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CHANGING TRADITIONS OF A LOW CASTE

BY BERNARD S. COHN

THE Camārs are a widespread and numerically important part of the population of North India. Their traditional occupation is skinning, tanning, and working in leather; however, only a small number of this extensive caste derives its income from the traditional occupation, and the great majority make their living as agricultural laborers and, increasingly in the twentieth century, as urban laborers.¹

Socially the Camārs are untouchable. In North India this is not a literal untouchability, but rather a situation where high caste men will not take water or cooked food from the Camārs. In the villages of Uttar Pradesh the low status of the Camār is symbolized by the fact that frequently the Camārs of the village have a separate hamlet or quarter on the outskirts of the village. In an agricultural village the Camār will be found doing most of the heavy agricultural labor, as traditional employee of a landlord, as a day laborer, or as a tenant. Only in rare instances are Camārs economically well enough off to be proprietary cultivators.

As with the majority of lower castes, Camār religious life differs markedly from that of the upper castes. Brahmanical Hinduism, as seen from the viewpoint of a village of India, is differentially diffused among the hierarchically ranked castes. Very roughly, involvement in and knowledge of the content of the great tradition follow caste lines, with those at the top—Brahmans, Rājput̄s, and Baniyās—having the greatest involvement and knowledge and those at the bottom—Camārs, Dhobīs, and Āhirs—having the least.

In the past, the Camārs of Senapur have centered their main religious activity in rituals to propitiate godlings of disease such as Bhāgautī, Sitalā, and local ghosts and spirits. These spirits and godlings may be propitiated by offerings of water and food on an individual or family basis, or on more important occasions by the offering of *ghī* and spices by a *darsanīyā* (a devotee of one of these godlings) for a whole hamlet, whose members will assemble to observe the offering and participate in it by singing and praying. Other rituals include magical practices to revenge slights, cure diseases, and to recover stolen or lost property.

Camārs appear to lack many of the values and concepts which are associated with Hinduism of the Great Tradition. When I discussed matters of the afterlife with Camārs, I invariably heard the statement that they do not know what happens after death. They do not have any ideas about rebirth. When asked the reason for their very low status, they replied that it was fate that had assigned them to this low position. The more verbal often answered by relating myths which depicted a period when the Camārs were not the despised untouchables of today. Rather they were Brahmans or Rājput̄s, but through an act of omission or through trickery of others they became associated with dead animals and the practice of midwifery. Their low status was not, however, rationalized in terms of *ḥarma* and *dharma*.

The stories, myths, and legends that Camārs tell deal with matters of status, history, diseases, and ghosts. Some Camārs do know stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of legendary Camār saints, but, as will be discussed below, this is largely due to recent changes in the life of the village and the Camārs.

The reason for the minimal effect of the orthodox Hindu traditions on the Camārs is not difficult to understand. The Camārs as *achūts* (untouchables) are forbidden to hear the Vedas. Respectable Brahmans did not and do not officiate at Camār ceremonies. Camārs do not have Brahmans as *purohīts* or gurus. Some of the local Brahmans, however, do cast and interpret horoscopes for Camārs, and will recite *satyanārāyaṇ kathās*, and advise Camārs on religious matters. Brahmans do not officiate at Camār wedding or death ceremonies. Theoretically, Camārs were barred temple entry until the Constitution of 1949. These prohibitions, coupled with Camār illiteracy and poor economic position, effectively barred Camārs from participation in or knowledge of even village upper caste Hinduism.

Camārs do participate in the celebration, in their own hamlets, of Dīvalī, Holī, Makar Saṃkrānti, Daśahrā, and other festivals. Generally the festival is celebrated, as one Camār described it, "by putting on clean clothes and eating good food." With few exceptions, Camārs could not give any explanation for the celebrations of these festivals, and had little or no knowledge of the mythology that surrounds these celebrations.

The Camārs also celebrate some of the life cycle rites which are basic rituals in Hinduism. Camārs have ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death. The form in recent years is that of traditional, Hindu life cycle rites, but apart from minor services, Brahmans play no part in these ceremonies, the sacrifices and offerings are pale reflections of what upper castes do, and the duration of these ceremonies is considerably shorter than those of the upper castes. Birth ceremonies, instead of being carried out for twelve days, are usually completed in five or six days. The marriage ceremony, instead of lasting three days as it does with the upper castes, is over in one day. Mourning is observed for ten rather than thirteen days.

