galsworthy,

because of his sympathy and humanitarian outlook, would wince and ultimately find himself constrained to bless. His emotionalism led to charity, sympathy and toleration. Shaw cynically dealt with the class-war whereas Galsworthy seriously dealt with the class-war.

Shaw's philosophy was creative evolution. He tried to present a coherent and comprehensive view of human nature and of human life, while Galsworthy's philosophy was natural evolution. The latter had succeeded in uncovering the picture of the society as really as it was, which was absolutely free from intellectual attachment. It may be called naturalistic technique.

Shaw adopted a pragmatic and welfare-oriented approach to politics in which the concepts of right and faith were central to a progressive socialist realism seeking equality. Galsworthy, on the other hand, adopted a realistic and ethic-oriented approach to uphold social problems. The former was not concerned with worried pity in his plays. He was concerned to diagnose sham and release vitality. Galsworthy, on the other, was deeply concerned with pity in his plays. Shaw in order to reveal social realism in his plays used his characters as merely his mouthpieces. Galsworthy, on the other hand, in order to reveal social realism used characters as living creatures of flesh and blood aroused by the elemental passions in their nature.

End Notes

[1] Colin Wilson comments on Shaw's making of the play thus: "*Arms and the Man*, the famous anti-romantic comedy has a similar triangular involving Raina, Sergius and Bluntschli. The play attacks both romantic war fare and romantic love. Another important theme is snobbery, an awareness of class-distinction, which remained Shaw's perennial concern" (Wilson, *Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment,* London: Macmillan, 1981, p. 21.)

[2] Shaw's concept as pointed out by Colin Wilson in the play: "*Man and Superman* an ambitious and artistically consummate dramatization of Shaw's concept of the Life Force recreates his favourite triangle – this time with Ann Whitefield, the 'mother-woman', John Tanner, the 'philosopher-man' and Octavius Robinson, the poet-lover. As is usual with Shaw, the mother–woman heads for the philosopher-man, Tanner- partly a self-portrait, who tries in vain to escape from her, in preference to the languishing and sighing lover-Octavius. Out of this union Ann and Jack will emerge the Superman" (Wilson, The Life and Plays of Bernard Shaw, *Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment,* London: Macmillan, 1981, p. 54.)

[3] Tracy C. Davis traces a parallel between Shaw and reality thus: "He functioned as

Higgins, the self-styled benefactor of Cambell/ Eliza, thwarted by her performance for a younger, less intellectual man, Cornwallis-West/Freddy" (Davis, *George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre*, London: Preager, 1994, p. 93.)

[4]Ifor Evans comments on nature of problems highlighted by Galsworthy in the play thus: "He seems sometimes to have formulated his selected social problem rather blatantly, and his characterization is simple, while the theme is pressed home with a heavy emphasis. Though his plays are well constructed, the mechanism tends to remain apparent. His sense of pity was controlled usually by his intelligence, but it was always in danger of becoming excessive" (Evans, *A Short History of English Literature*, p.189.)

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2-D Electron Density Profile of the Ionosphere Using the Modified Spherical Harmonic Analysis

V.B.S. Srilatha Indira Dutt and G. Sasibhushana Rao

Abstract

The advent of Global Positioning System (GPS) has revolutionized the field of navigation particularly in the field of civil aviation sector. The GPS is a reliable, all weather satellite-based radio navigation system that provides accurate three dimensional (3D) navigation solution i.e., position, velocity and timing information, up to 10^{-6} seconds anywhere on or above the earth's surface. But the accuracy of the navigation solution is affected by several factors such the satellite-receiver geometry configuration, refraction of the GPS signal in Ionosphere and Troposphere, multi path and solar activity. Out of all, the refraction of the GPS signals in ionosphere that introduces a delay in the ranging information, significantly influences the navigation solution accuracy. The effect of the ionospheric delay on navigation solution accuracy can be estimated precisely by constructing the electron density profile of the ionosphere. In this paper, electron density profile of the ionosphere is constructed using the tomographic technique at 11:15:00 Hrs of 22nd July 2009 using the data due to the dual frequency GPS receiver located at IISc, Bangalore.

Key words: Global Positioning System, electron density profile, ionosphere, troposphere.

Introduction

Ionospheric delay, as a pronounced error in GPS positioning and navigation especially in the high geomagnetic activity period, has long been extensively

V.B.S Srilatha Indira Dutt is Assistant Professor, Department of Electronic & Communication Engg., GITAM Institute of Technology, GITAM University and G. Sasibhushana Rao is Professor, Department of Electronics & Communication Engineering, University College of Engineering, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam-530003. (srilatha06.vemuri@gmail.com)

studied [1]. The speed of propagation of GPS signal in the ionosphere depends upon the number of free electrons in its path, defined as the total electron content (TEC): the number of free electrons present in a tube of $1m^2$ cross section extending from the receiver to the satellite[2]. The path length through the ionosphere is shortest in the zenith direction; therefore TEC is lower in the vertical direction. TEC is measured in the units of TEC Units (TECU), defined as 10^{16} electrons/m^2. TEC typically varies between 1 and 150 TECU. TEC is represented as

$$TEC = \int_p N(s)\, ds \qquad (1)$$

Where N (S) is the electron density and 'p' is the propagation path between the source and the detector.

The ionosphere delay should be corrected in order to get a precise positioning and navigation results using GPS. For the ionospheric correction, typically two methods exist in GPS applications. One is the use of dual-frequency GPS data to eliminate the ionospheric effects taking advantage of the ionospheric dispersive feature. The other way is to employ a regional or global network of GPS reference receivers to model the ionosphere and then GPS users use the model to correct the ionospheric delay[3]. The advantage of the latter method is obvious because it can provide ionospheric correction service to numerous GPS users within the coverage area in a cost-effective mode.

There are various two dimensional (2D) ionospheric modeling techniques such as GRID model, Spherical Harmonic model (SHA) and Modified Spherical Harmonic Model (MSHA),etc.

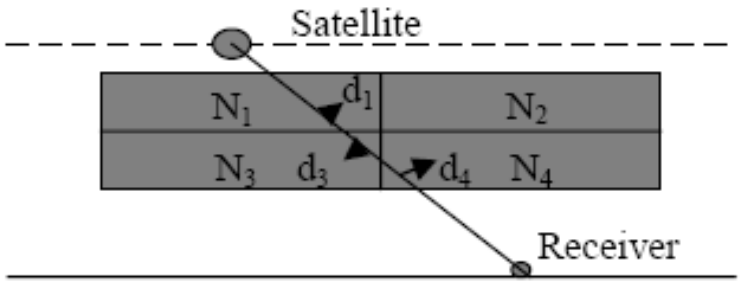


Figure 1 Sample Ionospheric Tomography System

In this paper, a two dimensional modelling of the ionosphere based on MSHA model using the dual frequency GPS receiver measurements is presented.

In the above system, N_k indicates electron density in the pixel; d_k indicates the length of ray occupied by the pixel. For these parameters, k takes a value between 1 and 4, and TEC value for the ray can be given as

$$TEC=c\ (d1 \times N1 + d3 \times N3 + d4 \times N4) + err \quad (2)$$

In Fig.1, c is an estimate constant and err is the error term. CIT method is based on this basic concept.

