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Besides being a great man of science and a successful man of business, Sir John Evans took a most active and useful part in local affairs, for which his capacity was first rate. He was High Sheriff in 1881, chairman of Quarter Sessions, vice-chairman and afterwards chairman of the Hertfordshire County Council, and when he retired from the chairmanship his colleagues presented him with his portrait by Mr. John Collier and a silver-gilt cup. As the *West Herts Observer* said, "His masterly grasp of essentials, his statesmanlike vision, his marvellous capacity for public business of all kinds was the admiration of all who knew him. And now, mourned by a whole county for whose welfare he worked so long and so strenuously, he goes to his rest full of days and full of honours."

The trusteeship of the British Museum afforded opportunities both for his scientific and administrative abilities. He was one of the most active and useful members of that eminent body.

In private life he was a delightful companion, a genial host, and a staunch friend. In 1860 Sir Joseph Prestwich invited Sir J. Evans and me to go with him to Abbeville to examine the collections of M. Boucher de Perthes, who had found flint implements in the Somme gravels. His figures, however, did not do them justice, and they were generally regarded as accidental in their origin. We satisfied ourselves, however, that they were indisputably of human workmanship, and the trip was the precursor of many others and of a close and intimate friendship of over forty years.

He first married his cousin, the younger daughter of Mr. John Dickinson; secondly, Miss Phelps. His widow, Lady Evans, a daughter of Mr. Charles C. Lathbury, is herself a classical scholar and a keen antiquary.

His eldest son, Arthur, has made for himself a great and well-deserved reputation as an archæologist by his interesting discoveries in Crete. He is an F.R.S.—the fifth generation of his family to be so. The second son, Lewis, inherits his father's business ability and carries on the family business.

As *The Times* justly observed, until quite recently "his apparently unfailling vitality seemed to defy the advance of time." He attended the meeting of the Trustees of the British Museum on the 23rd May and his mind remained to the last as clear, bright, and powerful as ever. But his health had been for some time a source of anxiety to his friends. At last an operation became necessary, and he had not strength to rally from it. He will be much missed and deeply mourned.

AVEBURY.

India.

Rose.

On Caste in India. By H. A. Rose, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

52

The wholly admirable chapters on "Ethnology and Caste" and "Religions" in the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I., are by Mr. H. H. (now Sir Herbert) Risley and Mr. W. Crooke, respectively. Both will doubtless be read with the interest they merit, and the following remarks are penned in the hope of inviting the attention of anthropologists to them. In one respect the authors were unduly handicapped, only sixty-six pages being available for ethnology and caste, and but forty-four for religions—not a very generous allotment for such wide subjects when dealing with a fifth of the human race. But the authors have done wonders within these narrow space-limits.

It is perhaps to be regretted that caste and ethnology had perforce to be treated as one subject, because "ethnology" deals mainly with race, whereas caste is essentially a branch of sociology into which race only enters as one of several factors. So diverse, however, are the conditions in India, and so confused is Indian thought on this subject, that in practice we are often compelled to speak of "tribes and castes" almost as if

they were synonymous.* It is therefore necessary to caution the English reader against a misconception of these terms. A caste is essentially a sociological group (but *not* a unit), while a tribe is a natural growth from a definite ethnical seed (with, it may be, affiliated elements from other sources). To attempt, then, to ascertain the racial origin of a caste is to beg the whole question of its constitution. All the main castes in India would appear to be social groups, often very highly organised, but of heterogeneous origin and not ethnically homogeneous. A tribe, on the other hand, is usually in the main homogeneous, though extraneous elements may have been absorbed into it by the fiction of adoption.

In the earlier stages of ethnographical investigation in India it was too commonly assumed that the main Indian groups were racial units and such expressions as "the Rājput race," "the Jāt race," "the Paṭhān race," still occur far too frequently. The Jāts, for instance, are a congeries of tribes, the greater number of which have been yeomen or peasant cultivators from time immemorial; but many of them have sunk from Rājput status to their present social grade, while others have in all probability risen to it, as some are rising even now.