The dominant caste of the village from which I will draw my materials are Ṭhākurs (Rājput).² The Ṭhākurs of Senapur are not especially sophisticated or active in religious activities; however, the Rājput are served by Brahmans, their life cycle rites more approximate the rituals as described in the sacred literature, and one can hear discussions of philosophical-religious points among the Rājput. Several of the older Rājput have an extensive knowledge of the sacred literature. Minimally, every Rājput is well acquainted with the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsi Dās, and every year during the six days before the Daśahrā festival (September and October) the Rām Līlā is performed by the Ṭhākurs of the village. The Camārs as well as all other castes of the village attend this dramatic presentation of the life of Rām. The Camārs do participate in some upper caste religious activities, primarily in those parts of life cycle rites which symbolize the ties among the Ṭhākurs, their dependents (*prajā*) and traditional workers (*parjūniyā*). In the welcoming of the Ṭhakūr bride to her husband's village, it is the Camārin (female Camār) who guides the bride to the village shrines. Food, money, and other presents which are distributed at Ṭhakūr life cycle ceremonies and by Ṭhākurs at festivals such as *Maḡar Saṃkrānti* are given to Camārs along with other dependants and traditional workers.

The people of Senapur are changing their way of life in response to changing

social and economic conditions. The Camārs as well as the Ṭhākurs are affected by these changes. In a previous paper I described the attempts of the Camārs of village Senapur to raise their social status, principally through attempting to organize themselves to achieve a better power position in the village and trying to Sanskritize their behavior to make themselves more like the upper castes in their social and ritual activities.³ In the remainder of this paper I will describe the relation between urban employment, education, and this movement towards Sanskritization, and the attempts of the Camārs to relate to the great traditions of India.

Urban employment and education in relation to the Great Traditions of India. In 1948, out of the 1852 people enumerated in a census conducted by the village accountant there were 636 Camārs, 436 Ṭhākurs, 239 Noniyās, 116 Āhirs, and 67 Lohārs in village Senapur. There were less than fifty members of the other eighteen castes which live in the village.

The Camārs derive the principal part of their livelihood through farming small plots of land as tenants, and hiring themselves out as agricultural workers to work on the land of the Ṭhākur landlords. In December 1952, when I conducted a census of the Camārs, thirty-six were employed out of the village. Ten of these were in or around Calcutta, working largely as unskilled laborers in the jute mills, and eight were in Kanpur working in cotton mills. Others were in the coal fields of Western Bengal or in Delhi, Banaras, Bombay, and Cuttack as mill hands, rickshaw drivers, or tonga drivers. With the exception of two primary school teachers who teach in Jaunpur District and a compounder who works in Kanpur, all the Camārs who are employed out of the village have unskilled laboring jobs, and with the exception of the compounder all have left their families behind in the village.

Extra-village employment is not a new phenomenon with Camārs. In the middle of the nineteenth century they were often found as grooms working in British households. Sherring described their relations to the British thusly:

Many of its members are menial servants, especially those of the first or Jaiswara sub-division. They are willing, obedient, patient, and capable of great endurance; yet are apt to be light fingered and deceitful. It is a singular phenomenon, and hard to be explained, that, although they come so much in contact with foreign residents in India, they should, nevertheless, have been so little improved by such intercourse. I believe that of all the Hindus who have been brought extensively under European influence, they have profited the least.⁴

Several of the older Camārs still recall the days that they or their fathers or uncles worked for the Sāhibs.

The figure of thirty-six Camārs working out of the village does not give an adequate picture of their experiences out of the village. The majority of adult male Camārs have at one time or another worked away from the village in a city. Urban employment is not, however, a way of life for these people; rather they turn to it only in dire necessity, to raise money to pay for a wedding or funeral, to pay off a debt, or to buy livestock. A few younger men work in the cities through choice, and some even say they like it, but the older men, i.e., those over thirty, seem to prefer the village.

The Camār is a sojourner in the city, but the city provides a very different social, physical, and psychological environment than he is used to in his rural home. The Camār is not cut completely adrift from his home ties as he lives in a room with Camārs from his own village, or, if no Camārs from his own village are in that particular

city, he will live with acquaintances or relatives from nearby villages. The Camār is usually found in a building that houses other Camārs of his subcaste in an area of the city where other low caste men live.