Spherical Harmonic Model

The aim of the spherical harmonics model in 2D tomography is to characterize the horizontal ionospherical profile. The spherical harmonics are the angular portion of an orthogonal set of solutions and represented in a system of spherical coordinates. The spherical harmonics functions contain the product of latitude dependent associated Legendre functions and the sum of the longitude dependent sine and cosine terms. The spherical harmonics expansion fit together exactly with identical shapes on the sphere. The number of tiles is determined by the degree and order of the expansion. The degree corresponds to the number of wavelengths on both sides of the latitudinal space and the order corresponds to number of wave lengths on the both sides of the longitudes[4]. The mathematical expression of vertical TEC using spherical harmonics is

$$TEC\ (\theta, \lambda) = \sum_{n=0}^{n} \sum_{m=0}^{m} P_{mn}\ [\cos(\theta)]\{C_{mn} \cos(m\lambda) + S_{mn} \sin(m)\} \quad (3)$$

Where, θ is the geographical latitude of an IPP

ë is the geographical longitude of an IPP

n, m are integer degree and order of Legendre function, respectively

C_{nm}, S_{nm} are unknown spherical harmonics coefficients

$P_{nm}[\cos(\theta)]$ are normalized associated legendry functions.

The degree and order of the Legendre function defines the resolution of the model. For sparsely spaced observations, it is necessary to employ a low order fit.

A spherical harmonic expansion is a two-dimensional Fourier series defined on a sphere and comprises the product of latitude-dependent associated Legendre functions and the sum of longitude-dependent sine and cosine terms (the Fourier series). The spherical harmonic expansion tessellates the sphere into a number of rectangular tiles with the boundaries between adjacent tiles representing the roots of the orthonormal Fourier functions. The number of tiles is determined by the degree and order of the expansion, with higher degree and order implying a larger number of tiles. Within the context of this study, the degree corresponds to the number of wavelengths spanning the latitudinal space and the order, the number of wavelengths spanning longitude. An example of a 15x10 degree/order SHM is given in Fig. 2.

Figure 2 Representation of spherical harmonic orthogonal basis functions of degree 15 and order 10

Modified Spherical Harmonic Analysis

The modified spherical harmonic (MSHA) methodology introduced in this study utilizes the IPPs Sun-fixed longitude, $\ddot{e}_s$, i.e., the longitude expressed relative to the Sun's mean geographic longitude[5]. Sun-fixed longitude conveniently encapsulates the IPPs time and longitudinal variation in a single angular observation spanning 360º over a twenty-four hour revolution and is calculated from the geographical longitude, ë, by

$$\lambda_s = (180^0 - \Omega_e \cdot t) - \lambda \quad (4)$$

Where, Ω_e represents the Earth rotation rate and *t* the time elapsed since midnight UT.

An *n*-degree, zero-order spherical harmonic expansion is a zonal harmonic, which is an associated Legendre function Pnm, reduced to the Legendre

function Pn = Pn0. Zonal harmonics are latitudinal dependent functions defined along a longitude meridian and, in the context of global modeling, have a terrestrial wavelength, ë*t*, of 360°/*n* degrees (2p*R*/*n* km with R the Earth radius). For example, a 15-degree Legendre function has a terrestrial wavelength of 24° (~2672 km).

A new approach introduced in this study involves scaling the regional IPP co-latitude from a spherical angle to a hemisphere prior to applying the conventional spherical harmonic model. The scaling function is similar to that introduced by De Santis (1991), and involves translating and scaling the IPP co-latitude by employing the minimum co-latitude of the IPPs, , ϕ_0, and the spherical angle, θ, of the observations:

$$\phi\ ' = 90/\ \theta\ (\phi - \phi_0) \qquad (5)$$

The IPP co-latitude, f, is subsequently replaced by the scaled co-latitude, f ', defined on a hemisphere [0°, 90º] and used in the conventional spherical harmonic model and henceforth referred to as the modified spherical harmonic (MSHA) model. This transformation is valid as the Legendre polynomials form a set of orthogonal functions on [0°, 180º], but may be used as two sets of orthogonal functions on [0°, 90º] to fit any general functions defined in this

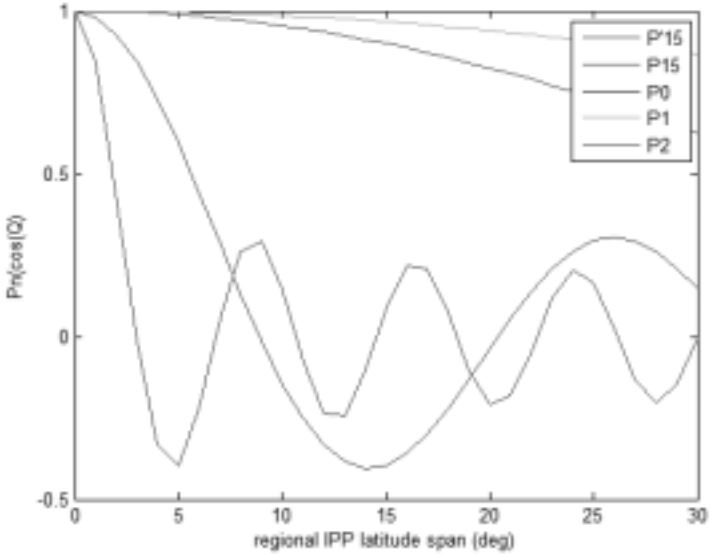


Figure 3 Variation of Legendre function for degrees 0, 1, 2 and 15.

The variation of Legendre function over the regional IPP latitude span for the degrees 0, 1, 2, 15 is shown in Fig. 3. It is clear from the above figure that Ionospheric parameters variation can be better observed with higher order Legendre function.

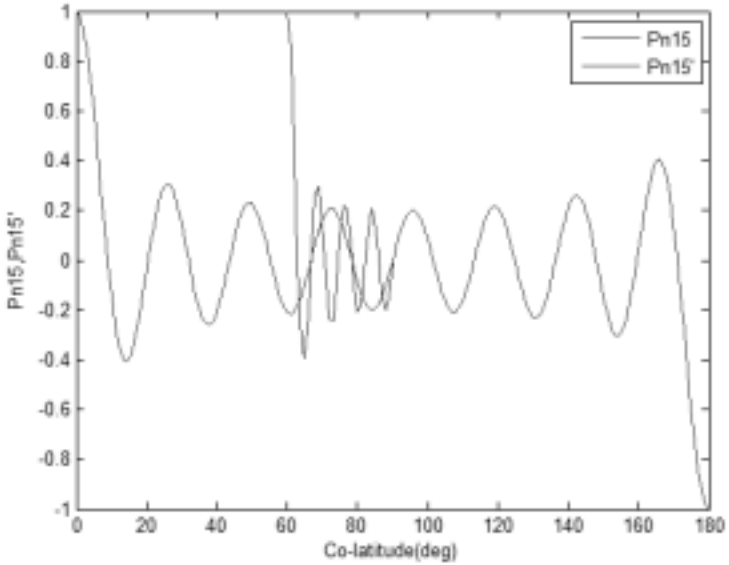


Figure 4 Comparison of Pn and Pn^1 for n = 15.

