

Death-Defying Game Cock Fight among the Santals: A Case Study in Paschim Medinipur, West Bengal

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Abstract

The human occurred cockfight as different to those cockfights which are occur naturally like any other traditional game and is governed by some rules with customary ethnic tradition. Though, importance of cockfight varied from place to place and also as time to time. However, in India, in last few decades' blood sports events like Cockfight have been popularized where animal may harmful during the events. While, most of the time cockfight is closely associated with continuation of 'ethnic tradition' and 'culture'. Cockfight is common in ethnic community like Santal. History of cockfight pointed out that the fight have bottomless outline in rural India especially in tribal communities. However, present study, carried out in a selected village named Foringdanga under Paschim Medinipur district of West Bengal, India. In the studied village the game cockfight occurred regular basis in every week during winter season. Winter season is the time of the cockfight and during this season the game occurred two days in every week and also occurred in especial holidays like Saraswati Puja, Republic day, Sankranti and so on. The Foringdanga village also dominated by Santal tribes thus the present author select the village as study area and focused on the death-defying game cockfight which arranged and practiced by the the Santals people. In the study area not only the santal tribal people participated; here also participated other caste people. The present study try to demonstrate that one of the scary game is cock-fight where one cock fights against another cock until the death. Where cock-fight is completely illegal but the fight frequently happened during the winter season in an open public place like weekly market, village fair, festival days in rural areas of Paschim Midinipur district of West Bengal. The fight owing with the prohibited in several jurisdictions and to essential ethical selflessness which exclude becoming visibly participative in the present research, therefore, I developed conscious point of view through "observation method" with some case studies. However, the present paper exposed the death-defying views on Cockfight where the fighter cock flow the blood of opposite cocks until unless the victory or defeat. The study also pointed out that Cockfight is a strictly male event that contains socialistic and aggressive where women are not welcome.

Keywords: Cock-fight; Tribal Community; Scary Game; Illegal Status; Observation Method; Death-defying.

Introduction

The game cockfight claimed that it is one of the oldest sports in the world and it may be difficult to illustrate, however it seems harmless to conjecture that the sport of cockfight was contemporary with

the domestication of chickens, which may have occurred as early as 3000 B.C [2]. In spite of that 'Cockfight' – is a blood sport in which two fighter cocks and their violence has been placed beak to beak in a particular place (known as 'cockpit') and encouraged to fight to the death [11,12,13,14].

Although, history says, 'Cock-Fight' is a very old sport. The word 'very old' means older than our Christian era. The history of cockfight illustrated the fight started into Classical Era [2]. The game cockfight is far more complex than it appears. However, some of the specialized established the game cockfight originated in Southeast Asia. But, before it even became games, the bird was consider as an worthy living thing, depiction deference from men. At that time, the cock was a subject matter of spiritual devotion. Thus, the earliest Syrians worshipped the cock as a spirituality [2,3]. After that, cockfight became part of religious and partly a political institute at Athens and which continued to flourishing the seeds of valour in the memory of their youth [2].

Though, cockfight is a bloodshed game between two domestic fowl (cocks), or rather its known as gamecock. The game held in a ring called 'cockpit' [8]. Hogarth work, "The Cockpit" (1759), shows the fighting birds surrounded by a rowdy collection of gentlemen, gamblers, pickpockets, and rogues [1]. However, the earliest accepted word 'gamecock', symbolizing the cock as a 'game', or 'sport', relaxation activity documented in 1646, thereafter, the term "cock of the game" used by George Wilson, in his earliest book named 'sport of cockfighting' which also glorification for 'Cocks and Cock Fighting' in 1607. Therefore, the game cockfight extremely old and even few people claimed the "oldest" (Dundes, 1994, p. vii) [8]. Saint Augustine illustrated the explanation of cockfight in his "De Ordine" to pointed up malevolence in the world [9]. Cockfight the bloody was admired in earliest period into different countries like India, China, Persia, and other Eastern States [4]. The cockfight continuous into the 21st century as a visualization game among the rural society. However, it would be an inaccuracy to take for granted that the game be actives as merely an explanation to bet and fit into place in violent, rude, lower-class kindheartedness [2]. Cockfight has very significant involvement, who expend countless hours to caring hundreds of chicks to prepared the fighter cocks and looking to the reproduction and stunning in combined arrangement of trade and exchange [6].