In the city the Camār engages in activities which for caste or economic reasons essentially are barred to him in the village. Camārs and other low castes have their own temples in the cities.⁵ Camārs also sponsor and participate in *bhajans* in the city. Singing of religious and of political songs seems to be a major recreational activity and the few Camārs who were pointed out to me as being good singers, usually of *bīṛhā* (a type of song associated with Āhirs, having a characteristic rhythm and form with a religious or historical theme), learned these in cities or from men who were trained in the form in cities.

It should be noted that urban employment not only affords the Camār an opportunity for learning the Great Traditions of India, but several of the *ojhās* 'exorcists' and *darsanīyās* 'devotees' (specialists associated with aspects of India's Little Traditions) among the Camārs learned their skills while employed in cities.

Calcutta, Lucknow, Kanpur, and Bombay have Śiva Nārāyaṇ temples. The Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect is a Sanskrit religious movement among the Camārs. The present leader of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect in Senapur received his training as a *mahanth* in Bombay and his father, who was *mahanth* before him, was trained in Calcutta.

I am suggesting that the experience that Camārs have in the Indian urban setting may provide them with a chance to participate in activities which enable the Camār to relate to the practices and beliefs associated with the Great Traditions of India. It is usually thought by observers of Indian life that urbanization and industrialization will be the main contributors to the Westernization of Indian life; however, there are a few indications that urban employment might be an influence in the Camārs' taking over a more traditional Hindu ritual pattern.

Education similarly has a somewhat mixed effect upon Camār beliefs and practices. First, let me describe what education is for the Camārs of Senapur. There has been a primary school which taught up through grade four in village Senapur since the 1880's, but the students were largely drawn from the Ṭhākurs and the low but clean castes like the Lohārs (carpenters and blacksmiths). It is not too clear if Camārs were actually forbidden to attend the village school. Most informants agreed that in 1952 a Camār twenty-seven years old was the first to graduate from the village school; he had entered the primary school about 1936. Camār attendance at school has steadily risen since this time. The rise in Camār attendance has been helped by the fact that during the war, because of the rise in agricultural prices, many Camārs could afford to send their children to school. Camār families could forego the labor of their children and could afford the costs of sending a child to school. Since Independence, Camārs have not had to pay tuition in district schools; however, they still have to buy books and writing materials.

In 1952 there were seventy-two Camārs who were literate, seventy-one males and one female. This is out of a population of 583 who were above five years of age (287 males and 296 females). Of these seventy-two, only eight were above thirty years of age. One of these men learned to read from his son who is a school teacher. One learned in Bombay during his training as a *mahanth*. Another was taught by a relation, and several learned while working in mills or mines, but none of the literates over thirty went to the Senapur school.

In 1952 there were over thirty Camār children registered in the village and about twenty of them attended regularly. There were 168 Camārs, eighty-three males, eighty-five females, between the ages of six and twelve. There are no Camār girls in the village school, and out of the eighty-three boys of school age, thirty-three were in or had been enrolled in the school. The school was taught by four teachers, three of them Ṭhākur and one Kahār. In the past there have been Camārs, Āhirs, and men of other castes as teachers. Some Camārs believe that their children are badly treated in the school, they tell stories of Camārs being kicked and beaten with shoes; none of these stories could be substantiated, and in talking to Camār children about their experience in school, none expressed any feeling of being badly treated because of his low status.

The principal skill that a child learns in the first four years of school is to read and write Hindi. The villagers themselves speak a dialect of Bhojpurī, one of the dialects of Bihārī. At one time there was an extensive literature in Bhojpurī; however, this seems to have been largely replaced by Hindi. Only two Camārs that I knew had books other than school texts, and excepting the *Guru Anyas* (the holy books of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect), these were copies of stories from the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsī Dās.

As of September 1953, only three Camārs had more than four years of education; one had gone through grade eight, including the successful completion of teachers training school in a nearby town. He was a school teacher. Another had eight years' education, but had failed to obtain a fully qualified teaching certificate. He also taught school, but was not as secure in his position as the first Camār teacher. The third had seven years of education and was trained as a tailor. In 1953 he was trying to obtain enough capital to open a tailor shop in the nearby bazaar.

The fully qualified school teacher had taught for a while in the village school, but a land dispute with a village Ṭhākur led to his transfer. He now teaches in a school four miles from the village. He seems to be accepted by the students and teachers of this school as a teacher and not a Camār. I have seen him at his school, sitting on the same *cārpāī* 'string bed' with high caste teachers, something he could not do in his own village.

This Camār teacher speaks Hindi well, dresses very well, and upper caste villagers commented to me that he spoke, dressed, and acted like a Ṭhākur.