The Legendre functions P_n, P_n^1 constructed from a spherical co-latitude range [0^0, 180º] and from the modified spherical harmonics latitude range[0^0, 90º] are shown in Fig. 4. It is clear from the figure that the Ionospheric parameters variation can be better observed with modified spherical harmonic Legendre function.

Results

The dual frequency GPS receiver data of the IISc, Bangalore (IGS Station Lat/Long: 13.02^0 / 77.57^0) is collected corresponding to a typical day (22^{nd} July 2009). The data is sampled at a sampling rate of 30 seconds for the analysis. The Converter software tool of Novatel make is used to convert receiver specific data format into Receiver Independent Exchange (RINEX) format. Data is processed to see the visibility of the satellites over the entire day. This data is analyzed to investigate the variations in Ionospheric

parameters such as Total Electron Content, electron density etc. The details of visible Satellites auch as Azimuth Angle in Degrees, Elevation Angle in Degrees, IPP latitude, IPP longitude, Slant TEC Using code range measurements, VTEC, Slant factor and Ionospheric delay are listed in Table 1. From these values it can be observed that at 6:30 hrs local time (+5.30 of GPS time gives the local time) the VTEC value is 3.360001 and at 13:30 hrs (i.e., at 8:00 GPS hrs) the VTEC value is 39.19802. Hence, the VTEC is maximum during the mid of the day and is minimum in the early hours.

Table 1 Details of the Satellites in view on 22nd July 2009

SVPRN	GPS Time in Hours	Azimuth Angle in Degrees	Elevation Angle in Degrees	IPP latitude	IPP longitude	Slant TEC Using code range measurements	VTEC	Slant Factor	Ionospheric delay
31	1:00	190.60924	55.722	4.326933	106.323	6.6257	3.360001	1.97193	0.0546
31	2:00	246.52054	86.395	13.36117	81.15816	3.370914	3.370912	1.000001	0.0547
31	3:00	6.55703	60.692	41.75323	85.64127	8.501041	7.308372	1.163192	0.1187
31	4:00	19.72022	35.078	49.03064	120.3109	12.8800	7.327092	1.75787	0.1190
31	5:00	35.52147	16.006	29.82283	15.8563	30.1772	12.76273	2.364485	0.2072
7	6:00	277.65881	16.735	39.84741	146.298	34.79429	30.32253	1.147473	0.4924
7	7:00	305.37782	22.379	41.93916	36.3646	31.61473	15.15909	2.085529	0.2461
28	8:00	242.93328	21.872	22.64532	18.08999	41.34381	39.19802	1.05468	0.6365
28	9:00	272.40423	32.687	21.78501	122.7464	34.51822	33.13861	1.041632	0.5381
28	10:00	305.95204	35.635	5.947078	26.12532	35.19412	31.44878	1.119093	0.5106
28	11:00	337.72235	35.66	13.0836	22.78825	28.17814	25.46825	1.106403	0.4135
28	12:00	8.35625	37.537	11.65291	122.4935	37.20276	13.14213	2.830802	0.2134
28	13:00	41.80672	41.448	15.09191	36.89625	26.35037	16.54012	1.593119	0.2686
28	14:00	80.55884	41.703	34.23964	33.44526	22.77098	17.92295	1.270494	0.2910
28	15:00	115.75369	31.171	37.98435	104.4649	29.58705	11.61903	2.54643	0.1887
28	16:00	137.09218	11.701	45.59029	7.095052	16.83554	14.60323	1.267704	0.2371
27	17:00	208.29619	19.941	53.44922	134.2329	24.25605	21.81501	1.111897	0.3542
29	18:00	326.31404	17.857	78.63988	48.92584	16.81169	14.37931	1.169158	0.2335
29	19:00	339.5561	38.982	62.00727	90.81668	10.04322	9.672557	1.038321	0.1571
29	20:00	347.30854	66.266	8.996005	102.1142	5.51187	2.313164	2.382829	0.0376
29	21:00	180.14697	82.157	9.77402	71.54957	6.38768	3.438487	1.857701	0.0558
29	22:00	175.11865	50.694	39.3908	49.84037	5.79746	3.836376	1.511181	0.0623
29	23:00	169.79847	23.334	79.12719	87.72818	4.92165	4.807407	1.023765	0.0781

Variation of the VTEC over the entire day of 22nd July 2009 is shown in Figure 5. VTEC data of few satellites i.e. SV PRN 31, SV PRN 7, SV PRN 27 , SV PRN 29 , SV PRN 6 and SV PRN 28 is used to construct the plot shown in Figure 5.

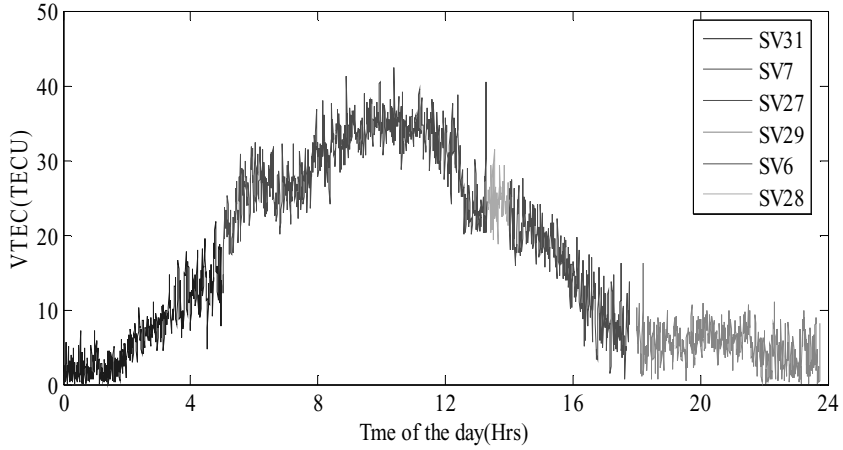


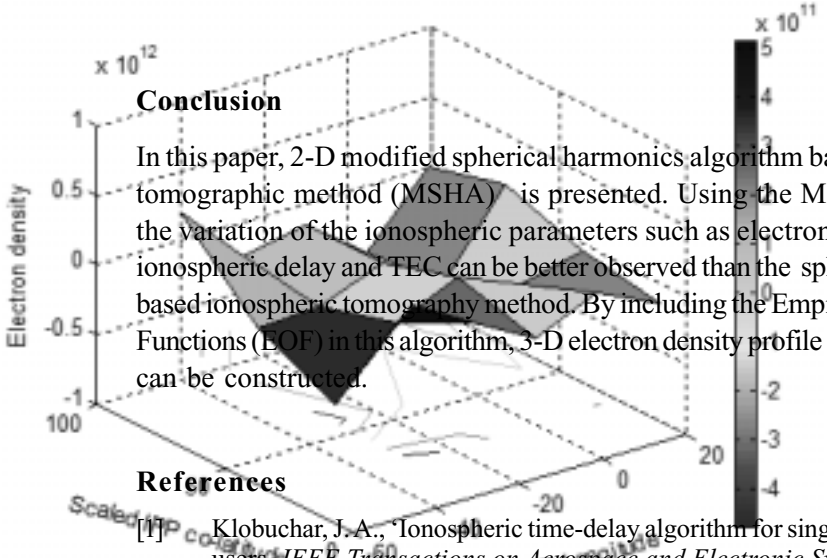
Figure 5 Total Electron Content computed using pseudorange measurements on 22nd July 2009

Using the details listed in Table 1, electron density profile is constructed at an epoch 11:15:00Hrs (LT) using the Modified Spherical Harmonic method (MSHA).Using this method, electron density profile for the Legendre function of degree 3, degree 10 and degree 15 are constructed and the corresponding Spherical harmonic coefficients are tabulated. For degree 3, number of SHF coefficients obtained is 20.The time taken for computation for degree 3 is 0.961830 sec. The Electron density values corresponding to these SHF coefficients are computed and are plotted over the IPP latitude and longitude. Figure 5 represents the electron density profile for Legendre function of degree 3 and the SHF coefficients are presented in Table 1.