It is, however, to be remarked that in *Ethnology and Caste* the Jāts, Rājputs, Ahīrs, Gūjars, and other congeries of tribes are spoken of as "castes" of the tribal type. For the benefit of those tiresome people who want to define everything, even when it is logically indefinable, "caste" is defined on p. 311, as, *inter alia*, forming a single homogeneous community. To speak, therefore, of the Jāts as a caste is to postulate that they are "homogeneous." But in what are they homogeneous? In race?—That would assume that the Jāts all belong to one race, which is one of the most debateable questions in Indian ethnology: or in social status?—But the Jāts vary in social status enormously, some, *e.g.*, the ruling families of native states, avoiding widow re-marriage, while the ordinary Jāt peasantry of the Central Punjab practise, even if they do not avow, polyandry. Or are the Jāts to be regarded as homogeneous in religion? Certainly not, since many are Sikhs, more Muhammadans, and most are Hindus. That they profess to follow the same calling (agriculture) may be conceded, but that does not make them homogeneous: by the definition homogeneity is a different thing. A caste is "almost invariably" endogamous, but the Jāts are not so, for while the higher classes of them are extremely particular in forming matrimonial alliances, the lower orders are singularly lax and readily espouse women of menial castes. No doubt it is highly convenient to talk of the Jāt caste, and if one regards the definition on p. 311 as an elastic one, it is not open to serious objection; but, strictly speaking, the term "Jāt caste" is incorrect and apt to mislead, as soon as we attempt to define the word "caste" rigidly.

But if one quarrels with a definition one is not unnaturally met with the objection that "caste" ought to be defined somehow, and that if the Jāts do not form a "caste" they must form something else. The necessity, however, is not apparent. Indian institutions are, if possible, even looser than most Indian thought, and we are not bound to formulate precise definitions for nebulous Indian social terms or ideas. To the precisian it is no doubt trying to find that the native terminology is too vague to be translated, but what is one to do with a man who always describes himself as a "potter," Kumhār, by *race* (*zāt*), although he has never made a pot in his life and lives by plying donkeys for hire? All we can do is to examine the actual facts and see how these so-called castes or races are constituted.

To return to the facts: the Paṭhāns are composed of a congeries of Iranian tribes

* It is, as a rule, easy to distinguish "caste" from "tribe" in India, but the Indian peoples themselves appear to constantly confuse the two things, and the looseness of their terminology is largely responsible for much of our loose writing about "caste." Dr. Rivers' definition of Caste (MAN, 1907, p. 142 *supra*) is open to certain criticisms.

who have affiliated Hindkî (Indian) septs. The Rājputs are divided into countless branches, and they comprise thirty-six "royal" clans, one of which is called Huna or Hun; as there is no reason whatever to imagine that a pure Aryan clan would ever gratuitously assume the title of Hun, it is perfectly permissible to suppose that this Rājput clan is really Hun by origin and nothing else. It is indeed by no means impossible that other Rājput clans are Mongolian or Dravidian in origin, and we know, as a fact, that on the borders of Tibet all ruling families assume Rājput status. These facts hardly justify the assumption that the Jāts, Rājputs, or Pathāns, are of one race by origin; and, looking to the fact that India has been constantly invaded for centuries by various races, the probabilities are greatly against any such theory. No doubt the tendency of invading races to break up into groups of varying status is very strong in India; but there is also a marked tendency to coalesce into new groups, to form tribal confederacies, and even rude political organisations. And into these new groups are admitted not only the conquering but the conquered races. Thus, in the Punjab we find tribal confederacies like the Meos, composed of several distinct Rājput elements; a community like the Gaddīs, with a rude caste organisation within itself, and a group, which we cannot call a caste, of Kanets or hill peasants, some of whose septs are of historically proved Rājput origin. In studying the Indian social system we must look at all the facts and factors, not merely at the most striking. The salient feature of Indian society is its unending fissiparous tendency; but its power to combine and crystallise is also great, though obscured by the absence of accurate and detailed information.