I gathered a considerable amount of stories and folklore from this teacher, principally about Rāi Dās, a Camār saint. All of these stories, he told me, he had learned by reading. He also knew a great deal about the mythology of Hinduism and frequently in his conversation made illusions to the tradition. This teacher was a vegetarian and often commented unfavorably on Camār customs which deviated from what he thought to be good Hindu behavior.

It would appear that some of the Camārs who become literate do read, and the literature which they seemingly read are versions and accounts of the life of Rām, this being reinforced by the annual presentation of the *Rām Līlā*, and a few at least read tales of saintly Camārs. Being literate enables them to learn aspects of the Great Tradition which formerly had been closed to them because of their low status and their illiteracy.

The Ṭhākurs of Senapur are relatively speaking much better educated than the Camārs. There is one man with a Ph.D. from an American university; at least two with M.A.'s, one of whom teaches in a college, and the other is a specialist in dairy

farming; and several holders of B.A.'s. Many Ṭhākurs have had high school educations, and at least a dozen of the Ṭhākur young men were attending a local intermediate college. The Ṭhākurs with college educations speak and read English, and are exposed to the ideas and values of Western civilization through their education; in addition, many of them go into "Western style" occupations, college teaching, police administration, and Western style businesses, and they tend to live in more "Westernized" parts of the Indian urban centers. Their education gives them the tools with which to begin to relate to the Western way of life. The Camārs who become educated are equipped, for the first time, to relate to the high tradition of India through their ability to read Hindi, and through urban employment which brings them closer to religious and social activities that to some extent draw their content from the Great Traditions of India.

The transmission of the Great Traditions. The principal agent of traditionalization among the Camārs is the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect. The Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect was founded in the eighteenth century by a Rājput follower of Rāmānanda, a fifteenth century religious reformer. Śiva Nārāyaṇ established a sect, the principal tenets of which were the worship of one god who is Truth, vegetarianism, and the eschewing of the worship of idols. Four *maṭhs* (monasteries) were established: one in Ghazipur and three in Ballia. As of 1917, these *maṭhs* were still active, but the census of 1911 enumerated only seventy followers in Ghazipur.⁶

There have been followers of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect in Senapur among the Camārs for three generations. It should be noted, however, that the present Camār followers of the sect, do not adhere closely to the tenets of the sect, in particular in relation to diet and the prohibition of idol worship. At present they total fifty active members, and these members belong to a larger group which includes several hundred Camārs from seven villages in the area. They are led by a *mahanth*. The present *mahanth* lives in Senapur, but he was trained for his position in a Śiva Nārāyaṇ temple in Bombay, where he was a *celā* 'pupil' for several years to learn to read the *Guru Anyas*, the sixteen volume holy book of the sect. The holy books are made up of sayings of Śiva Nārāyaṇ and incidents from his life. The sect in Senapur has four handwritten volumes all in an archaic form of the dialect of Ghazipur. The main activity of the sect is the holding of *gādīs* (rituals for the worship of Śiva Nārāyaṇ and the *Guru Anyas*). *Gādīs* are held at least twice a year, on Kṛṣṇa's birthday and on Basant Pañcamī, in the *mahanth's baiṭhak* 'men's house.' Upwards of one hundred Camārs, males and females, attend.

At the *gādī* the *Guru Anyas* is placed on a low table which is covered with a red cloth and is decorated with a garland, and has two silver rupees, a string of beads, and some *pān* on it. At *gādīs* that I have attended the table also had vases, a rose water dispenser, and a small statue of Gaṇeś. The devotees explained to me that they did not worship *Gaṇeś*, but since one of the members of the sect owned the statue, they put it on the table for decorative purposes.

The ceremony starts a little after nightfall, when the devotees begin to drift in; usually there is group singing to the accompaniment of a harmonium for several hours. The songs which are sung are usually devotional songs, but not necessarily particularly associated with the sect. I have also heard current movie and political "folksongs" being sung. During this singing the *mahanth* and other members of the governing council of the local sect, and perhaps a visiting *mahanth*, sit by the table

and join in the singing. After several hours of singing, the *mahanth* signals for the *gādī* to begin. Everyone assembled bows his head up and down and then to the east as a sign of respect to the God who is Truth. After singing of songs from the *Guru Anyas*, the *mahanth* leads the group in the chanting of verses from the book and then reads a portion of the book to the group. After the reading the book is worshipped with a small *havan*, a small fire is kindled in a clay dish and *ghī*, *daśang* (a sacred mixture of ten substances), camphor, flower, and betel are offered to the flames of the fire. After offering these items, the *mahanth* moves the plate with the smouldering ashes around the book. (This is called *āraṭī*.) A conch shell is blown and bells are rung. The *gādī* closes with the passing of a large tray with the plate in which the offering was made and the *Guru Anyas*. Everyone inhales the fragrance of the smouldering ashes and makes a monetary contribution. The ritual part of the *gādī* is then followed by several hours more of singing.