Moreover, Cockfight is a violence or bloodshed game which owing the substantive anguish of the cocks that the reason of inflict to each other during fighting time. Although, all the fights did not assure to death of the fighter cocks, sometime the cocks may be tolerate substantial trauma. One of the chapter 'The Fraternity of Cockfighters: Ethical Embellishments of an Illegal Sport' of the book *The Gamecock: A Casebook* specified that

justifications on cockfights are an fundamental aspect of the sports and which serve not only to support the persistence of the game cockfight but also to endure the individual commitment which characterizing the individuals and extremely involved in it. The cockfighter becomes successful only after substantial time and effort which to become 'professional'. Subsequently, winning or losing in the fight is not only a contest between two gamecocks-it also symbolizes the success or defeat of the cockfighter [2]. However, some of the states around the world, still practiced cockfight as a mainstream event of diversion; although, in some countries it is controlled by enactment of law, or either forbidden thotoughly [5]. Protagonists of the 'age old sports' continually listed that, for the 'cultural and religious' relevance as reasons to perpetuation of cockfight as a sports [9].

Clifford Geertz studied on cockfight in Indonesia and he wrote "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" which is one of the most renowned literature on 'cockfight'. Geertz's develops the theoretical concept of thick description from the study on Balinese Cockfight and evaluate the motivations behind the cock fighters of Balinese which is also significant methodological progress to understand the cock fight in an around the world [10]. However, using of thick description being crucial because it cannot be used as a universal source on cock fights. Although, Geertz continued by explaining that the relationship between Balinese men and their gamecocks was not just metaphorical [10]. They spent large amounts of time with their gamecocks which led to an even stronger identification between the two. Cock fighters in the Midwest identified just as much with their gamecocks as the Balinese did but they also emphasized the importance of breeding and as a result stressed the significance of hens. In the Midwest, cock fighting was more than just a cultural practice [6]. Sometimes Cockfight raised the questioned about fascination on cockfight because there is something implicitly sexual about it? Geertz noticed in his Balinese study, where quoted that

"in groups of men squatting idly in the council shed or along the road in their hips down, shoulders forward, knees up fashion, half or more of them will have a rooster in his hands, holding it between his thighs, bouncing it gently up and down to strengthen its legs, ruffing its feathers with abstract sensuality" [10]

Since ancient times to present time the cultural aspects of Cockfight is still present. Because the question like what insight into cockfight and how

gained the knowledge of the practice and sacrificing cocks to various gods? For which, Smith stated “the cock come to life with three powerful themes such as nature-sexuality, sun, and resurrection.” Similarly, Chakraborty and Chakrabarty studied the socio-cultural aspects of Cockfight where they observed most of the Cock-fighters select two types of fighting cock—one is called *Desi Morog* and another variety is called *Pahari Morog*. Their study also illustrated that Cockfighting can be said to have a mythos centered on the purported behavior and character of the fighter cocks itself. Cocks are seen as emblems of bravery and resistance in the face of insurmountable odds. In fact, boys are frequently exhorted to follow the example of the fighter cock in protecting his turf and family constellation. While cockpits are violent and loud, and that time the place also bloody, fighting between human male competitors or gamblers is taboo. Many cock fighters had been adopted the fighter as a totem. At arena of cock fight one may expect to see men with displaying the cock in a combative or terrifying aspect. Though, Cock fight has an important tradition role or status in many Santals family in *Foringdanga* village (Chakraborty and Chakrabarty, 2016) [3].

In spite of Cock’s symbolism to Christianity it took over as a symbol where it had a variety of meanings and emerging the cock as a symbol of the resurrection. Since most important anthropological literature in cockfight is Clifford Geertz work on Balinese Cockfight which first published “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” and his study to be found that practices of cockfight: the care of the birds, the preparations for a fight, the elegant ringside (cockpit), rituals and bettings rather Geertz elaborate an interpretive frame of cultural practice on cockfight in a descriptive context, where cockfight providing symbolizes of maleness and cultural loyalties in Balinese. Similarly, recent study Chakraborty and Chakrabarty, 2017 stated forbidden game openly organize where the bloody game had a social value of the Santal society in *Foringdanga*. Their study also pointed out that few of the participators among santal society are well educated and also working in different government institutions. Rather being an illegal status of the game cockfight it much popular in tribal rural from past times to the till date. Moreover their study stated that the term ‘cockfight’ is a passionate game where the game activity is the parts of myth and or social value while the cockfight remains a forbidden bloody game [4].