Table 2 Spherical harmonic coefficients for Legendre function of degree 3.

Latitude/ Longitude	0	30	60	90
-46.0000	5.1375	-4.7700	-2.8474	3.4828
-31.1674	3.6724	3.2293	-1.7600	-1.4305
-16.3348	-2.9910	-2.3250	0	0
-1.5021	-0.2198	0	0.2835	0.5016
13.3305	0	-0.1104	-0.4646	-0.5472

Figure 6 Electron density profile for Legendre function of degree 3



Conclusion

In this paper, 2-D modified spherical harmonics algorithm based ionospheric tomographic method (MSHA) is presented. Using the MSHA algorithm the variation of the ionospheric parameters such as electron density profile, ionospheric delay and TEC can be better observed than the spherical harmonic based ionospheric tomography method. By including the Empirical Orthogonal Functions (EOF) in this algorithm, 3-D electron density profile of the ionosphere can be constructed.

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On Wave Solutions of Kilmister and Newmann's Weakened Field Equations

M. Ansari

Abstract

Gravitational situations arising out of the introduction of the two functions A and B in the flat metric have been examined by Sharan (1965) and some cases have been investigated in presence of electromagnetic field and the cosmological term. In the present paper I have considered the weakened field equations originally given by Kilmister and Newman (1961), Pirani, Rund, Eddington and Rund (1967) in a space-time metric $ds^2 = -dx^2 - dy^2 - dz^2 - dt^2 + 2Adzdt + 2Bdxdy$, when $A = A(z,t)$ and $B = B(x,y)$ and have established the existence of plane wave-like solutions. In this space-time the interesting case is that the field equations provide two differential equations that are integrable in terms of elliptic functions.

Key Words: electromagnetic field, weakened field equations, wave-like solutions, elliptic functions.

Introduction

Einstein's field equations in the theory of general relativity is given by

$$G_{ik} \equiv R_{ik} - \frac{1}{2} g_{ik} R = -kT_{ik} , \qquad (1.1)$$

where k is a coupling constant to be determined by comparison with experiments and T_{ik} is the energy momentum tensor in the presence of

M. Ansari, Department of Mathematics, North-Eastern Hill University, (mansari@nehu.ac.in; mansari12_2006@yahoo.co.in).

matter, R_{ik} is the Ricci tensor and R is the scalar curvature defined by

$$R = g^{ik} R_{ik}$$

The tensor G_{ik} enjoys the properties

$$(a)\ G_{ik} = G_{ki} \quad and \quad (b)\ \ G^{i}_{k;i} = \left(g^{hi} G_{hk}\right)_{;i} = 0 ,$$

where a semicolon (;) followed by an index denotes covariant differentiation. In vacuum T_{ik} vanishes and (1.1) reduces to

$$R_{ik} = 0 \qquad (1.2)$$

Eddington, Buchdahl, Kilmister and Newman, Rund and Du Plessis have suggested vacuum field equations alternative to (1.2) which are weaker than (1.2) in the sense that they admit a class of solutions for which (1.2) holds, and have called such field equations "Weakened Field Equations". Thompson [1] has made a study of these equations and has concluded that the weakened field equations are too weak. D. Lovelock [2], [3] has solved a set of five weakened field equations, namely

$$J_{ijk} \equiv R^{a}_{ijk;a} = 0 \qquad (1.3)$$

$$G_{ik} \equiv (-g)^{\frac{1}{4}} \left[g^{ih} R_{kj;ih} - g^{ih} R_{ij;kh} + \frac{1}{6} R_{;k;i} - \frac{1}{6} g_{ik} g^{ih} R_{;jh} - R^{ih} G_{ihik} + \frac{R}{6} g^{ih} G_{ihik} \right] - 0 \qquad (1.4)$$

with properties

$$(a)\ G_{jk} = G_{kj} \quad and \quad (b) G^{j}_{k;j} = 0,$$

$$E^{hk} \equiv (-g)^{\frac{1}{4}} \left[g^{hj} g^{ki} \left\{ 2R_{jlim} R^{ml} + g^{ml} R_{ij;ml} - R_{;ij} \right\} - \frac{1}{2} g^{hk} \left(R^{l}_{n} R^{in}_{l} - g^{lm} R_{lm;} \right) \right] = 0 , \qquad (1.5)$$

with properties

$$(a)\ E^{hk} = E^{kh}\ and\ (b)\ E^{hk}_{;k} = 0,$$

$$\epsilon^{rs} \equiv (-g)^{\frac{1}{2}}\left[(g^{rs}g^{tu} - \frac{1}{2}g^{rt}g^{su} - \frac{1}{2}g^{ru}g^{st})R_{;ut} + R\left(R^{sr} - \frac{1}{4}g^{sr}R\right)\right] = 0\ , \qquad (1.6)$$

with properties

$$(a)\ \epsilon^{rs} = \epsilon^{sr}\ \ and\ (b)\ \ \epsilon^{rs}_{;r} = 0,$$

and

$$H^{ij}_{k} \equiv R^{ij}_{;k} = 0. \qquad (1.7)$$

Here C_{jhik} is the Weyl curvature given by

$$C_{jhik} = R_{jhik} - \frac{1}{2}(R_{jk}g_{hi} - R_{hi}g_{jk} - R_{ji}g_{hk} + R_{hk}g_{ji}) + \frac{R}{6}(g_{ij}g_{hk} - g_{hi}g_{jk}) \qquad (1.8)$$