The ritual itself is an attempt to copy a Brahmanical *pūjā*. And although many Camār rituals of propitiation or life cycle ceremonies include offerings of *ghī*, water, or other substances to the accompaniment of the chanting of the names of gods and goddesses, this is the only Camār ceremony I observed in which *āraṭī* was performed or where there was an extensive and formal saying of Sanskrit *mantras*. Other ceremonies performed by Camār religious leaders tend to be individualistic, reflecting bits and pieces of ceremonies observed. Two educated high caste men who accompanied me to a *gādī* remarked on the completeness of the ceremony and on its obvious and close approximation to the Brahmanical *havan*.

The *mahanth* is a part time priest, the rest of the time he acts as a day laborer, but he derives part of this income from his position. Unlike the majority of the Camārs, the *mahanth* is a vegetarian. The activities and beliefs of the sect stand in contrast to other Camār religious activity, in that they consciously attempt to copy Brahmanical Hinduism, and the source of imitation in the form of the training of the leaders is urban.

The dance party. As a part of a Camār wedding ceremony, a party of dancers is hired for the entertainment of the guests. These parties are usually made up of five or six males, one or two of whom are dressed as female dancers. The rest are musicians, usually drummers and singers. There were several Camārs in Senapur who were members of dancing parties.

There was one group, headed by the son of the *mahanth* of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect, that put on a drama instead of a dance as entertainment. The story they enacted was the life of Hariścandra.

Hariścandra, according to the version put on by these Camārs, was a Rājput king who gave all of his kingdom to Viśvāmitra, a Brahman, as charity. Viśvāmitra then demanded an additional 10,000 mohars (a coin). In order to satisfy this request Hariścandra sold himself in slavery to a Ḍom, and his wife and child to a Brahman. Hariścandra worked for the Ḍom in Banaras. One day his wife came to him and begged for fire to cremate their son. Hariścandra refused and said, "I am no longer king and you are no longer queen. I work for the Ḍom." At this point the gods intervened and the couple and the child were carried away and restored to their position by the gods.

The leader of the dance party, a young man of twenty-five and son of the *mahanth*, read the story, which is based on a Sanskrit play, in a book. The play emphasizes

values, such as charity for Brahmans, sacrifice, and divine intervention, which are as yet quite different than are usually operative in Camār life.

Although dancing parties among the Camārs appear to be of considerable age, the putting on of a formal drama is of recent origin, and, in this presentation, we find a conjunction of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect in the person of the *mahanth's* son, a Sanskrit drama, and the fact that the story was read in a book.

The celebration of Rāi Dās's birthday. Rāi Dās was a Camār shoemaker who was a follower of Rāmānanda. The Camārs revere him as their great saint, and tell stories of his supernatural ability. In many of these stories, Brahmans are held up to ridicule and are bested by Rāi Dās, through Rāi Dās's superior spiritual qualities. Some Camārs when asked their caste reply "RāiDāsī," taking the name of their great saint as their caste name.

In January or February in recent years, the Camārs of the local region join together to celebrate the birthday of Rāi Dās by a procession, during which a *gāḍī* is performed on bullock carts, and by speeches.

In January 1953, the celebration was organized by a group of Camār young men who were students at the local intermediate college, and prominent participants were a Camār school principal and a Camār member of the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh. The M.L.A. was elected to a seat in the Assembly reserved for untouchables. There was a procession from the local bazaar, led by two elephants borrowed for the occasion from local landlords. There were also three bullock carts in the procession. On one there was a large picture of Rāi Dās, on another a band, and on a third several Śiva Nārāyaṇ *mahanths* performing a *gāḍī*. There were approximately 500 Camārs in the procession, shouting Rāi Dās's name.