Ancient sports like ‘Cockfight’ has been deep rooted in rural areas of India as well as in West

Bengal. Nowadays, the cockfight has been much popular in rural parts of the Bengal as well in *Foringdanga* village. However, at present the game cockfight has been much popularized in Santal community and the study also pointed out that provides an anthropological view and gives a clear picture how the Cockfight started and ended; where the fighter cock fought till to flowing of the blood from opposite cock’s and until and unless the victory or defeat was established (P. Chakraborty, 2018) [5]. Chakraborty also pointed out that the santal participator considered themselves as the organizer and the participator to be part of the brave warrior game and they feels proud of it (P. Chakraborty, 2018) [5]. A cockfight would habitually be a blood-spattered event and roughly the game to be continued until the death of the one fighter cocks among the paired fighter cock [11]. The game took place as noisy deeds in every betting, shouting and all kinds of additional movements occupied on the subordinate areas. But, the twist truth of the twenty-first century is cockfight prolonging with fully illegal in India as well as West Bengal [4]. Although, the game, cockfight is not widespread but, it may be the contiguous to worldwide sports, taking place almost everywhere.

Methodology

For the present study researcher selected *Foringdanga* village under *Kotwali* police station of Paschim Medinipur district because of in *Foringdanga* village, the game cockfight occurred in regular basis in ‘playing season’. Here season refers the winter season because, usually the cockfight only playing in winter season, thus the author claimed as ‘playing season’. The cockfight season begins, depending on the local environment, in late fall down the temperature and usually started after *Durgapuja*. This is because the cocks molt during the hot months, and the molting makes them feverish and weak and therefore unable to fight. That’s why in winter season the fight usually starts.

In spite of ‘season’ another important factor is the game occurred in regular basis during season here regular basis means in every week the game happened in two days and along with these two factors the village is tribal dominated village where the dominated tribal is Santal. Thus, the author selected *Foringdanga* village under *Kotwali* police station of Paschim Medinipur district in West Bengal for present study.

In *Foringdanga* village have about 122 santal population which encompass 21 Santal households

where 60 male and 62 female and among them 36 santal male people joined or participated in the game cockfight. But in *Foringdanga* village about 40-50 people participated in cockfight in a playing day where tribal (santal) and non-tribal both the people participated.

Since the Santals are well known for their participation in cockfight anywhere they live. Subsequently, the other caste people also play some significant role during the cockfight but the most important role played by the cocks which fight against one another until the victory or defeat of a cock where, the viewer or the audience enjoyed the bloody game.

For the collection of data standard anthropological methods like household census survey, observation method, interview with the structure and unstructured questionnaire, group discussion, case study method were adopted to know some of the issues that were not incorporated in the schedule. However, household census survey have been done among all the Santal households, researcher observe the every fights in fighting days, interview about 30 people who are attached with the game where 20 people are Santal and rest 10 people belong in other caste and also for in depth study researcher took 6 case studies during study times. Before collecting the data, researcher of the present study also has taken human subject's approval from every respondent.

Demography of the Participants and the Fighter Cocks:

The table 1 shows the age group wise distribution among the participants and also shows the ownership of number of the fighter cocks under study area. The table 1 exposed that out of the

total number (52) of participants 67.31% (35) are tribal (santal) participants and rest 32.69% (17) are non-tribal (caste) people. The table also shows age group wise distribution and followed the age group ≤ 15 years have 3.85% whereas, 1.92% among the non-tribal participants; 16-30 years of age 21.15% whereas, 9.62% among the non-tribal participants; 31-45 years of age 17.31% whereas, 13.46% among the non-tribal participants; 46-60 years of age 15.38% whereas, 7.69% among the non-tribal participants and 60+ age group have only tribal participants 9.62% out of the total number of participants.

The table 1 also illustrated that in an average middle aged people usually participated in the cockfight compared with lower and upper aged people rather lower age group people have lowest percentages who regular basis participated in the game cockfight. In spite of the lower age group, the higher age group among the participants, the table displayed that their participation quite higher compared with lower age group but also quite lower when it compared with the middle age group.