It is not then difficult to form some idea of what has happened, as horde after horde has invaded India. The invaders are not uniformly or invariably successful. Invasions last for years, sometimes for centuries. A body of invaders is defeated and reduced to slavery—as not infrequently happened to the earlier Mughal marauders. In one tract it establishes itself as a dominant tribe, but is soon reduced to a dependent political position, driven to seek a living by cultivation or even handicrafts. The conquered aboriginal race raises its head again, here and there, and regains its dominant position, making the invaders its subjects, its landowners, artisans, or even menials. Within recent historic times the Mughal and the Afghān have invaded India and added appreciably to its racial ingredients, yet the social position of the Mughal and Pathān varies infinitely. The Baloch, another very recent invading element, is the dominant race west of the Indus, a rather inferior peasant or camel-man in the southern Punjab, and a criminal tribe near the Jumna further east. What history tells us has occurred in the past few centuries probably occurred in the earlier centuries. From the dawn of history India has not been merely subject to countless invasions, but exposed to ceaseless internal convulsions, and in these the invaders have lost ground and regained it, lost it again and risen again, until no one can say with any certainty that a given tribe represents an aboriginal race because it stands low in the social scale, or that a dominant tribe or ruling clan is descended from an invading horde.

As tribes tend to coalesce into confederacies, so do fragments of tribes tend to group themselves together into castes, and to a certain extent it is community of occupation which binds these heterogeneous units into castes. But, as emphatically stated above, caste is not a social unit, every caste of any importance being split up into two or often more sub-castes of markedly different social status. Through the social warp runs the woof of occupation, but the warp is of very unequal quality—and the woof varies equally, to use a clumsy metaphor. To give an example:—

The great bulk of the *sunārs* or goldsmiths* belong to the Sunār caste, but the Sunārs who confessedly belong to this caste are divided into endogamous sub-castes of

* All goldsmiths are not by caste Sunārs, nor are all Sunārs goldsmiths. Instances of Sunārs holding commissioned rank in the Native Army could be cited.

wholly different traditional origins with different customs and of distinctively different social status. So, too, we speak of the Bānīā caste, but the generic term *bānīā* includes very diverse groups, one of which is traditionally Chamār (leather worker) by origin. Not to multiply instances, M. Senart's* second criticism (alluded to on p. 337 of Vol. I.) appears to be based on a radical misconception of the nature of caste because community of occupation, never welded together in a homogeneous whole, scattered units which were not already homogeneous. All it did was to unite in a loose organisation a number of heterogeneous elements which remained distinct, preserving their relative social positions, although the social standing of each was more or less modified by its adoption of that occupation. To take a concrete instance : a Khattrī who became a *sunār* by occupation eventually sank to a Sunār by caste, while a low-caste man who became a Sunār rose in the social scale but never attained to the position held by his Khattrī-descended caste-fellow. To this day the Jāt who is descended, or claims to be descended, from a Rājput stock holds his head higher than one whose forbears never aspired to be anything more than Jāt-yeomen.

If we regard a caste as a heterogeneous body, as in fact every great caste is, we shall at once see that caste may be an organism of a lower type than a guild, but it does not grow only by fission and each step in its growth detracts little, if at all, from its power to advance and preserve the art which it professes to practise (p. 343). On the contrary, caste is a real step in advance, it is based in its inception on combination and often grows by accretion : its growth may make for progress, since if a segment of it adopt higher social usages or a loftier branch of its art that segment will inevitably tend to form a sub-caste higher in function and in social standing than the backward fragments ; while, if any segment fails to maintain the social and functional level of the caste, it will be cut off and, if not utterly excommunicated, confined to a sub-caste of lower standing than the main body.

