CHAPTER ONE: PROLEGOMENA

1. Culture & Cultural Anthropology
2. Ethnography & Ethnographical museum
3. Aspects of culture in museum presentation
4. Brief historical survey of ethnographical museums
5. Modern concept on the scope of ethnographical museums
6. Style of presentation of dissertation
Man occupies by far the highest position in the animal kingdom not only by dint of his unique physical features but by having 'culture' of his own. In the entire animal kingdom man is the only culture bearing animal.

In the study of mankind from the anthropological point of view, definition of the term 'culture' in acceptable form was first put forward by Edward Tylor nearly a century ago. He described culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. This basic definition of culture has been paraphrased by the anthropologists of the later period. For example, Sidney defines culture as the product of agrofacts (products of cultivation), artifacts (products of industry), socifacts (social organization), and mentifacts (language, religion, art and so on). It has been defined by Buret as communicable intelligence. Redfield amplifies this viewpoint mentioning it as sum total of conventional meanings embodied in artifacts, social structure and symbols. From the humanistic view, culture according to Malinovski, stands for a total way of life which secures for an individual the satisfaction of his bio-psychic drives and the fulfilment of other wants and cravings and ultimately invests him with freedom. Radcliffe-Brown regards culture as cultivation, the process of handing down and acquiring traditions, as a result of which society is perpetuated. Consider-
ing all these definitions of culture, John Beattie has put forward his own view. According to him, in its broadest sense 'culture' refers to the whole range of human activities which are learned and not instinctive and which are transmitted from generation to generation through various learning processes.

Of all these definitions, from the point of museum, Tylor's definition of culture is ideal. Because it offers the scope of being paraphrased to point out that the social heritage may be said to consist of a material part and a non-material, intangible, imponderable part. The museum is built up with the material part of culture.

**CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

So far as the study of culture is concerned, it may be mentioned that among the different subjects prescribed for the study of mankind, anthropology is one which attempts to cover all the aspects that can possibly be studied about man. To study man in different aspects within the possible scope of the anthropological discipline, the subject 'anthropology' has been divided broadly into three sections viz. (i) Physical Anthropology, (ii) Cultural Anthropology and (iii) Ethnology. As the name implies, among these sub-divisions of the anthropological discipline it is the 'Cultural Anthropology' which devotes entirely for the study of culture. Scope of cultural anthropology in studying various aspects of culture has been presented in tabular form.
## Anthropology

### 1. The study of man
- **Physical Anthropology**
  1. Study of human evolution;
  2. Study of human variation;
  3. Study of human biology;
  4. Study of inheritance of normal and pathological hereditary characters (Human Genetics)

### 2. The study of the works of man
- **(a) Prehistoric Archaeology**
  1. Material culture of prehistoric times;
  2. Derivation of the evolution of society from the study of material culture.
- **(b) Cultural Anthropology**
  1. The study of the total way of life of contemporary primitive man, his ways of thinking, feeling and action.

### 3. The study of racial & cultural distribution of man on the earth
- **Ethnology**
  1. Comparative study of races;
  2. Migrations of racial types and diffusion of culture types in past;
  3. Present distribution of races and cultures.

## Linguistics and symbology

### 1. Comparative study of communication through symbols like language and art.

## Primitive mentality

### 1. Primitive logic;

### 2. Religion, magic, myth and science;

### 3. Knowledge;

### 4. Arts: oral literature; music, dance, and the plastic and graphic arts.

## Economic Anthropology

### 1. The study of material culture;

## Social Anthropology

### 1. The study of the development and various types of distribution and consumption social life of consumers' and producers' goods.
Thus understood, cultural anthropology obviously covers the exceedingly broad field including practically all the non-biological aspects of human life. For the sake of studying culture, the anthropologists as one of the methods, have introduced the term ‘ethnography’ in the field of cultural anthropology.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The term ‘Ethnography’ (Ethnos = Race & Graphoia = to write) does not mean exactly what a literal translation of its roots would imply. Because, it is not the studies of race which is the work of physical anthropologists. It is rather the study of culture. According to Radcliffe-Brown (1) "By ethnography is meant the observation and description of the phenomena of culture or civilization particularly among the underdeveloped people." John Beattie (2) refers the term ethnography as "descriptive accounts of human societies usually of those simpler, smaller scale societies which anthropologists have mostly studied." According to Lucy Mair (3) "ethnography refers to the process of collecting data by direct enquiry and observation whatever the theoretical purpose of the enquiry and also to books in which the emphasis is on the description of the society studied rather than on general theoretical problems."


(2) Beattie, J., - Other Cultures, p. 18, 1964, New York.

The meanings and clarifications reveal the following salient points related to the term 'ethnography' in anthropological studies:

1. Ethnography deals with cultures of the contemporary and near-contemporary simple preliterate people for gathering first-hand information.

2. It is non-interpretative descriptive account of culture and the method followed in the collection of ethnographic data is by direct observation. This descriptive account of the ethnographic study serves only as collection of data and thereby offers the anthropologists sufficient scope to utilize them for interpretation of different cultural elements.

**ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM**

Ethnographical method offers the scope of studying the various aspects of the cultural life of mankind. Material aspects of the cultural people's life is of no exception. The study of the material aspect of culture has much importance in cultural anthropology. Because, it embraces wide range of cultural activities. It is studied not for the intrinsic interest of the artifacts themselves but for their sources of invention and question of diffusion. Further the artifacts and their technology have great importance by virtue of their relation to the whole social organization to study the religion, economy and many other practices. Description of the material equipments, their technique and field of operation, technology of preparation etc. may throw significant light to understand the value of the things in the cultural life of the people concerned. In other words, the significance of the material culture of any people can only be expressed in terms of the relationship of artifacts to the whole social system of institutional activities in which they are made and used. That is, for study, the material culture must be considered in relation to all the cultural...
In their structural form, the elements of material culture are three dimensional concrete material objects. By their own material existence, they offer the scope of being directly visually observed and thereby facilitates scholars in making descriptive account by direct observation method. Again this descriptive account as data may successfully be utilized for interpretation of different cultural activities. As such, like any other cultural features, material traits also offer the scope of application of ethnographical method in their study. In this connection, it may be mentioned that ethnography as method associates itself only with the study of human culture. As such, the term ethnography is sometimes used to mean the study of culture. Hence, the cultural elements with concrete material existence are often referred to as "ethnographic objects" i.e., the objects through which the human culture is expressed in concrete shape. In this sense, the word 'ethnography' has been introduced in the museum world.

Meaning of ethnographical museum

The museum is an institution which accommodates all kinds of materials as tangible record of man's cultural achievements, of his inventions and of materials which led him to understand the universe. There are various categories of museums depending on the nature of specimens housed therein. The museum which contains exclusively the ethnographical objects i.e., the concrete material traits of the contemporary or near contemporary tribal and folk cultures and is in a position to furnish facts about the cultural environment associated with them, is termed in general as "Ethnographical Museum". However, to denote what is exactly meant by the term "Ethnographical Museum", the meaning formulated by the museologists cum anthropologists
in an international museological conference (1) is quoted here.

"The studies on which museums in this category (Ethnology and folk-lore Museum) are based, may vary (according to their particular trend and circumstances, museums may have a bias towards ethnography, anthropology or folk-lore), but at least all those in this category have one feature in common: They deal mainly with pre-industrial cultures or cultural factors of the present or the recent past, studied at first hand.

They fall into three groups, the distinguishing feature of the first two, being the ethnic and geographic area they cover, while the third is distinguished by its form."

The use of the term "Ethnography" in the museum world in specific sense has obvious advantage. In the cultural anthropology, both prehistory and socio-cultural anthropology have been included. By the use of this term in the museum, it has been possible to make clear cut division between the cultural relics of prehistoric past and the cultural artifacts of the contemporary or near-contemporary period. The term "ethnography" in the museum categorically indicates only the collection of the contemporary and near-contemporary cultural materials eliminating prehistoric collection altogether. So Piddington (2) writes that "museums are of great help in clarifying the relations between the different anthropological sciences, which is another difficulty in conducting courses in general (as opposed to social) anthropology."

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(1) To make water-tight distinction between the ethnographical museum and the other categories of museums dealing with humanistic (humanities) studies such as art museums, modern art museums, archaeology and history museums etc. attempt was made to define "Ethnology and Folk-lore Museums" as a special category of museums in the UNESCO Regional Seminar held in Rio-de-Janeiro (Brazil) in 1958.


The ethnographic museum is a special category of museum. As such, it has got limited scope. As the name implies, it offers the scope of presenting and accommodating mostly the ethnographical materials. As mentioned earlier, these ethnographic materials are nothing but specimens of material culture, the products of human technology. In this connection Herskovits\(^1\) wrote "That the technological equipments of a people comprises of the man made elements in culture that have a physical existence of their own. Because of this, they form the greater part of ethnographic museum collections." Now the question arises what are the items of material culture that may be considered in presenting the cultural profile of preliterate people. As an example, Herskovits\(^2\) mentioned Osgood's classification of the items of Ingalik material culture and put them in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary tools</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Containers</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous manufactures</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing implements</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snares, deadfalls &amp; other traps</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothings, cradels &amp; personal ornaments</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelters, caches and racks</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel implements</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyes and paints</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tags and games</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puberty paraphernalia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funerary objects</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious and ceremonial objects</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 400

For reference of (1) & (2), please see the next page.
Of the four hundred elements classified in this list, only those of the final four or perhaps five classes are outside the category of objects used in getting a living.

