

MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 48
NO. 4

OCTOBER-DEC. 1968

A Quarterly Anthropological Journal
Founded in 1921 by Sarat Chandra Roy

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MAN IN INDIA

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18 Church Road, Ranchi, S. E. Ry.
Bihar, India.

MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 48 } OCTOBER-DEC. 1968 { NO. 4

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES & SCHEDULED TRIBES

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Introduction

IF we consider the question of national integration, the problems relating to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes appear to be of as much importance and seriousness as problems relating to Hindu—Muslim or inter-State relationships. A feeling of oneness, and of sharing equally in opportunity has to be firmly built up among those who have hitherto remained isolated or socially suppressed, while the tribal communities have also to be made to feel that their cultures are in every way safe and respected by the rest of the Indian community.

India has gained a unity in its political structure, and it does not matter at all that it is only of recent historical origin. It is firm and important today, although there might have been no political oneness in the historical past. At the same time, a degree of close economic interdependence has grown up in modern times which was naturally not present under conditions prevailing in the past. This feeling of interdependence and equality has to be more firmly established by deliberate endeavour. Once political unity is thus firmly consolidated by

Developed out of a speech by the author at the meeting of the National Integration Council in Srinagar, Kashmir, on 21 June 1963.

economic co-operation for the sake of establishing a modern socialistic society, it does not matter if different languages are spoken in different parts of the country, or cultures and religious beliefs of a variety of shapes persist in all parts of the land, so long as they are not allowed to come in the way of political or economic interdependence. A large number of functional organizations have to be built up which will take care of the political and economic needs of life, while religious beliefs, languages and higher forms of culture may be left safe to prosper and help in the enrichment of people's lives. It may even be that with growing economic and political interdependence, the higher forms of culture built up through ages in different parts of India may begin to interact with one another more freely, and help in their mutual enrichment. This should be a natural process, the pace of which should never be artificially forced. The genius of Indian civilization in the past has lain in thus seeking unity at certain levels, while allowing diversity to continue and even thrive at other levels.

The problem of 'national integration' is being considered in this note specially with reference to the position of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The object is to devise measures so that the present social distance between them and the rest of their Indian brotherhood is bridged as quickly as possible. At the moment, there is a rising political and cultural consciousness among them which is the result of the provisions laid down in our Constitution. They have begun to feel more deeply than ever before that they are less educated, less economically advanced, and in several instances, also less regarded with equality by some other sections of the population.

This state of affairs has to be corrected by three measures, so that the provisions of the Constitution are fully given effect to. And this is a responsibility which belongs, not merely to the government or political parties, but to every citizen who can also act through voluntary social-service or educational agencies.

We shall try to examine a few of these measures at the educational, economic and administrative levels.

But before we begin, it may be worth while to appreciate the size of the problems involved. The population of India has been compared in the following table with the population of several other countries ; while it has also to be remembered that the total population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes all over the country in 1961 was 94, 254, 592 (SC : 64, 417, 366 and ST : 29, 837, 226), this being substantially more than the total population of Japan.

TABLE 1*

	Area in sq. km. (Percentages within brackets)	Population (Percentages within brackets)	Density per sq. km.
1961 India	3,192,833 (100)	439,234,771 (100)	137.59
1960 U. S. A.	9,368,353 (293)	179,823,175 (41)	19.15
1959 U. S. S. R.	22,402,200 (702)	208,826,650 (48)	9.32
Europe excluding Russia	3,368,353 (106)	311,036,023 (71)	92.34
1965 Africa	30,258,000 (947)	310,000,000 (70)	10.24
1965 World	135,773,000 (4240)	3,285,000,000 (747)	24.19

* Based on the *United Nations Demographic Year Book, 1965.*

India has 2.35 per cent of the World's land area supporting 13.37 per cent of the World's population.

Educational Measures

There is a healthy and rising demand for education in our rural areas, shared by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well. In our educational policy with reference to the latter, there has been a growing tendency to promote higher

education, i.e. at the college and some professional levels. But the policy has to be modified, so that, along with the needed higher education, more importance is given to the achievement of universal primary education, which should approximate as far as possible to the *Nai Talim* or Basic Education of Gandhiji's conception. Higher education can perhaps be taken advantage of by one or two per cent of the population ; while what we need more is sound school education for the rest of the 98 per cent.

It has been the experience of the writer that the demand for education among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is generally of a kind which will prepare them mainly for securing bureaucratic jobs. This has been the result of an official rule that a certain percentage is reserved for each of them by the government (12½% in the case of Scheduled Castes and 5% in the case of Scheduled Tribes in new recruitments to official posts).