Although the physical implications of these weakened field equations are yet not well established many authors have tried to find the solutions of these field equations in the hope that these may be useful in future. Kilmister & Newman [4] and Pirani, Rund, Eddington & Rund [5] originally suggested these field equations. Here we propose to solve the above field equations (1.3) to (1.7) in a space-time whose metric is in the form [6]

$$ds^2 = -dx^2 - dy^2 - dz^2 + dt^2 - 2Adzdt - 2Bdxdy, \qquad (1.9)$$

where $A \equiv A(z,t) and\ B \equiv B(x,y)$

1. Calculation of Christoffel Symbols and Ricci Tensors

The determinant g of the metric (1.9) is found to be

$$g = -(1 + A^2)(1 - B^2) \qquad (2.1)$$

Since g is negative, $B^2 < 1$. The non–vanishing components of g^{ij} are

$$g^{11} = g^{22} = \frac{g^{12}}{B} = \frac{-1}{1-B^2}$$

$$-g^{33} = g^{44} = \frac{g^{34}}{A} = \frac{1}{1+A^2} \qquad (2.2)$$

and the surviving components of Christoffel symbols of second kind $\begin{Bmatrix} k \\ i\ j \end{Bmatrix}$ are

$$\begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 1\ 1 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{-BB_1}{1-B^2}, \qquad \begin{Bmatrix} 3 \\ 3\ 3 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{AA_3}{1+A^2},$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} 2 \\ 1\ 1 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{-B_1}{1-B^2}, \qquad \begin{Bmatrix} 4 \\ 3\ 3 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{A_3}{1+A^2},$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2\ 2 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{-B_2}{1-B^2}, \qquad \begin{Bmatrix} 3 \\ 4\ 4 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{-A_4}{1+A^2}, \qquad (2.3)$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} 2 \\ 2\ 2 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{-BB_2}{1-B^2}, \qquad \begin{Bmatrix} 4 \\ 4\ 4 \end{Bmatrix} = \frac{AA_4}{1+A^2},$$

where B_1, B_2, A_3 and A_4 stand for $\frac{\partial B}{\partial x}$, $\frac{\partial B}{\partial y}$, $\frac{\partial A}{\partial z}$ and $\frac{\partial A}{\partial t}$ respectively.

The non-vanishing independent components of R_{ij} are given by

$$R_{11} = R_{22} = \frac{-R_{12}}{B} = X\ ,$$

$$-R_{33} = R_{44} = \frac{R_{34}}{A} = Y, \qquad (2.4)$$

where

$$X \equiv \frac{B_{12}}{1-B^2} + \frac{BB_1B_2}{(1-B^2)^2}\ ,$$

$$Y \equiv \frac{A_{34}}{1+A^2} - \frac{AA_3A_4}{(1+A^2)^2}. \qquad (2.5)$$

From (2.2) & (2.4) the scalar curvature R is given by

$$R = 2(-X+Y). \qquad (2.6)$$

From (2.2) & (2.4) the non-vanishing components of R^{ij} are

$$R^{11} = R^{22} = \frac{R_{12}}{B} = \frac{X}{1-B^2},$$

$$-R^{33} = R^{44} = \frac{R_{34}}{A} = \frac{Y}{1+A^2}. \qquad (2.7)$$

The non-vanishing components of curvature tensor $R_{ijlm}\left(=-R_{jilm}=-R_{ijml}=R_{lmij}\right)$ are given by

$$R_{1212} = B_{12} + \frac{BB_1B_2}{1-B^2},$$

$$R_{3434} = A_{34} - \frac{AA_3A_4}{1+A^2} \qquad (2.8)$$

Using (2.4), (2.6) & (2.8), the non-vanishing components of Weyl curvature tensor C_{jhik} from (1.8) are computed as

$$-C_{1313} = -C_{2323} = C_{1414} = C_{2424} = \frac{-X+Y}{6},$$

$$C_{1212} = \frac{(1-B^2)(5X+Y)}{3},$$

$$C_{3434} = \frac{(1+A^2)(5Y+X)}{3},$$

$$C_{1324} = C_{1423} = \frac{AB(X-Y)}{6},$$

$$C_{1314} = C_{2324} = \frac{A(-X+Y)}{6},$$

$$C_{1323} = -C_{1424} = \frac{B(-X+Y)}{6}.$$

2. Solutions of the Weakened Field Equations (1.3)

The curvature tensor R^a_{ijk} satisfies the Bianchi identity [7]

$$R^a_{ijk;l} + R^a_{ikl;j} + R^a_{ilj;k} = 0. \qquad (3.1)$$

Let us put a = 1 and sum with respect to 'a' remembering that R^a_{ijk} is skew-symmetric in *j* and *k*, we find

$$R^a_{ijk;a} = R_{ij;k} - R_{ik;j}. \qquad (3.2)$$

Therefore, the weakened field equation (1.3) reduces to

$$R_{ij;k} - R_{ik;j} = 0 \qquad (3.3)$$

Using the values of $\begin{Bmatrix} k \\ i\ j \end{Bmatrix}$ and R_{ij} from (2.3) and (2.4) in (3.3), we obtain

$$\partial_2 X + B\partial_1 X = 0, \qquad \partial_1 X + B\partial_2 X = 0, \qquad (3.4a)$$

$$\partial_4 Y + A\partial_3 Y = 0, \qquad \partial_3 Y - A\partial_4 Y = 0, \qquad (3.4b)$$

Solving (3.4a) & (3.4b), we obtain

$$\partial_1 X = 0, \quad \partial_2 X = 0, \ \partial_3 Y = 0, \quad \partial_4 Y = 0, \tag{3.5}$$

which implies

$$\frac{B_{12}}{1-B^2} + \frac{BB_1B_2}{(1-B^2)^2} = k_1 \tag{3.6}$$

and

$$\frac{A_{34}}{1+A^2} + \frac{AA_3A_4}{(1+A^2)^2} = k_2\,, \tag{3.7}$$

where k_1 and k_2 are constants.

Equations (3.6) and (3.7) are non-linear partial differential equations and their solutions are complicated. However, on taking $B = B(x+y), A = A\,(z-t)$ and substituting $\sin\psi$ for B and $\sinh\phi$ for A, the equations (3.6) and (3.7) reduce to

$$\frac{d\psi}{\sqrt{c_1 + 2k_1 \sin\psi}} = d\beta \tag{3.8}$$

and

$$\frac{d\phi}{\sqrt{c_2 - 2k_2 \sinh\phi}} = d\alpha \tag{3.9}$$

respectively, where c_1 and c_2 are constants of integration and $\beta = x + y, \alpha = z - t.$

Putting $\tan\frac{\psi}{2} = t_1$, $\tan\frac{\phi}{2} = t_2$, it is easy to see that the equations (3.8) and (3.9) take the form

$$d\beta = \frac{2dt_1}{\sqrt{c_1 t_1^4 + 4k_1 t_1^3 - 2c_1 t_1^2 + 4k_1 t_1 + C_1}} \tag{3.10}$$

and

$$d\alpha = \frac{2dt_2}{\sqrt{c_2 t_2^4 + 4k_2 t_2^3 - 2c_2 t_2^2 - 4k_2 t_2 + C_2}}\,. \tag{3.11}$$

The equations (3.10) and (3.11) are integrals of the form $\int F\,(t,u)dt,$ where F denotes a rational function of t & u and where

$$u^2 = a_0 t^4 + 4a_1 t^3 + 6a_2 t^2 + 4a_3 t + a_4$$

is a quartic or cubic function of t without repeated factor, which can be evaluated in terms of elliptic functions [8].

Thus the solution of the weakened field equation (1.3) consists of g_{ij} given by (1.9) where $B = B(x+y) and\ A = A\,(z-t)$ which are determined respectively from equations (3.10) and 3.11).