The table 1 also exposed ownership wise numbers of fighter cocks distribution where the table illustrated that out of the total number of participated 3.85% tribal and 7.69% non-tribal have ≤ 2 numbers of fighter cocks and followed the number wise distribution 19.23% tribal participants and 13.46% non-tribal have 3-4 numbers of fighter cocks; 15.38% tribal participants and 9.62% non-tribal have 5-6 numbers of fighter cocks; 17.31% tribal participants and 1.92% non-tribal have 7-8 numbers of fighter cocks whereas, only 11.54% tribal participants have 9-10 numbers of fighter cocks.

Therefore, the table 1 expressed that among the total number of participants the santal people are highly and actively engaged with game cockfight

Table 1: Shows the Age group wise Distribution among Participants and Distribution of fighter Cocks

Age Group	% against Tribal Participants	% against total Participants	% against non-tribal Participants	% against total Participants
Age group wise Distribution among Participants				
≤ 15	5.71	3.85	5.88	1.92
16-30	31.43	21.15	29.41	9.62
31-45	25.71	17.31	41.18	13.46
46-60	22.86	15.38	23.53	7.69
60+	14.29	9.62	0.00	0.00
Distribution of fighter Cocks				
≤ 2	5.71	3.85	23.53	7.69
3-4	28.57	19.23	41.18	13.46
5-6	22.86	15.38	29.41	9.62
7-8	25.71	17.31	5.88	1.92
9-10	17.14	11.54	0.00	0.00

because participation on the game cockfight is connected with their traditional culture and their social system. Thus, the study area exposed the santal people are highly and actively engaged compared with non-tribal caste people.

Place of Fight

Since 1990s, residents of *Foringdanga* village organized the game cock-fight in winter season. Generally the fight rendered two times in a week during the winter season and the fight started from 2 P.M. to until sunset. The game take place on a particular field/ place which also known as 'cockpit'. The particular place of fighting is located just beside the village. The cockpit is surrounded by almond tree. Almond gardens up to specially construct outside of the arenas (galleries) with air and shadow of those almond trees. The shape of arena of cock fight is oval shaped but center of the fighting area looks like four-sided figure arena like a boxing circle and evaluated square arena about eight meters per side. In the fighting day, around the arena of the cockfight seen various types of junk foods stall such as 'alur chop' 'ghugni' 'fuchka' 'papad' ice-cream and also seems local made alcohol stall.

The fight held into a squares shaped field. Therefore, the fight runs three to four hours in a day where approx. fifteen to twenty separate fighting matches encompass. Therefore, each of the fighting is precisely followed the rules which were given by the organize committee for the cock fighters.

Generally the 'cockpit' can vary to day by day as per the events of fight and also the special holidays in *Foringdanga* village. However, here has a committee who organized the fighting events for which without any permission nobody cannot joined in the game. Thus, the committee had very significant role.

The Cock-Fight

Before starting the fight, the owner and / or the *Kathker* (who fixing or attached blade with cocks leg) find a matching cock to completed a pair with other cocks beside the arena of fighting ground. The process of matching or paired the cocks locally known as 'Jodha'. The paired method completely independent because a single cock finds his paired for the fight, there is no involvement of the owner of the cock or any individuals. Though, the matching process had done through more or less equal types in terms of size, weight, and height of cocks. When, the owner and / or the *Kathker* find the matching cock and complete a pair then either owner close

up to the *Kathker* or *Kather* himself attaches the knives into the cocks' leg with the cotton ropes. The knives are affixed by curving a long length of string around the foot of the knives and the leg of the cock. Before entering the 'cockpit' the fighter cocks often wear knives which—long, sharp and slightly curved attachments—that make over into knives for maximum injury. These knives ensure that only one fighter cock alive after the fight and the other one will be dying and that's the unwritten rules of cockfight. After that, the both pairs of fighter cock and the *Kathker* (trainer or supervisor of the fighter cocks during fighting time in cockpit) entered into the cockpit. Two cocks have been brought into the cockpit and the distance between the two cocks are about one-half to one meter. The paired of *Kathker* along with their matching fighting cock stand face to face into the cockpit and when the third person (man from organizing committee and also became as referee) said the fight is started now, at that time both *Kathker* released their cock for fighting and fight will start.