Caste in brief is progressive as well as conservative, simply because no caste is a rigid social unit. Sociologically, then, caste makes for progress ; but progress is slow because little is left to individual initiative, and a substantial fraction of the caste must advance in union before progress is possible. This is consonant with the whole scheme of Hinduism, which does not proselytise the individual but the clan, which will permit no individual man to rise to a higher caste, but will readily raise a whole family, or preferentially a whole tribe, at a bound from casteless savagery to Rājput status.†

So much for caste. To return to ethnology we read on p. 290 of “ the curiously “ close correspondence between the gradations of *racial* type indicated by the nasal “ index and certain of the *social* data ascertained by independent enquiry.” Upon

* It is not easy to take M. Senart seriously as a writer on Caste : *e.g.*, on p. 30 of *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, he says, “ Le morcellement en sept castes semble, si j'ose ainsi parler, être de style dans le Penjah.” It has puzzled the present writer for years to conjecture on what authority this suggestion is based. It is not based on facts.

† These remarks lead us to a consideration of the late Mr. Nesfield's theory of caste. That writer, one of the most suggestive who have ever discussed the origin of caste, laid great stress upon function as the foundation of caste, but he undoubtedly pushed his theory to an extreme in paralleling caste with the progressive stages of culture. Moreover, his functional theory of caste appears to be open to grave criticism, in that it fancifully classifies castes in the order of their chronological development instead of the order of their intrinsic status. In every society the warrior, the scholar, and the priest rank higher than the artisan, the menial, the serf, or even the trader. Nesfield, then, had no necessity to seek a clue to the gradations or formation of caste in the history of human industries. It is sufficient to look to their natural gradation. But Nesfield rendered great services to the study of caste by emphasising the importance of function. When he wrote the internal organisation of caste had not been fully studied, and it is a question whether it has even yet been adequately investigated. But the more it is examined the greater does the influence of function appear to be, although function is certainly not the sole factor in the evolution of caste.

this correspondence is based, we must understand, the racial theory of caste. It is not, however, quite clear that the nasal index indicates any gradations of racial type. To paraphrase a sentence on p. 290, might it not be found that, if we took a series of social classes in England, France, or Germany, and arranged them so that the class with the finest nose should be at the top, and that with the coarsest nose at the bottom of the list, this order would substantially correspond with the accepted order of social precedence? Let us state the racial theory for France. The old *noblesse* was once regarded as a foreign element of Germanic origin, whose racial antagonism to the lower orders was one of the causes of the Revolution. But Fustel de Coulanges demolished that theory when he showed that there had been a strong infusion of Germanic blood into even the lowest classes, notably among the *coloni*, while the Gallo-Roman nobility were by no means wholly replaced by Germans. If, then, it were discovered that the old *noblesse* had a higher type of nose than the French peasantry, would it follow that the former were of a different race to the latter?

But whatever the answer to this question might be, the order of social precedence described on pp. 324 to 328 does not appear to be established or accepted. As the account of the Brahman groups on p. 326 shows, there are Brahmans and Brahmins, some very low down indeed in the social caste scale, even in Bengal, so that it is not easy to understand why the first class is reserved for the Brahmans, many of whom only hold third-class tickets. Outside Bengal, notably in the Punjab, the Brahmans vary more markedly in status. Some of them stand, no doubt, on the top rung of the social ladder, but many are so degraded by function that they are the lowest of the low. Barely on a level with the unclean sweeper is the "sin-eating" Brahman who takes offerings after a death, yet even he finds other Brahmans to disdain, for he has sin-eaters of his own, the outcasts of an outcast whose degradation no words can describe. As a body the Brahmans have no claims to be ranked high in the social scale, and, if they have anywhere such a claim, the account of their origin and varying fortunes on pp. 404, 406-7, and 412 of this work shows that they are in no sense of a higher or purer race than the groups from which they sprang. As a matter of fact, we know that some Brahmans are of aboriginal blood. History tells us of no Brahman race, but it does tell us of Brahman dynasties promoted to Rājput status. In the face of facts like these how can it be maintained that the two sets of observations, the social and the physical, bear out and illustrate each other (p. 290)? The high nasal index of the Bengali Brahman is surely not due to racial superiority.