Similarly in the other three cases when

$B = B(x-y), \quad A = A\,(z-t);\ \ B = B(x+y),$

$A = A\,(z+t) and\ B = B(x-y), A = A\,(z+t)$

equations (3.6) & (3.7) reduce respectively to

$$\frac{d\psi}{\sqrt{c_1 - 2k_1 \sin\psi}} = d\beta, \qquad \frac{d\phi}{\sqrt{c_2 - 2k_2 \sinh\phi}} = d\alpha\,, \tag{3.12}$$

$$\frac{d\psi}{\sqrt{c_1 + 2k_1 \sin\psi}} = d\beta, \qquad \frac{d\phi}{\sqrt{c_2 - 2k_2 \sinh\phi}} = d\alpha\,. \tag{3.13}$$

and

$$\frac{d\psi}{\sqrt{c_1 - 2k_1 \sin\psi}} = d\beta, \qquad \frac{d\phi}{\sqrt{c_2 + 2k_2 \sinh\phi}} = d\alpha\,. \tag{3.14}$$

Like equations (3.8) & (3.9), equations (3.12), (3.13) and (3.14) each can be again reduced to forms (3.10) & (3.11) and hence will be integrable in terms of elliptic functions. Consequently the solutions of (1.3) corresponding to these chosen forms of A & B can be obtained on the same lines as in the case when $B = B(x+y), A = A(z-t).$

3. Solutions of the Weakened Field Equations (1.4), (1.5) and (1.6)

Theorem 4.1 A necessary and sufficient condition that g_{ij} given by (1.9) be a solution of weakened field equations (1.4), (1.5) & (1.6) is

$$(a)\quad (1-B^2)(X_{11}-X_{22})+(BB_1X_1+B_1X_2-BB_2X_2-B_2X_1)=0,$$

$$(b)\quad (1-A^2)(Y_{33}-Y_{44})-(AA_3Y_3+A_3Y_4+AA_4Y_4-A_4Y_3)=0, \tag{4.2}$$

where the suffixes 1, 2, 3, 4 denote partial differentiation with respect to x, y, z, t respectively and the values X and Y are given by (2.5).

Proof: Substituting the components of $g_{ij}, g^{ij}, R_{ij}, R^{ij}, \left\{ {k \atop i\ j} \right\}, R_{ijlm}$ and C_{jhik} from section 2 in the field equations (1.4), (1.5) & (1.6) and solving each field equation separately, we see that each field equation gives the same condition (4.2).

Conversely, if the relation (4.2) holds then the weakened field equations (1.4), (1.5) & (1.6) are identically satisfied. This proves the theorem.

4. Solutions of the Weakened Field Equations (1.7)

Using the components of R^{ij} from (2.7) in the field equation (1.7), we get

$$\frac{\partial_1 X}{1-B^2}-\frac{2BB_1X}{(1-B^2)^2}=0\ , \tag{5.1}$$

$$\frac{\partial_2 X}{1-B^2}-\frac{2BB_2X}{(1-B^2)^2}=0\ . \tag{5.2}$$

$$\frac{\partial_3 Y}{1+A^2}+\frac{2AA_3Y}{(1+A^2)^2}=0\ , \tag{5.3}$$

$$\frac{\partial_4 Y}{1+A^2}+\frac{2AA_4Y}{(1+A^2)^2}=0\ . \tag{5.4}$$

Solving (5.1) to (5.4), we obtain equation (3.5) of section 3, which gives

$$X\equiv \frac{B_{12}}{1-B^2}+\frac{BB_1B_2}{(1-B^2)^2}=k_3 \tag{5.5}$$

and

$$Y\equiv \frac{A_{34}}{1+A^2}-\frac{AA_3A_4}{(1+A^2)^2}=k_4 \tag{5.6}$$

where k_3 and k_4 are constants.

Equations (5.5) and (5.6) are similar to equations (3.6) & (3.7) except for the constants which are now k_3 and k_4 instead k_1 of and k_2

Consequently, the solutions of the field equations (1.7) can be obtained on the same lines as those of (1.3) obtained in section 3.

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Book Reviews

Bengt G. Karlsson, *Unruly Hills: Nature and Nation in India's Northeast*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan and Social Science Press, 2011.

Bengt Karlsson has given us a penetrating, although dispiriting, analysis of the terrible economic, political, and environmental problems that, since independence, have beset the area that now forms the Northeast Indian State of Meghalaya. It is a story with many parts.

Early in the 19th century, British power began to encroach on the area that we now think of as Northeast India, and by the end of that century, the plateau that lies south of the valley, and that now forms Meghalaya, was under firm British control. From the start, the hills and their people were seen, by their conquerors, as very different from people of the low lands. Their languages, their economy, their social organization, and even their looks all marked them as distinct. They were, and still are, known as "tribals" in contrast to the "non-tribal" Assamese to the north and the Bengalis to the south. They were pulled, not by their own choice, first into British India, and later into independent India, but they retain a strong sense of their differences from the other citizens of the country.

The British imposed their rule, but left much of the culture and technology of the hill people intact. Christian missionaries found the hill people more receptive to their teaching than most people in British India, and Christianity began its spread. As it did so, it has come to distinguish the hill people in yet another way from their neighbours in the plains.

In the decades since independence, accelerating economic pressures have brought increasing disruption. It is this disruption that forms the topic of Karlsson's book, and he describes its components with surgical care.

1. Resources: The Indian Northeast, including Meghalaya, has natural resources that are badly needed by India's developing economy: oil, coal, timber, limestone (for cement), hydroelectric power, even uranium. It is claimed that 1/4 to 1/3 of India's remaining forests are, or were, to be found in NE India. These riches promise wealth but at the same time they threaten disruption, deforestation, and pollution. Already during British times, local farmers were displaced to make room for tea plantations. So many labourers from distant parts of India were imported to work in the tea gardens that the ethnic mix of some areas was radically changed, a development that was not at all welcomed by the earlier residents. Tea brought disruption and displacement for some local people, but it brought wealth to the planters, and it was not to be stopped. Today, outsiders want the Northeast's many natural resources, but who owns all this wealth? Who should benefit by it? It is easy for people in other parts of India to feel that the whole country should benefit, but it is just as easy for local people to feel that the district, the local region, the village, or even the individual landowner should be the primary beneficiary. People living in other parts of India sometimes complain that the Centre is subsidizing the remote and underpopulated northeast. Northeasterners are more likely to feel that their resources are being stripped and sent away for the benefit of others. Disputes are inevitable and fierce.

2. Land tenure: Most residents of Meghalaya were once slash and burn farmers. Every second year they would need to clear a new patch of forest for planting. Before clearing, the villagers had to agree on which plot of land each family could use, but usage did not confer permanent "ownership". Among the Garos, who live in the western part of Meghalaya, each village had a "Nokma" (a title that is generally translated as "Headman") who was recognized as having some sort of unwritten "title" to the village land. The Nokma participated in assigning plots to families, but he was not so much a land owner as a custodian who held the land on behalf of the village farmers. After the British took control of the hills, sketch maps were drawn to show the approximate location of borders between the villages, but the individual family plots were never mapped. Of course these changed from one year to the next, and their boundaries are still known only to the villagers.