The procession stopped in the orchard adjacent to the local Intermediate College. The M.L.A. chaired the meeting, and the Camār school principal delivered the welcoming address. The first speaker was a Camār teacher from the local teachers college who spoke of the life of Rāi Dās. He was followed by a Camār student at Banaras Hindu University who told many of the same stories, but urged the Camārs to give up all connection with working in leather because it was this degrading occupation that was responsible for their low status. He was followed by another college student who spoke of Ambedkar and his success as a lawyer and politician. He also urged the Camārs to raise themselves up.

One of the Rājput teachers from the Intermediate College also spoke. He said that equality of men was a necessity in the new India, and that all caste distinctions should be ended, and that the Camārs, by following the example of their saint Rāi Dās in living a clean and saintly life, could make themselves the equals of anyone.

Several young men then spoke of incidents in Rāi Dās's life where through his saintliness he was able to best Brahmans.

The celebration was attended by between 600 and 700 people, the bulk of whom were Camārs, but there was a sprinkling of members of other castes in attendance. The principal part in the celebration in organization, speech making, and cheer leading, was played by young educated Camārs. The official sponsor of the meeting was the Harijan Student League of Dobhi, who looked upon this as an occasion to instruct their fellow Camārs on the life of Rāi Dās, and the significance of living a Sanskritized life as a means of raising their status. All the speeches were delivered in "City Hindi," not the local dialect which the Camārs use in their daily life.

Summary. In this paper I have suggested that there are a number of new social and economic situations which are affecting the traditions of a group of Camārs in an Uttar Pradesh Village.⁷ Literacy has enabled the Camārs to relate to aspects of the Hindu Great Tradition through reading stories available in vernacular books. Urban employment has enabled Camārs to participate in rituals, derived from the Hindu Great Tradition, at low caste temples in the cities. Simultaneously there continues an earlier movement, the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect, whose goal was Sanskritization.⁸ Another strand is represented by the celebration of Rāi Dās' birthday, which now is in the hands of Camār college students, who are, among other things, urging political action. The stories about Rāi Dās have an anti-Brahman tint to them and they stress right action and right principles rather than the more orthodox activities of worship and ritual. These four strands found in the changing Camār traditions are not completely compatible, but they all aim at raising the Camārs' low social status. Sanskritization in the form of the Śiva Nārāyaṇ sect, the neo-Hinduism learned from vernacular literature and from contact with urban temples and religious activity, directs the Camārs to a traditional form of caste mobility of taking on the style of life and symbols of the upper castes. The Rāi Dās stories and the speeches accompanying the celebration of Rāi Dās's birthday point to a turning away from traditional mobility to a use of modern political methods. The ambivalence is a reflection of the situation the Camārs and other low castes are in as they strive to improve their social lot.

NOTES

¹ The field work on which this paper is based was done in 1952-1953, while the writer held a Social Science Research Council Area Research Training Fellowship and a scholarship grant from the United States Educational Foundation in India under the Fulbright Act. The writing was done while the author was supported by the Cultural Studies Fund at the University of Chicago. I would like to express my appreciation to Morris E. Opler, Robert Redfield, Milton Singer, and Rudra Datt Singh for providing support and direction during the field work and in the subsequent writing.

² For a description of the village, its caste composition, and its economic and political structure, see M. E. Opler and R. D. Singh, "The Division of Labor in a North Indian Village," in Carlton Coon, ed., *A Reader in General Anthropology* (New York, 1948), pp. 464-496; "Economic, Political and Social Change in a Village of North Central India," *Human Organization*, XI (Summer 1952), 5-12; "Two Villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh (U. P.). An Analysis of Similarities and Differences," *American Anthropologist*, 54 (1952), 179-190; Rudra Datt Singh, "The Unity of an Indian Village," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (November 1956), 10-19; Morris E. Opler, "The Extension of an Indian Village," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (November, 1956), 5-10.

³ Bernard S. Cohn, "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste," in McKim Marriott, ed., *Village India* (Chicago, 1955), pp. 53-77.

⁴ M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benares* (London, 1872), I, 39.

⁵ Radhakamal Mukerjee, "Caste Proximity and Attitude Change in the City," *Inter-Caste Tensions* (Lucknow, 1951), p. 26; and G. S. Bhatt, "The Chamar of Lucknow," *The Eastern Anthropologist*, VIII, (September, 1954), 38.

⁶ George A. Grierson, "Siva Narayanis," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, XI (New York, 1921), 579.

⁷ I am indebted to discussions with McKim Marriott for clarifying some of the aspects of these often conflicting movements.

⁸ For a full discussion of Sanskritization, see M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs* (Oxford, 1952), and "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, XV (1956), 481.