In 1969 W.C. Sturtevant of the Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, has written an information leaflet entitled "Guide to Field Collecting of Ethnographic Specimens" with the helpful suggestions of other leading anthropologists of the Institution like Crocker, Ewers, Gibson, Knez and Riesenberg. In this publication, an extensive classification of technology or material culture has been made to serve as a source of ideas as to what might be collected for an ethnographic museum. The whole range of the material culture here has been divided into 21 broad categories and each category again on its part has further been subdivided into component elements. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Broad division of material culture</th>
<th>Sub-divisions of each division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Manufacture (and the tools and utensils used for it and resulting from it)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Containers and vessels</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Transport and associated equipment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Killing (hunting, fishing, fighting and warfare)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Gathering for food, manufactures etc (and associated tools and equipments)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Animal husbandry (and associated tools and equipment for each of the following categories)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Farming (and associated tools and equipment)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Nourishment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Reference of pre-page)
(2) Ibid., p.122.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Broad division of material culture</th>
<th>Sub-division: of each division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I0.</td>
<td>Clothing and personal ornament (including its manufacture, cleaning, and storing)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Hygiene, grooming and comfort</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2.</td>
<td>Medicine (mechanical and pharmaceutical techniques, materials and instruments for diagnosing and treating sickness and injury; methods and equipment for preparing medicines)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3.</td>
<td>Birth, intercourse, death special equipment and utensils, e.g. umbilical cord knife, contraceptive and contraceptive devices and substances etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I4.</td>
<td>Constructions (both permanent and temporary)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I5.</td>
<td>Games and amusements (of children and adults)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I6.</td>
<td>Music and dance (both secular and religious)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I7.</td>
<td>Drama (both secular and religious)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I8.</td>
<td>Records, measures, communication</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I9.</td>
<td>Social and political symbols and devices</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Religious and ritual objects</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Trade goods (items collected or made for export).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Museum is a centre of visual education. As such, display in the galleries of the ethnographical museums is organized with the help of these categories of three dimensional concrete material traits.

* Each sub-division has further been divided which has been eliminated here.
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM; A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY

Introduction

The museum (both the term and the institution) had its origin in ancient Greece during the classical period. At the formative stage as well as in the historical period (before the origin of public museums) as described by Wittlin

collections were built up under different authorities such as private individuals, religious bodies, public authorities and groups of people united by a common pursuit as private hoard collections, social prestige collections, magic collections, collections as an expression of group loyalty, collections stimulating curiosity and enquiry and also collections of art stimulating emotional experience. These early collections which laid the foundation of existing public museums were mostly the collections of art and archaeological objects. Reference of ethnographical specimens is scarcely available. Insignificant collections which they ever had, were treated only as curios.

A description of the Danish King's collection at Copenhagen in the seventeenth century contained the following passage:

"In one of the rooms there is nothing but the garments, arms and utensils of Indians, Turks, Greenlanders and other barbarous nations which for their number and variety entertain the eye ....," (2)

The ethnographical specimens of early days were collected mostly by the explorers, travellers and sea-voyagers as mementos from the strange people whom they met on their way. But


(2) Ibid., p. 139.
the tempo of collection of such specimens rose high in the last century when the leading European nations (English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and many others) for the sake of business started vigorous maritime activities all over the world. Refering the older specimens of the British Museum, C.H. Read (3) wrote:

"Many of the older specimens in the gallery have a connection with British enterprise and exploration which adds considerably to their interest: thus the voyages of Cook, Vancouver, and others are represented in the museum; and the magnificent collection of the London Missionary Society now shown in the Pacific Section, illustrates another phase of British enterprise among uncivilized people in which we may take legitimate pride."

During this period, the descriptive accounts of various primitive communities, their behaviours, customs, material objects etc., furnished by the travellers, sailors, businessmen, missionaries and many others helped much in developing the socio-cultural anthropology. With the development of anthropological discipline, the importance of the holistic study of the primitive communities was understood. In the meanwhile, by the 19th century, the European maritime nations established their colonies in Africa, South and South-east Asia, West Indies, Australia and many other parts of the world. For successful utilization of anthropological knowledge in the administration of their colonies, the colonial powers laid much emphasis on anthropological study with special reference to its socio-cultural branch. Along with the study, collection of material objects was also simultaneously made. These ethnographical collections for the sake of study as well as presenting a picture of the cultural profile of their respective empires, found place in the leading museums of European capitals of all the colonial powers. On the scope of presenting and utilizing ethnographical collections in the British Museum, Dr. Charles H. Read, Keeper, Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities

and Ethnography in the preface of the Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections of the British Museum (p. v, 1910) wrote:

"At no period in the world's history has any one nation exercised control over so many primitive races as our own at the present time and yet there is no institution in Great Britain where this fact is adequately brought before the public in a concrete form. It is hoped that materials will enable the visitors to grasp the scientific value of ethnographical objects and to perceive their relation to the products of more advanced civilizations exhibited in other parts of the Museum."

Conspicuous among the European museums which had good ethnographical collections from different parts of the world with special reference to colonies of their respective countries were the British Museum (London, 1753), Museum of Natural History (Sweden, 1841), Museum fur Volkerkunde (Berlin, 1829), Louvre Museum (Paris, 1793), Rijksmuseum Voor Volkenkunde (National Ethnographical Museum, Leyden, 1837), Colonial Museums of Haarlem (1856) and Rotterdam (1910) etc. In all these museums contained collections from Asia, Africa, Oceania, North and South America. The nucleus of their ethnographical collections were built up by the private collectors (1). But these early collections were further enriched in later years when systematic collections were made under the initiative of the learned societies (2) of the respective countries.

(1) Private collections of F.E. Bruckmann (1697-1753), Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788), John Tradescant (d. 1636) and his son (d. 1662) constituted the earliest ethnographical collections of the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. Private collections of Albert Seba (1665-1736) and Frederic Ruyssch (1638-1731) were also successfully utilized in building up ethnographical collections of many European museums with special reference to the museums of Amsterdam (Holland).