A few small parcels of land have always been under more permanent family control. House plots were, and are, occupied for many years. Fruit trees and bamboo clumps belonged to the planter, but these required only small amounts of land and no one was tempted to plant more trees or bamboo than they needed for their own use. More recently wet rice fields have been carved into the low places between the hills, and these wet fields can be registered with the district government as privately owned property. Larger plots are now being removed from communal use to make way for perennial crops such as tea or pineapples. Villagers find ways to privatize land that was once used communally, and even outsiders sometimes manage to gain

control over plots that once belonged to the villagers.

Who, then, "owns" the land? Villagers had rights to claim and clear and plots, but private "ownership" as recognized in many parts of India, and in the west, simply didn't exist. The British rulers regarded land that was tilled only periodically as "empty," owned by no one, and they felt free to designate it as reserved forest where no one could cut or cultivate. Villagers were compensated for the loss of their buildings, but not for loss of their agricultural land. More recently land has been taken to form national forests, something that is generally seen as desirable, though not by the farmers who lose their rights to cultivate it periodically.

In colonial times, most timber grew so far from any road or navigable river that lumbering would not have been profitable. Limestone, coal and hydroelectric power were not yet important enough to cause serious disputes. Today, all these resources can yield previously unimagined wealth, but compensation may never reach the villagers who once grew crops where the resources lie buried. Some Garo Nokmas have managed to sell timber rights but this violates the rights of other villagers. Terrible quarrels seem inevitable.

Along with the erosion of land rights has come a general spread of the monetary economy. Specialized crops are, increasingly, grown for sale. More goods are purchased. More and more objects and more and more labour are given prices and exchanged for money. Even land acquires a monetary value. It can sometimes be bought and sold. Earlier community rights are undermined.

3. Ethnicity: India has elaborate rules that are meant to protect the autochthonous inhabitants from encroachment by outsiders. These rules have certainly slowed the alienation of land belonging to the Garos, Khasis, and Jaintias, the three major ethic groups of Meghalaya, but the rules also raise problems. People belonging to other, much smaller ethic groups have lived for generations in what is now Meghalaya, but their rights to live there and to work the land are not clearly recognized. Are Hajongs or Koch who live in the Garo Hills "immigrants" even though their ancestors have lived there for generations? Exactly who counts as a Garo, a Khasi, or a Jaintia? What about the children of mixed marriages? It seems impossible to find agreement in every case about exactly who is a Khasi or who is a Garo.

4. Politics: The people of northeast India do not always acknowledge their good fortunate in being able to elect their own representatives to their

District Councils, State Legislatures, and the National Parliament. Elections occur regularly and, more often than not, the candidate who gets the most votes is able to take office. Northeasterners would do well to compare themselves to the neighbouring Burmese and Tibetans. Still, electoral democracy never lives up to its promise. Political office is supposed to carry responsibilities; It always brings opportunities. The candidate who promises the most may not deliver the most, and the temptations to enrich oneself are hard to resist. In Northeast India, political corruption is pervasive. It is often more efficient to bribe the right politician than to campaign for representatives who will help to promote just laws and honest enforcement. The office holder knows that elections will come soon. He (rarely "she") has every motive to enrich himself while he has the chance. The citizenry comes to distrust electoral politics.

5. Disputes: When economy and society change as rapidly as they have changed in the Northeastern hills, disputes are inevitable, but the means for resolving them peacefully remain elusive. No issue has been more contentious than uranium mining in the Khasi Hills. It has passionate supporters who hope for easy wealth, and it has passionate opponents who fear not only the loss of their own land but serious ecological damage. Ordinary villagers lack any reliable source that would help them to understand the risks. From one side they hear bland assurances of complete safety. From the other side they are told that exposure to uranium will result in birth deformities. The average citizen has no way to find the truth that lies between these extremes, but has good reasons for distrusting the mining company. Scary stories from one side about the dangers of radiation are met with whitewash from the other side. Some people hope for wealth, others fear losing what little wealth they already have.

Other disputes have swirled around timber and coal mining, often among those who are competing for a share of the wealth. The ordinary citizen, who could once count on a plot of village land on which to grow his crops, may have little chance to profit from the new opportunities but every risk of loosing his traditional rights. It is little wonder than some are tempted toward violence.

6. Violence: Meghalaya has been spared the degree of violence that has engulfed Nagaland, Mizoram and some other parts of NE India, but it has not escaped entirely. Where serious political injustices are perceived, it is tempting to threaten violence. Restless, adventurous, or unemployed young

men, who feel that they or their families have been treated unjustly, may even find a degree romance about living in the forest and promising to bring "liberation" to the unliberated. They may hope to achieve just ends by violent means, but violence turns easily to corruption. "Contributions" become "taxes" and "taxation" becomes theft. Insurgents, sometimes hanging out in the forest, need to eat, and collecting "tolls" from each passing coal truck is an easy way to make money. Until it gets too high the "toll" becomes a routine business expense for the trucks, but political protest that is backed up by the threat of violence passes over easily to extortion.

Too often, also, the Indian government, far away in Delhi, sees the violence but fails to understand the corruption and injustice that feed the violence. Delhi over-reacts, and sends in the army. The army overreacts and shoots. Soldiers have sometimes fired into peaceful crowds. Sometimes they have killed unarmed youths who are imagined to be insurgents, but in the "Emergency" the army goes unpunished. The Army seems to be everywhere in the Northeast, but the soldiers generally stay segregated from the general population. Neither the soldiers nor the citizenry make much effort to understand the other. Army violence and insurgent violence feed on each other, while ordinary citizens are caught in the middle, afraid to cooperate with either side for fear of inviting vengeance from the other.

7. Ecological disaster: Into this turmoil of corruption and threatened violence come people and industrial organizations that hope to grow rich from timber, coal, limestone, waterpower, or uranium. Bribes pass, conservation rules are ignored. Officials appointed to protect the forest too often find it more rewarding to sell the trees for timber than to protect them. Coal is mined with no effort to return the land to a condition where agriculture is again possible. All that is left are sacred and polluted hillsides. Safety is ignored. A few people do get rich, but the best jobs go to outsiders. Others toil in miserable conditions in unsafe coalmines. Denuded forestland is left to erode. Places once known as biodiversity hot spots become biologically impoverished. People are threatened by wholesale displacement to make way for the flooding caused by dams. Just who "owns" the land remains unclear, but few of those who have had a claim on its use receive much compensation.

Most of Karlsson's book is taken up with this depressing story. In the penultimate chapter, however, he gropes for a ray of hope. He describes a movement among some people in Meghalaya who would like to use

"Traditional Institutions" and "Indigenous Governance", to bring justice to the local people. He describes the convening of traditional village "durbars" where villagers gather to talk out the issues and to build consensus about how to deal with the problems and opportunities that they face. In the past, such gatherings could sometimes bring a consensus and resolve local disputes. If these "TI"s, as these Traditional Institutions seem to be called, could be revived, they might help to sort out the conflicting options that face people today.