After starting the fight once cock jumping to another cock and the cock attacking in straight away to wing beating through the knives and head-thrusting, leg-kicking. Within the fraction of seconds once cock pushes his knives to the other one. And after that his feather wet by his own blood but he never escape from the arena of fight. During this situation the injured cock is being more aggressive to attacking the opposite one.

However, cock-fight started with kissing on the head of fighter cocks by their respective *Kathkars*. After that, once cock attacking the opposite cock, usually in first attacking time the fighter jumped with each other to pushing their knives. Suddenly the one fighter cock leapt over the opposite cock and tries to cut with the deadly knives during attacking time, but the fighter cock had curved knife and his legs low-down head and then cock hit only blank air. After first attacking, *Kathkars'* catches their cocks and again ready for the second attacked and that time *Kathkars'* left their cock face to face and these process to be continued until the finishing of the fight or until unless the victory of a fighter cocks. The latter attacked it furiously, bloody feathers were littering into the pit. Blood flooded into the cockpit; the brave encounter was repetitive again and again but success hangs about in doubt.

On the fighting time- cockpits around fill up with people, mostly men and few of children. The women not allowed to watching the fight. When a fight ends and the cockpit fulfilled by bloody

feathers, then new *Kathkers* along with their paired matching fighter cocks entered into the cockpit. Numbers of *Kathkers* belong into number of teams. Before each fight, opposing *Kathker* approach each other and hold their cocks' inches at a distance, to allow them to peck one another. The fight has been happened on various steps and it may happen through the *Kathkar* sucks blood from the throat of a wounded injured cock and thereafter, *Kathkar* will again arrange to make his cock to fit and fight again. After that, most of the cocks sustain in serious injuries. In many times most of the fighter cocks neither leaves the cockpit alive. Despite the fact that, the rules usually do not require one or both cocks to die for selecting a winner but, the winner to be declared when the outcome will be die or often due to the verity of the injuries.

During the attacking time, especially when fight into the deep level then viewers thrilling and simultaneously scattered because, they all know that until or unless to die of any one another never win the fight. Thus, all the people said the cock fight is the real fight where one cock fight against another as brave warrior. Most of time both the fighter cocks falling down into the cockpit where one of them highly injured, feathers tainted with red, but the cocks never left the fight place and in this condition the cocks continue the fights and this spirit ended by the death; where blood flows feathers fly on the blood. In final attacking, an utmost attempt forward to give ultimate bluster where cocks spiked knives to another cock's pinion where it was jammed in the bones and opposite one try to hit in the breast and then both the cocks beat each other; thus, their blood falling on the cockpit where the blood mixing up and until the once felling to continued blood spurting out and legs pulling in to final pain. The looser fighter cock, bound to the bloody wing which falling down on the cockpit and stay behind and slowly his legs wrinkled and eyes closed. In this fight obviously one cock will be die and sometimes both the fighter cocks will be died into the cockpit.

Case - I

Mr. Sadhu Murmu (Name Changed) 52 years old man, who is the president of the cockfight organizing committee and lives in *Foringdanga* village. He narrated that, "*when I am 14 years old at that time I saw that my father attend the cock fight in regular basis (here regular basis means day of the weekly market and the festival days). In that time, no cock fights in our village as well as our nearby villages. Thus, my father visited the weekly market and sometimes I also attend the game along with my father. After, death of my*



Fig. 1: Two Kathker matching the paired for fight



Fig. 2: Kathker attaches the knives with the cotton ropes



Fig. 3: Cock Fight happened in Cockpit with the present of two Kathkers



Fig. 4: The dead body of loser Cock



Fig. 5: The Champion Cock

father, I thought that we also arranged the game in our village and I talk with our Manjhi and elected panchayat member. They said yes, we arranged it because this game also related with our social values. Thus, in 90s we started the game cockfight in our village. Last two years I am taken the president position of the organizing committee. I also attend the game. Here, two types of cock we used in the fight. The types locally called Desi Morog and Pahari Morog. Pahari Morog played in special days like Saraswati Puja, Makar Sankranti, 26th January, and so on. Because Pahari Morog is big size and price also high and these types' cocks well played."