(2) (a) The Royal Society, London (1660);
(b) Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London (1843); (Contd. next page)
The non-colonial European nations also did not lag behind in building up of their ethnographical collections. They started collecting specimens of their folk cultures when they were threatened by the gradual advancement of industrialization. For example, in Czechoslovakia the work of building up collections has been going on intensively and uninterruptedly since about 1890 with the result that Czechoslovak museums specially the three central museums at Prague, Brno and Martin now have splendid collections of ethnographical materials of the traditional and contemporary culture of the country.

Ethnographical collections in the museums of the colonised countries.

The European colonial powers not only built up ethnographical collections for the museums of their respective home lands, but for the museums of the colonised countries as well. For example, in India the British Government as well as the British scholars under the banner of the learned societies (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784; Madras Literary Society) built up substantial ethnographical collections in the Indian Museum (Calcutta, 1814), Madras Government Museum (Madras, 1851), Central Museum (Nagpur, 1863) and many more. In Malaysia, Perak Museum (1883), Sarawak Museum (1886) and National Museum (Singapore, 1848) were also built up by the support and encouragement of the British Government and in these museums contained adequate number of specimens representing local ethnography.

Ethnographical collection in the museums of Australia.

Soon after the settlement started by the European settlers in Australia (New South Wales, 1788; Tasmania, 1803; Victoria, 1835), scientific and historical associations were formed and

(2) Contd. from pre-page:

(c) Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, Denmark (1825);
(d) Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam (1808);
(e) Royal Academy of Sciences, Sweden (1739).
they in later years fostered the development of museums of various kinds. Ethnographical collections in the Australian museums were initially built up in collaboration with the university departments of anthropology. Tracing the history of museums in Australia, W. Bryden (I) has written:

"The National Museum of Victoria in Melbourne, has been closely associated with the study of Anthropology ever since 1854 when the museum was founded. Its early association with the University of Melbourne proved a great asset for members of the staff of both museum and university were actively interested in studying and collecting materials and in obtaining information on the customs and cultures of various Australian tribes. Such study resulted in a great deal of valuable material being obtained and it also set a pattern for others to follow."

Following the same principle, the other leading Australian museums like Australian Museum (Sydney, 1827), South Australian Museum (Adelaide, 1856), Museum of Western Australia (Perth, 1887), Queensland Museum (Brisbane, 1855) are now relatively rich in ethnographical collections of the Australian aboriginals.

Ethnographical collections in the museums of United States of America

Ethnographical collections of the American museums started developing in consort way when the anthropologists started studying the cultural features of the American Indians. Eminent anthropologists like Boas, Wissler, Kroeber, Benedict, Mead and many others were connected with the museums either directly or indirectly. Leading American museums like the American Museum of Natural History (New York, 1869), Buffalo Museum of Science (New York, 1929), Chicago Natural History Museum (Chicago, 1893), United States National Museum (a branch of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1846) contain ethnographical specimens representing in a nutshell the world ethnography. Many of the leading universities of the country have built up ethnographic

museums of their own for affording study and research facilities to their students. Conspicuous among them is the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (1866) of the Harvard University.

**Museums of the developing countries.**

After the second world war many of the colonised countries of Africa (1) and Asia (2) have gained independence. Since then rapid industrialisation, urbanization, economic upliftment and many other activities are being taken place to develop these countries. As a result, both tribal and folk cultures of those countries are facing serious challenge of time. To keep the traditional cultural relics in record, the national governments of those countries are making serious attempts to build up national ethnographical collection. For example, in India directly under the Ministry of Education & Youth Services, Government of India, in 1960, an Anthropological Section has been set up in the National Museum (New Delhi, 1949) with a view "to make the National Museum a repository of India's rich cultural heritage." (3) Under the Government support and patronage "The Art and Folk-lore Museum" entirely a new institution has been established at Luluaburg of Congo in 1959. In Nigeria, under the Ministry of Education, a new department "Antiquities Service" has been formed to look after the museum affairs. Under the initiative of this department, mainly for the collection of art and ethnographical specimens two leading museums of the country (i) The Nigerian National Museum (Lagos, 1957) and (ii) The Oron Museum (Oron, 1959) have been set up. The National Museum

(1) Africa : Ghana, Naiziria, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanjanaika etc.
(2) Asia : India, Burma, Indonesia, Malay, Thailand etc.
of Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, 1940), for its ethnographical collection only has been provided with a separate new building in 1963. The Uganda Museum (Kampala, 1908) has also been accommodated in a new building after thorough reorganization in 1959.

New Trend

Ethnographical collections in most of the museums of the world have been built up in association with other branches of knowledge specially with art and archaeology in the composite museums. But the change in this respect has now been observed when specialized museums in other branches of knowledge like art, technology, natural history etc. are being set up. Though very limited in number, specialized ethnographical museums are also coming up. National Museum of Anthropology (Mexico City) and the Museum of Man (USSR) are by far the most glorious examples of the ethnographic museums of the contemporary world.

In this respect, commenting on the museums of the Latin American countries, G.M. Morley(1) writes:

"Ethnography and popular arts were usually included in the archaeological museums. Only very recently have separate museums begun to be established for these two subjects as part of the movement to develop specialized museums of various kinds."

History of the methodology of arranging ethnographical specimens

The methodology of arranging ethnographical specimens in the gallery has of course a history of its own. This history has direct relation with the history of the different theories of cultural anthropology.