But India is fast trying to change her mode of production from a non-competitive, caste-based system to one consistent with modern technology. While members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are striving hard for a place in assured bureaucratic or other services, the 'upper castes', who have been left free to shift for themselves, are rapidly swarming into factories as skilled labourers, precision workers, and so on. The present tendency to find security in assured jobs has to be progressively replaced by a healthy desire to participate in modern productive organization by a wise reform of the education which is being offered to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. For this purpose, a well-organized system of vocational guidance and of employment agencies has to be built up which will look after the interests of members belonging to the scheduled communities, while not neglecting the interests of every other student or employee who needs similar care.

It is through such institutions that 'national integration' can be indirectly, but firmly promoted. The feeling that the economic needs of all those who have so far been neglected is

now being attended to with wisdom and care will go a long way to overcome the present feeling of separateness.

Employment

The question of employment, and of preparation for availing of it, needs some special attention.

Both among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, there is a great demand for settlement upon land. But we have to remember that too many people are already tied up with agriculture in our country, while there is not enough land for everybody to go round, and the land does not also produce as much as it should under careful husbandry. If some people are settled upon land wherever it is possible to do so, every effort should be made by extension services to help them in using it most efficiently. The details of land-reform measures, co-operative farming or of marketing, of improvement in composting and manuring or the upgrading of seeds need not be spelled out here.

The reason why many members of the Scheduled communities crowd into land is because agriculture is a familiar industry which gives them a feeling of security, and also, in some cases, a sense of prestige as land-owners. If the same sense of security could be assured by proper training and help in employment in *other* forms of industry, there is no reason to suppose that the people concerned would not take full advantage of it. Indeed the large number of people who crowd into cities and eventually land themselves in slums tends to prove that they are in search of work because the village economy has failed them. May be they prefer some kinds of work and avoid others ; but this should not be regarded as an insurmountable disqualification.

Administrative Measures

One of the complaints of leaders representing the Scheduled communities has been that candidates belonging to these communities are not selected because the composition of the selection boards itself is not right. Moreover, these boards

demand a degree of excellence which is often far above the minimum requirements for the job in question. The argument is that, therefore, representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be on such boards meant for the selection of candidates.

Personally, the writer believes that such a measure is not wise. If a selection board is alleged to function in an unfair manner, correction should be applied by every means ; but not by the inclusion of representatives on a communal basis for that particular purpose. That would amount to a lack of confidence in our own administrative apparatus, and concession to the belief that only a member of a particular community can look after the economic interests of that community. Eventually, and not illogically, this may lead each region of India, and caste, to demand representation on public service commissions at the Union or State levels. A concession to 'communalism' of a new kind would undoubtedly prove detrimental to national integration, for it would consolidate, and not liquidate, the feeling of separateness.

We have indeed to build up a civil service and an administrative apparatus which is fair, firm and completely non-communal. And it should not matter even if all members of a particular branch of civil service happen to belong by accident to one single community, like the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. This is indeed one of the most urgent tasks of national integration.

Apart from a consideration of reform in employment commissions as suggested above, we have to pay attention to the processes of civil administration which are prevalent in our country. It has often been the complaint of members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that, when an injustice is done to them, justice is inordinately delayed when it is not altogether denied. Under these circumstances, those who have been sufferers become impatient, and even tend to break into violence. This violence is not necessarily at the instigation of interested political parties, but it should be regarded as a sign of no-confidence in the bureaucratic

apparatus, or even a lack of confidence in constitutional or legal means of securing justice.

Serious thought has to be given to this aspect of our social life. Although violence may be curbed by administrative measures, yet every effort has to be made in order to restore confidence in the capacity and desire of the government to do justice, so that the oppressed may feel that they are not helpless and the law will come to their aid fairly and swiftly. It is only then that the cause driving frustrated people to violence can really be overcome.

In a society which has set socialism as its goal, a feeling must be generated by proper administrative action that the interests of the 'masses' and their emancipation, in Gandhiji's sense of the term, is the prime concern of the government instead of that of the 'classes', to use Gandhiji's terms once more.

Alternative Steps

It is not unlikely that, even with the best of intentions, the government may fail to satisfy the demands of a sensitive people who have long been suppressed and are now straightening up their back.

The suggestion of the writer at this point is that the people concerned should be trained and organized by skilled and dedicated workers in the art of non-violent organization.

Gandhiji always began with the constructive programme when large issues were involved. He made men familiar, through his constructive programmes and institutions with the new kind of life which he wanted them to build up in India. *Nai Talim*, Village Industries etc., and his intense reliance upon self-help and the use of existing resources however restricted, made men familiar with a way of life in which there was to be economic equality, no caste or communal barriers, and a respect for the religion and culture of all peoples.

On the basis of such constructive work, he also taught men how to defend the new life through constitutional mean and non-violent non-co-operation, which lies lying within the

constitutional rights of a citizen in a civilized society. And he taught us also how to use that remedy for the redress of economic grievances (Champaran, Kaira, Bardoli), or social disabilities (Vaikam) or for the establishment of civil rights (Patuakhali, Gurudwara movements etc.) as much as he taught us to employ it for securing political justice through nation-wide movements. (Non-co-operation, Salt Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience and Quit-India movements).