I wish I could share Karlsson's hope for the TI's, but when opinions are sharply divided, as they often are on matters of land ownership, mining, and conservation, it is not clear to me how they could provide a way to reach a workable consensus. In times past, the TI's could probably exert social pressure on a disagreeing minority, persuading it to go along with the majority. When the stakes are as high as they are today, consensus is not so likely. If the TI's were ever to gain enough power to determine who should profit from the natural recourses, I would expect them quickly to become targets for the same kind of corruption that has already afflicted elected offices. I would hold out more hope for a gradually growing ability of voters to elect representatives who were more interested in working toward just ways for achieving development, than in lining their own pockets. That, however, will be a long and slow process and, in the meantime, some people will win and others will lose.

I do have a few quibbles. I wish that the acronyms could have been kept under better control. I struggled with "TI, DONER, SOT, ST, UCIL and dozens of others. Most, though not all, of these acronyms are defined in a list near the front of the book, but my memory is less than perfect and even when they were also defined on first introduction in the text, I had to keep leafing back to check the list. I would also have liked a more detailed index. More often than not, when I looked for a topic in the index, I failed to find it.

More seriously, Karlsson notes, but does not, I think, take sufficient account of the population growth in Meghalaya that would have strained resources even without either land alienation or mining. The 1951 census, the last for British India, gave the population of the area that now forms Meghalaya as 606,000. A half century later, the census of 2001 counted 2,319,000 people in the State, almost four times as many. (http://indiabudget.nic.in/es2006-07/chapt2007/tab97.pdf). Some of the increase, to be sure, is due to immigration, but the largest part is "natural" growth. It

seems unlikely that anything like traditional slash and burn agriculture could have adequately fed such a rapidly growing population. In earlier times, of course, that problem would have been solved by epidemics and famine.

Every part of this disaster is well known to the people of Meghalaya and Northeastern India, but Karlsson brings it all together in a most skillful way. He tells the story clearly and with compassion. He seems to have talked to people on all sides of every issue. He points to the many interests that compete for the wealth, and to the dilemmas that make the problems so intractable. The book deserves a wide readership, not only in Meghalaya, but elsewhere in India as well. Indeed, it is relevant far beyond India, for problems of corruption, land alienation, and rapacious destruction of natural resources are found on every continent.

Reviewed by:
Professor Robbins Burling
University of Michigan

H. Srikanth, *Indigenous Peoples in Liberal Democratic States: A Comparative Study of Conflict and Accommodation in Canada and India*, Bauu Press, Colorado, 2010, ISBN 13: 978-0-9820467-4-6, 242p.

This book is a product of the Canadian Studies Faculty Research Fellowship held by H. Srikanth in 2005. It deals with a growing, albeit contentious, field of inquiry in social sciences, as the questions surrounding "indigenous peoples" are many and satisfactory answers rather few. Part of the problem of Indigenous Peoples studies is the ideological stances taken, either openly or tacitly, by most scholars engaged in the subject. Such ideological inclination is also visible to some extent in this book, but in my estimate the author has successfully kept his ideological moorings within an acceptable limit.

In India some senior anthropologists like B. K. Roy Burman, P. K. Misra and André Beteille, whose understanding of Indian society is unquestionable, have reservations about accepting the word "indigenous peoples" in Indian context. They view Indian civilization as a byproduct of waves of migration from different directions over centuries and they consider it almost impossible to identify certain communities as "indigenous" and others not, as it is possible to do so, rather easily, in

countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America. Roy Burman even goes to the extent of alleging the international agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for injecting these concepts into the Indian soil. There are however other, younger, sociologists like Jaganath Pathy and Virginius Xaxa, who have no difficulty in accepting the word "indigenous peoples" in Indian contexts. Bengt Karlsson, a Swedish anthropologist working on the indigenous peoples of India for several years now, is also of the view that the concept of indigenous peoples is already out there and the only option social scientists have today is to engage with it.

One of the conceptual problems that scholars like Beteille and Xaxa have addressed at length is the relationship between indigenous peoples and Scheduled Tribes. This relationship has grown rather complex today because many Scheduled Tribes are claiming to be indigenous peoples or indigenous tribes in India.

Srikanth in this book carefully avoids entering into the complex debate on the relationship between scheduled tribes and indigenous peoples. Otherwise it would be difficult for him to compare the Scheduled Tribes of the hill areas of Northeast India with the First Nations of the British Columbia in Canada, which he does in the book under review. The author has of course given elaborate justification for such a comparison. Although the length at which the author has gone for justifying the comparison of the two regions itself makes one suspicious about the justifiability of the same one finds enough grounds for comparison. The author's admission of certain incomparable features between the two regions in both introduction and concluding chapters neutralizes any possible attack on him on the matter.

In the Introduction chapter the author deals with definitional aspects of indigenous peoples. Although this chapter is not exhaustive about the extant literature on the indigenous peoples it is adequate. In the second chapter he deals with colonial experiences of the First Nations in British Columbia. I think this is an excellent account of colonization of the British Columbia and the changes brought about by colonization in the society of the First Nations, whose inter-tribal wars not only became more violent but who even experienced the phenomenon of depopulation. Chapter 3 titled "British Colonialism and Hill Tribes of Composite Assam" brings us back to the Northeast region with the account of, among others, the role of the Christian

missionaries in mitigating tribal antagonism towards the British rule.

Chapter 4 takes us to Canada. In this chapter the author shows how, like the district councils in Northeast India, the band councils in British Columbia are restricted in their powers due to their dependence on federal funding. The author also notes that there are numerous experiments in Indian self-governance in British Columbia but most of them are recent and not yet studied dispassionately. The next chapter brings us back to Northeast India once again with a discussion on limits of political autonomy and problems of development in the hill areas of the region. One of the observations Srikanth makes in this chapter is that the hill tribes did not have liberal democratic traditions, which is perhaps a matter of debate and which cannot be settled without agreeing upon what really constitutes a liberal democratic tradition. On the district councils, however, he has rightly observed that they have not fulfilled the expectations of the people and have not been able to prevent the class polarization of the society and privatization of community land.

The concluding chapter summarizes the indigenous peoples' responses to colonial experiences and government policies towards them. The chapter also revisits the debates on native self-governance and the limitations of liberal democratic nation states.

I think the author has made his points very sensibly and logically in simple and jargon-free language. The book is free from printing errors although other kinds of errors have remained. For instance, he talks about Chimals in Andaman & Nicobar Islands on page 14 whereas there are no such people there. In the second chapter he does not make the conceptual distinction between colonization and colonialisation, which would be useful to represent the experiences in Canada and Northeast India respectively. Chapter 3 shows that he is ignorant about the conceptual distinction between dialect and language, as most people not initiated into Linguistics are. In the next chapter he uses First Nations, Indians and Status-Indians rather confusingly for his readers in India. Finally, there are several proper names that are wrongly spelt such as C.S. Belshow (correct Belshaw), S. K. Chaubey (correct Chaube), Bengst Karlsson (correct Bengt), Christopher von Furer-Haimendorf (correct Christoph), etc.

These small mistakes are however far outweighed by the positive contributions of the author in the book. The book is highly readable and the views expressed therein are rather balanced. I for one felt proud about the

fact that this book was written by one of my colleagues at North-Eastern Hill University. I wish more such books were published by my colleagues to do our university proud.

Reviewer:
T. B. Subba
Professor of Anthropology & Editor, *The NEHU Journal*

DECLARATION

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I, T. B. Subba, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

T. B. Subba

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