In the earliest phase before the emergence of anthropology as a modern science, the interested people used to collect

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only the stray peculiar ethnographical specimens. They were exhibited individually as curious things mostly without reference to each other. In the galleries, from the methodological point of view, they were simply arranged according to the geographical areas from where they had come i.e., purely from the geographical point of view. As an example of this type of collection and display, Witlin referred the name of John Tradescant, a 17th century amateur traveller whose collection resulted in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. A catalogue of Tradescants' Collection (Museum Tradescantia) published in 1656 revealed among other things ethnographical specimens in the form of war implements, domestic utensils etc. procured of whatever seemed rare and curious.

With the introduction of evolutionary theory in sociocultural anthropology, the trend of arranging the ethnographical specimens in the gallery was also oriented in this line. The specimens were arranged in sequence from simple to the complex varieties showing the gradual evolutionary processes. Almost all the museums built up in between 1850 to 1900 mostly followed this evolutionary method of display in their ethnographic galleries. Pioneer in this methodological approach in the field of Museum was General Pitt-Rivers. In this regard, Penniman mentioned that since 1852, he (Pitt-Rivers) had been collecting not the unique but the ordinary and typical objects in common use by the various people of the world. Contrary to the contemporary arrangement of ethnographical specimens purely from the geographical point of view, for display, he collected the specimens according to affinities and arranged them in sequence from simple to the complicated varieties with a view to tracing the succession of ideas and development.


The diffusionists' school of thought took its rise among students chiefly interested in material culture, the earliest exponents being Ratzel and Frobenius. Ethnographic museum as a repository of cultural relics in due course turned out to be the centre of making such studies. In 1905 in Europe two members of the staff of the Museum für Völkerkreise started the research work with the help of museum collection and published articles under the titles 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten im Ozeanien' and 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Africa' in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin. Frank Boas, Clark Wissler and others developed the culture area concept in America. In Wissler's "The American Indian" (1917), this method was fully applied.

Wissler, the curator of the Ethnological Section of the American Natural History Museum, utilized the museum specimens for his study. Subsequently in relation to his study, he arranged the specimens of the American Indians in the museum from the historic and diffusionists' point of view, thereby introducing 'Culture History' method of arrangement in the sphere of ethnographical museums.

Malinowski's functional theory has at present much impact on the arrangement of the ethnographical specimens in the museum. According to this theory, artifacts are grouped according to their use or purpose. This concept has given rise to the 'comparative series of arrangement' from the functional point of view. For example, fire-making appliances from all over the world are placed in one case or section of the museum, all specimens of pottery in another and so on. The display method followed in the ethnological galleries of the Horniman Museum (London) is one of the best examples of the comparative series of arrangement from the functional point of view in the contemporary museum world. To speak broadly, among the museums of the world, the university ethnographical museums which are mainly meant for the students, are now mostly arranging their specimens in comparative series instead of their structural affinity and historical concept, thereby offering more scope of comparative study.
As a result of the museum movement launched by the International Committee of Museums (ICOM) since its inception, main emphasis is now given on the educational role of museums. As such, the display scheme of the ethnographical specimens underwent considerable change in relation to the earlier phases. Though in the display scheme, functional method is being followed even to-day, it is being done in far more broader perspective. So far as dissemination of knowledge of the socio-cultural anthropology is concerned, the exhibits are now put on display from the ecological point of view by creating artificial natural environment in the dioramas and thereby offering scope of studying the material culture of the people displayed in relation to their ecology, economy, habitat and technology besides their functional role. Therefore, from the educational point of view, an ecological display is the more attractive and the more striking and so makes for readyer assimilation. Most of the newly built up ethnographical museums (National Museums of Anthropology of Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela etc.) and the renovated ethnographical galleries of the old museums (Ethnographical Gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, India) are now following the ecological approach in arranging their ethnographical specimens in the galleries.
Introduction

Revolutionary changes in the museum world were started after the second world war when the International Committee of Museums (ICOM), a branch of the UNESCO was formed in 1947 for ameliorating the condition of museums both from their structural and functional point of view. In comparison to the progressivemarch mankind has made so far, the museum in its structural and functional aspects in the context of past centuries, is nothing but a static institution at present. To make this institution really utilitarian to the people as the present situation demands, the ICOM put forward a new definition of museum giving much scope of its functional implications in wider field. The definition is as follows :-

"The word museum here denotes any permanent establishment, administered in the general interest, for the purpose of preserving, studying, enhancing by various means and, in particular, exhibiting to the public for its delight and instruction groups of objects and specimens of cultural value: artistic, historical, scientific and technological collections, botanical and zoological gardens and aquariums.

Public libraries and public archival institutions maintaining permanent exhibition rooms shall be considered to be museums." (I)

As per new definition of ICOM, the museum as an institution has in general been provided with three most potential scopes at present and they are as follows :-

A museum can collect for convenience under the one roof, material which originally was widely distributed through both time and space.

It provides scope for the identification and annotation of the objects collected, as a first step towards understanding them.

The museum offers scope for display of its collections under conditions conducive to enjoyment and study, so that the visitors will be happy to enter the institution to scrutinize the exhibits, to ponder over them and to return to see more.