The contrast between the Gūjars and Sikhs of the Punjab and the Mal Pahāriās of Bengal is most instructive. As we go eastwards into a hotter, damper, and more enervating climate the physical type deteriorates. Centuries of residence in such a climate develop the "aboriginal" type, and invading or immigrant races breed down to this type with extraordinary rapidity. A remarkable illustration of this degeneration, or it may be adaptability, is found in Burma, where the near descendants of Europeans by Burmese women hardly retain a trace of their European blood. Yet the fact that they are partly of European blood is undeniable. It is significant that the marked differences in the nasal indices are as between the Punjab and Bengal, not as between the highest caste and the lowest in the same Province.

In conclusion a few remarks may be offered on the system of anthropometry essential in India. It is not sufficient to take the measurement of a caste or race as a whole. It is of vital importance to obtain measurements of comparatively small homogeneous groups whose status and descent can be ascertained with some degree of precision. To take an example, the Sikhs are a religious community recruited from Jāts (mainly), Khattrīs, Aoroās, Brahmans, Labānas and even Chuhṛās (the latter are on conversion admitted into the Mazbī groups in due course). Brahman and Khattrī Sikhs would probably exhibit a distinctly higher nasal index than Chuhṛās or even Labānas. Again, in measuring

Brahmans it would be useless to lump together Sārsuts, who minister to Khattrīs and Aroṇas with Chāmarwās, who minister to Chamārs: nor would it be satisfactory to confuse the higher functional groups with the Dakauts and Gūjaratīs or with the Pushkarnās. To measure any caste in the lump is to assume its ethnical homogeneity, the main point in issue. The field in India is so vast that anthropometrical data can only be accumulated by degrees and the fullest local knowledge is necessary if the measurements are to possess any final value.

H. A. ROSE.

Archæology.

Kendall.

Palæolithic Microliths. By the Rev. H. G. O. Kendall, M.A.

53

In some collections of prehistoric antiquities minute specimens of human handicraft may be found. Fig. 1 is a case in point, an exquisite little borer made from a piece of a broken flake. The trimming near the point is exceedingly delicate and is done from each face alternately. The little tool probably belongs to the British period, and all of those above mentioned are of Neolithic age. They are accepted by antiquaries as being the work of man's hand without question. Many of them consist of flakes with good bulbs. The violence of natural phenomena cannot be responsible for them, inasmuch as they are found on the surface of the ground.



FIG. 1.

In 1903 I dug out *in situ* some Palæolithic implements (now in the British Museum) at Welwyn at a depth of about 12 feet in some thin layers of gravelly sand. Here also I found flakes and trimmed pieces of flint, together with tiny flakes, &c., similar in kind to the above-mentioned neolithic microliths. Some of them range from $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 inch in length and show evident signs of manipulation after having been struck off from the parent block.

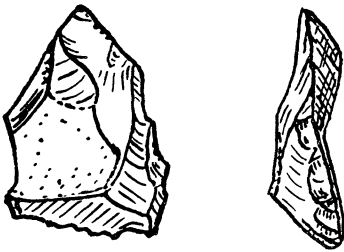


FIG. 2.

Not long after my Welwyn finds my friend, Mr. F. J. Bennett, brought to light numbers of remarkable microliths, even smaller than mine, from quarternary gravels in Essex and elsewhere. He requested me to examine the gravel at Knowle Farm Pit, Savernake. At that time a good section in the river silt was open and I had dug out implements of normal size *in situ*. Some of these occurred in a thin sandy stratum and were scarcely, if at all, water-rolled.

On examining this fine silt I found in it large quantities of microliths and minute flakes. By microliths I mean tiny flakes or other pieces of flint which have been trimmed or used by man at some part of the edge, and in some cases even flaked over the outer face. They occur in large numbers only in the fine silt. Outside of this it is not nearly so easy to find them. The same holds true of implements, &c., of normal size in this pit. Some of these delicate, and sometimes beautiful, little tools would, if found upon the surface, be picked up as interesting and excellent neoliths. I append figures of some of them. There are others in my collection which are smaller, by a good deal, even than Fig. 6. Fig. 2 is really a small implement made from a flake and flaked all over the outer face, except on the dotted portion, which represents a patch of the original crust. Like many implements of normal size it has been used for scraping on the lower right edge in the face view. As may be seen from the edge view, it is here as definitely chipped as any



FIG. 3.