Case – II

Mr. Makhan Hansda (Name Changed) 47 years old man, who is the regular fighter and lives in Foringdanga village. He is a primary school teacher in occupation although, in regular basis he participated the game 'cockfight'. He narrated that, "I enjoyed the cockfight since my childhood age because the fighter cocks are real hero as I think. The cocks are

fight with each other in face to face position. When, once cock attacked to another cock and the opposite once also attacked in same way and the fighter cocks look like the 'brave warrior'. Frequently I have seen cock fighters with misty eyes leaving the pit cradling their limp, winged champions."

Case – III

Mr. Sanatan Hansda (Name Changed) 36 years old man, who is the regular fighter and lives in Foringdanga village. He is a driver of a govt. vehicle; though he participate the game 'cockfight' in regular basis. He narrated that, "we wake up with the sound of our domesticated cocks, every house has number of cocks, usually we domesticated because of cockfight. The crowing of cocks is one of the basic sounds of our village. Here have a special arena for the cockfights which called as cockpit and just behind our village and behind the almonds garden. Since last four decades the game organized in our village and almost every santal member of our village participated in this game, number of educated person and govt. employee also participated in this game. Though, we all know that the game is prohibited but participation in the game is mater of social status in our santal society. We never faced any type's problem from police and other institutions. And the reasons behind it, that all over Paschim Medinipur district as well as the tribal areas the game is frequently happened during the winter season. Another caused is organizing and participating in the game mentions some social value particularly among the tribal society but nowadays few lower caste people also participated in cockfight. Though, they never arranged the game in their own villages, they always come to the tribal village or in a tribal market to participated in the game. Here also come at least 15-20 caste people to join this game and we also enjoyed their participation."

Case – IV

Mr. Totaram Murmu (Name Changed) 36 years old man, who lives in Foringdanga village and participated in regular basis. He is a driver of a govt. vehicle; though he participate the game 'cockfight' in regular basis. He narrated that, "the cock-fight has an emotional attachment as well social intense with us and our society. In everyday the emotion of cock-fight is expressed obviously. Different types of sentiments are associated with the winning and the losing cocks and as it are understood by the individual. Because, we are giving loving care regularly massaged, bathed, bounded on the ground, and trained every day to the preparing time of fighter cocks." Mr. Murmu also added, "the participation in cockfight is very much significant with our social status and rituals because we always sacrifices

a cock or a hen to our god for which sacrifices of cock always good for us and we never sold the meat of a cocks who died into cockpit during fighting times."

Conclusion

A blood sport between two trained cocks is referred to as 'cockfight'. Due to the custom (matter social status) of the cockfight, the game regularly happened in Santal village named *Foringdanga* during the winter season. Even though Cockfight is illegal under the anticipation of unkindness of Animals Act of 1960, but the sport still succeed here, since 1990s. Before the fight the cocks gets aggravated to feint attacks. The fighting history of studied area stated the fight among two cocks maximum ten minutes stayed into cockpits. During the study time, I met individually with numbers of male informants who responded my questions about performs of the fight and I practically viewing in the arena of cockfight. When I asked them can I entered into the cockpit then they replied that it may be risky for you for which you can't entered into cockpit, *kathker* only entered here. During fighting time everybody imitated the ups and downs of the fight with reduce breathing and one or one more unconscious attacked and that time bloody feathers, at that moment blood soaked the ground of the cockpit and the fathered wet by their bloods.

However, as early as Clifford Geertz noticed in Balinese the men with their cocks were symbolically recommended as "hero," "warrior," "champion," "man of parts". Since the Balinese see the fighter cocks as attachable, self-operating penises, ambulant genitals with a life of their own Geertz writes:

"In any case during fighting time, the cocks fly almost immediately at one another in a wing-beating, head-thrusting, leg-kicking explosion of fury so pure, so absolute, and in its own way so beautiful and within a moments one or the other drives home a solid blow with his spur."

Similarly the present study also illustrated the twofold view of the fighter cocks; where one is 'pathetic scenario' another one is in 'battle field' cock as the 'brave warrior'. Therefore, the study raised the issue that when the cocks would die with the dignity of fight then "fight is the rationale purpose in life".

Moreover, present study also detected that participating in cockfight is also a leisure activity as well a dramatization of male identity because

here never ever any female did not participated in this game. Though, cockfight refers not just entertaining of man and as it insistent of the social value of the ethnic culture and gender identity excludes females.

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