Thus with the introduction of new definition, scope of work in the museum has been enlarged to a great extent. For their successful implementation, change in the structural pattern of the museum has also been keenly felt. Instead of a museum having different categories of objects thereby embracing a wide range of subjects aiming at a complete circle of knowledge as was the nature of museums of the past centuries, museums on individual subject like specialized museums of art, technology, natural history etc. are now being come into existence. Specialized ethnographical museums are also of no exception. For developing the specialized museums, the ICOM in the "UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Educational Role of Museums" held in 1958 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) made an attempt to define the aim, scope and function of different categories of specialized museums. Within the framework of definition of museum as put forward by ICOM, the committee specially appointed for dealing with the specialized ethnographical museums suggested the following major working potentialities of the ethnographical museums at present:

**Major functions of the ethnographical museums**

1. Collection of ethnographical specimens.
2. Identification of those specimens.
3. Recording of specimens.
4. Preservation of specimens.
5. Exhibition of specimens.
6. Edification of people with the help of specimens.
How far these major functions are making contributions in organizing and running a successful ethnographical museum has been taken into consideration here.

I. Collection of ethnographical specimens.

The museum is built up with collection comprised with three dimensional material objects. Therefore, collection is the nerve centre of a museum. The importance of a museum to an appreciable extent depends upon its collection. In the museum, collection starts from its very inception and there is scope of its continuation as long as the institution exists.

In consideration of the nature and importance of the collection of the ethnographical museum, it may be mentioned that the ethnographical museum is actually a historical museum as far as culture history is concerned. It depicts not only the cultural relics of the primitive people of contemporary or near contemporary period but the folk and more sophisticated cultural elements as well. The collection of the ethnographical museum, thereby covers a wide range of cultural levels. It includes specimens from different geographical regions as well. In time scale, it also accommodates specimens of the contemporary as well as the near contemporary (very recent past) cultures. Again human cultural relics are most numerous. Even for performing same work, different groups of people use different types of things showing regional as well as cultural variation. Furthermore, human culture is not static. Dynamism of human culture is also manifested through material objects used in different periods of time. Ethnographical museum, thus, as a repository of the relics of human culture offers the scope of making collections of all the varieties of man made tangible objects belonging to different ethnic groups having distribution in different geographical
Therefore, for the success of building up of an ethnographical museum to present the national culture, the ethnographical collection may be comprised of cultural relics of the people inhabiting in different parts of the country and belonging to different cultural levels not only with specimens prevalent among them in the contemporary period but in the near contemporary (recent past) time as well. By presenting the relics of the culture of recent past and showing their gradual transformation into their present forms and also by revealing relationship between the folk and the more sophisticated cultural elements, ethnographical museums are now being utilized as the culture history museum. The collection may preferably

(1) All the leading European Ethnographical Museums like British Museum (London), Museum of Natural History (Sweden), Museum für Volkerkunde (Berlin), Louvre Museum (Paris), National Ethnographical Museum (Leyden) etc. have worldwide reputation for their magnificent collection made from different parts of the world right from the 18th century onward.

(2) Glorious example of this category of museums is the Mexican National Museum of Anthropology (1964). It has two broad divisions. One division deals with the artistic achievements of the Mexican civilization in the historical perspective while the other section presents the cultural profile of the indigenous people of Mexico as they have survived to this day.

(3) The folk-culture in Sweden and Czechoslovakia found place in museums right from the beginning of the museum movement in those countries. Under the impact of modern industrial civilization, the traditional folk culture in those countries are now almost extinct. Therefore, with the help of the collection of earlier period, the Central Czechoslovak Museums at Prague, Brno and Martin and the Historiska Museet at Goteborg (Sweden) at present are being utilized as museums of culture-history by showing the earlier cultural relics and their gradual transformation into the present forms.
be comprised with actual specimens collected from the cultural environment with adequate data for their cultural interpretation whenever necessary. That is why to build up an ethnographical museum in the real sense of term according to modern museological concept, collection of specimens following a systematic predetermined collection policy is really one of the most important functions of the ethnographical museum at present.

There is another very significant reason for giving much importance on collection of specimens in the ethnographical museum. This was specifically pointed out in the UNESCO Regional Seminar held in Rio de Janeiro (1958) by mentioning that "The rapid and ever increasing spread of industrial civilization is destroying many cultural features and in some cases whole cultures, whose values are thus liable to be ignored by science and deprived of the benefits of systematic and reasonably selective preservation. This problem is equally acute both in countries where tribal and feudal societies still survive and in advanced countries with a complex cultural stratigraphy. The world of the ethnographer is steadily shrinking and action must be taken before it is too late." (1)

2. Identification of specimens

Next to collection, the most important work an ethnographical museum has to perform is the proper identification of collected specimens. Without proper identification, subsequent stages of museum work such as classification, registration, display and arrangement of specimens and also edification work cannot be performed.

As a product of human culture, an ethnographical specimen is related to various factors. Basically, it has got three distinct primary relations. It is related to the ethnic group

manufacturing and using it. It is also related to the geographical region where it is manufactured and used. By its functional role, it has definite relation with the cultural life of the people as well. From the basic ethnographical point of view, an ethnographical specimen may initially be identified in these three aspects i.e., from the functional, geographical and ethnological point of view. Identification of an ethnographical object on these aspects is most essential for their classification and systematic arrangement in the gallery either in the geo-ethnic or culture-history or functional point of view as the modern concept of the subject demands. Because, without proper identification, a specimen cannot be utilized in any way in presenting the cultural profile of the people or of the geographical area or of a particular period of time, to whom it is related. As a result, an unidentified specimen serves no purpose in developing an ethnographical museum as a museum of culture-history. That is why proper identification of specimens is also considered as one of the major functions of the ethnographical museum at present.

3. Recording of specimens

Recording of specimen is another important work in museum. Record of individual specimen in various aspects is maintained in various ways. For example, museological information is maintained in accession register. Information for identification finds place in labels, photographs and sketches. Scholastic information is maintained in cards. This is also true in case of ethnographical museum. It is with the help of this information, an ethnographical specimen may be located. Its identity can be established in case of necessity. The informative data adds scientific value to the specimen when it is treated as the relics of culture. No research work whatever its nature may be or informative display is possible without adequate informative data of individual ethnographical specimen. Maintenance of
systematic recording of individual specimen by various means like accession register, card, photograph, sketch etc. is, therefore, very significant in ethnographical museum as well.

4. Preservation of specimens.

Most of the ethnographical specimens are organic in nature comprised of wood, bamboo, leaves, bark, leather, cotton, paper and many more. The organic specimens particularly in tropical climate are subjected to quick deterioration by various agencies such as dryness, humidity, light, insects, dust and dart etc.

The material traits of human culture are not static from the cultural point of view. The specimens which are now in possession of museum as the examples of contemporary cultures, will become the relics of past cultures in not very distant future due to ever-increasing spread of industrial civilization. In view of the importance of ethnographical specimens in presenting the cultural relics of mankind for the posterity, it is one of the primary responsibilities of the ethnographical museums to take necessary steps for the preservation of specimens, specially organic ones from different destructive agencies to be met within the four walls of the museum building. So important this issue is now to the museologists that much importance was given to this aspect in many leading international seminars and conferences organized by ICOM in recent years.

A special section for experimenting with the preservation work of the ethnographical specimens has been opened in the International Conservation Centre of Rome.

(I) (a) UNESCO Regional Seminar on museums held in Rio De Janeiro (Brazil) in September, 1958.
(b) ICOM's 7th General Conference in New York in 1965.
(c) UNESCO Regional Seminar on museums held in New Delhi in 1966.
5. Exhibition of specimens.

Like the museums of the other branches of knowledge, in the ethnographical museum also, only collection, documentation and preservation of specimens do not serve the purpose for which the museum stands. The museum is at present being utilized as a centre of visual education. Presentation of specimens in the gallery by displaying them attractively and systematically is, therefore, one of its major functions. To discharge its duty properly, among other things, the ethnographical museum also gives maximum emphasis on the appropriate display of collection systematically in the gallery. In this respect, the ethnographical museum has its own approach which is to depict faithfully the cultural profile of man in the gallery with the help of concrete cultural elements. For the purpose, in the ethnographical gallery the cultural elements are sometimes displayed against their proper historical background. (1) Sometimes they are arranged from the geo-ethnic point of view. (2) On the functional aspect, the cultural elements are also displayed, sometimes on comparative basis. Often display is organized from the ecological point of view as well. But in all the cases, the motive is to depict the cultural profile of the people concerned.

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(1) With the decline of folk-culture under the impact of the modern industrial civilization, culture-history method of display has gained ground in advanced countries. In Soviet Russia, this approach is so popular at present that to meet the requirement, in 1960, the Scientific Institute for Museum Studies in Moscow published a monograph on the "Local History and the Anthropology Museum".

(2) In the geo-ethnic method, artifacts are grouped according to the parts of the world where they come; for example, all objects from Australia in one case or part of the museum, those from South America in another and so on. There may also be cases devoted to specific tribes or people; for example, the Eskimo or the Maori. This kind of display method found favour in colonial museums of the 19th century. In the display of these museums at that time, much importance was given to land and people. Because it was connected with the pride and prestige of the colonial nations to depict the diversity of cultural features and ethnic elements of their respective empires.
It is by interpreting culture through concrete cultural elements in the gallery, the ethnographical museums are now being utilized for furthering the great cause of understanding between the people and races of different countries or between the various cultural and racial strands entering into the making up of one and the same people. Attempts are also being made to bring out the affinities between the advanced and the so-called primitive cultures which the former owe to the later. Service of the ethnographical museum is being solicited to combat racial prejudice as well. Success of these missions which have now been assigned to the ethnographical museum depends entirely on the display of specimens in the gallery to make the visitors understand the significance of cultural elements in the cultural life of the people. It is for this reason, exhibition of specimens in the gallery is now one of the most significant works of the ethnographical museum.


In the 20th century, the museum is no longer a sight-seeing institution. Its structural and functional arrangements have been oriented at present in such a way as to make it a centre of education. For the purpose, besides organizing systematic display of exhibits in the gallery, various other educational activities concerning the museum specimens are also being organized. Therefore like any other category of museums, according to modern museological concept, it is one of the major functions of the ethnographical museums as well to organize different categories of educational activities such as conducted lecture tours, loan of exhibits to schools and cultural organizations, publication of educational materials, organization of popular lectures, film-shows, radio-talks and also the temporary exhibition relating to the ethnographical specimens for affording educational facility not only to the scholars and students but to the community at large.
Because it has been found that only by mere visual observation, it is not always possible for the general public to gather adequate knowledge about the cultural life of the people from the cultural elements displayed in the gallery. An ethnographical specimen has many cultural aspects. Out of its cultural environment, there is very little scope of presenting all the associated cultural features of a specimen in the gallery. It is rather convenient to present only an aspect of culture related to the specimen in the museum display. For example, when display of the specimen is organized on comparative basis according to its use or purpose, its historical and geographical aspects are neglected. It is through the auxiliary educational activities like publications, film-shows, lectures etc. these neglected aspects of the exhibits can be touched upon. Thus for the sake of edification of people the ethnographical museums are also arranging for different categories of educational activities besides exhibiting the specimens in the gallery.

The need for edification of people through the cultural materials of the ethnographical museum has been keenly felt to remove some of the burning problems of the contemporary world. In this regard Piddington (I) is of opinion that the ethnographical museum is in a position to make substantial contribution to the improvement of race relations. It may also be used for dispelling the earlier impression that primitive people are somehow of a different order of humanity from ourselves. It can help to give a concrete background to the study of the more abstract principles of social anthropology as well.

Considering these aspects, edification of people through the ethnographical specimens is now considered as one of the responsibilities of the ethnographic museums.

Observation

The analysis made here from the functional point of view on the major categories of functions of the ethnographical museums as stipulated by ICOM in generalized form makes it clear that one of the functions - "the systematic collection" helps to build up structurally an ethnographical museum with substantial number of appropriate specimens which are the basic requirement of a museum. Adequate arrangement made for other categories of functions such as documentation, preservation, exhibition of those collections are in a position to make the institution functionally operative to meet the requirements as are expected from it according to the current definition of museum. Considering the nature of the major categories of functions which are at present essential for successfully running an ethnographical museum, its scopes are now apparent and they are as follows:

1. An ethnographical museum provides the scope for collection under one roof, the ethnographical specimens which were originally widely distributed through both time and space, and also among the people belonging under different cultural levels with special reference to the pre-industrial simple societies.

2. In view of the existing condition of the tribal and folk cultures under the impact of modern industrial civilization, the ethnographical museum also offers the scope of developing itself as a repository of human culture by making representative collection. By taking adequate measures for their proper maintenance, it may become a museum of culture-history for the posterity as well.

3. It provides scope for identification and annotation of ethnographical objects collected as a first step towards understanding them, thereby giving a concrete background to the study of the more abstract principles of social anthropology.
4. By displaying the ethnographical specimens in the gallery, it also provides scope for presenting the glimpse of human culture to make the people understand the cultures of other people and the culture-history of one's own culture.

In view of the scope and functions of the ethnographical museums as discussed here, it is one of the objectives of this thesis is to categorically trace out the nature of ethnographical museums in India specifying their scopes and functions. By nature it means the status of the museums so far as their organizational set up, administrative control and financial resources are concerned.

**STYLE OF PRESENTATION**

In the prelogomena, discussion has been made on the nature of ethnographical museum, its aim, scope and function according to modern museological concept. Subsequently, the scope of building up of this category of museums in India and the effective role, they may play at the present situation of the country, have also been taken into consideration. In this background, the objective of this dissertation, as the title implies, is to trace out by making systematic study the existing condition of the leading ethnographical museums of the country. That is, to find out how far these museums are structurally equipped and functionally potential as per current museological concept, and also how far they are playing the role which the country needs from them. To present a clear-cut picture of these propositions, the study on the Indian ethnographical museums has been presented here in successive stages and they are as follows:

I. In the first stage, the study starts with the developmental history which culminates into a list of the existing Indian museums with ethnographical collections. It shows that the ethnographical collections in India have been built up in different museums which on their part, are under the
administrative set up and financial control of different authorities having distinct status of their own. The study also reveals that the museums developed under a particular status group have their own specific aims and objectives and also enjoy certain advantages as well as limitations from those of others. These listed museums, therefore, from the administrative and financial point of view, have been classified into distinct categories. As such, this dissertation at the outset starts with the presentation of a picture about the general developmental trend of each category of museums so far as their structural and functional aspects are concerned.

2. With the presentation of the general developmental trend, in the subsequent chapter, actual development of the ethnographical museums has been presented by making case-study of five leading museums of the country, one each as representative example of the five categories of museums, the country has at present. In these case studies critical analysis has been made to bring into sharp focus the working capabilities of these museums.

3. Finally the dissertation concludes with the suggestions for the improvement of the structural aspects and functional potentiality of the Indian ethnographical museums from the drawbacks detected in course of making this study.

Sources of data utilized in this dissertation.

So far as the data utilized in this study is concerned, it may be mentioned that

1. Information utilized for assessing the general developmental trend in the chapter were collected by circulating a prescribed schedule in different loading museums of the country.

2. Information furnished in connection with case-study (Chapter IV) were collected by the author himself after personally visiting the museums and examining all records of their museological activities.

3. Other information presented here, were collected mostly from the published literature through library research.

4. Personal experience and working knowledge also helped much in furnishing additional data wherever required.