If the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are becoming insistent today about the rights which have come to all through our Constitution, and if they suffer from a feeling of neglect or frustration when justice is not meted out to them fast enough, good social workers must be sent all over the country to teach them what their rights are, how to use constitutional remedies and the legal apparatus, and lastly how to employ the non-violent technique when violence is likely to break out through impatience.

The weakness of violence lies in the fact that under it, power goes to a small fraction of the population which wields the instruments of violence. In non-violence, on the other hand, power is likely to come to the lowliest, and becomes universally shared.

In the opinion of the writer, it is at this facet of our social organization that 'national integration' can take place in the most effective manner. War, whether violent or non-violent, unites people, helps them to rise above sectional interests. And when such non-violent war is carried out for the sake of the establishment of a just society, it raises the moral stature of both sides who are engaged in a combat as nothing else can. Gandhiji's non-violent technique of struggle, and preparation for it through a wise constructive programme would bring about a radical reorganization of our rural folk as hardly anything else can.

CASTE AND THE BACKWARD CLASSES

G. S. AURORA

(Received on 23 July 1968)

Abstract. This paper tries to study two types of social factors as they are associated with the problem of the weaker sections in the Indian society, viz. the caste-kinship and the economic. It is suggested that the association of the two factors with socio-political 'weakness' was a regular feature of Indian society since ancient times. In trying to reduce social backwardness the national government tends to give greater weightage to the caste factor. But this leads to the creation of middle-class communalism of the 'backward' castes. It is suggested that the caste criterion should be combined with the economic criterion in order to safeguard against the growth of 'backward-caste' communalism.

I

WHEN we find a great majority of people in a community backward in education and culture and weaker in terms of political influence and economic power we presume that that community is backward. However, this view will not lead us far in understanding relative backwardness in India where a vast majority of the population is backward. We must rather try to understand the phenomenon of 'community-backwardness' in terms of two related factors in Indian society, viz. *caste* which has been based on the principle of hierarchy or differential rituo-social status of well-defined communities and *kinship* which has tended to emphasize the principle of status and power diffusion within a much wider kin group than the elementary family. Both these factors have tended to quickly transform individual achievements into kin group and caste achievements.

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It has often been suggested that caste society is stratified on very different principles from 'class' society. Whereas the stratification of the 'class-societies' is based upon economic differentiation, caste society is stratified on ritual differences. This is, however, too simplified a picture of caste society. It is true that castes participate in the collective ritual idioms at regional and national levels; but some of these castes are also like the professional guilds.¹ The unique combination of economic, kinship (i.e. endogamy) and ritual principles has resulted in a situation in which many of the castes are far more closed groups than any social classes. But despite the apparent unity of castes, they were internally differentiated on economic and social-status planes. Besides the ritual values, material values always played a significant role in determining status in very many contexts. As is well known, there were a large number of economic occupations which were 'open' to the twice-born castes even according to the *shastras*. Farming, trade and the administrative occupations were permitted to all caste groups. It is only the ritual and the craft specialists who formed more or less exclusive guilds. Though both farming and trade were never accorded a very high ritual status, their having been kept 'open' in the traditional system, is an acknowledgement of the significance attached to material values associated with them. Importance of the material value of the Indian cultural system is also suggested by the fact that throughout India Brahmins and Kshatriyas, or those who were modelled in their image, e.g. Rajputs, tended to acquire control over land and political institutions. In North India, right until the onset of the era of land reforms, the effective control over land, administration and trade was in the hands of the *twice-born jatis*. In South India the Shudra *jatis* in possession of land were often able to upgrade themselves to the Rajput status, e.g. the Coorgs.

The existence of 'politics' and 'wealth' as ways of ordering relations together with that of religion had led to an implicit class system within all castes. However, the above statement must be qualified; cleavages on 'class' principles had been more pronounced among the higher, twice-born castes and relatively

less pronounced among the lower castes. The lower the caste, the more homogeneous in terms of lack of wealth and power, it was. This is generally true even in the present day.

II

On the whole, our political life today, covertly if not overtly, is far more occupied with the interests of communities, such as the *jati* communities, regional-culture communities, or religious communities. There is also another kind of group which tends to feature prominently in our political and economic life. This group is a cross between *jati* and the economic-vocational group. I am referring to such pressure groups as Gujarati industrialists, Marwari traders and industrialists, Parsi industrialists, and professional sub-groups of various linguistic communities.³ What is the consequence of 'community-centredness' in our society on the weaker sections of our society? Firstly, in a community where the groups are generally *jati*-centred, the weaker sections within the *jatias* can seldom hope to get a better deal simply because it is the average and the higher classes within each caste whose interests can be articulated at the political plane. Secondly, this kind of a system generates a conflict-loaded atmosphere, in which the only two choices open before the weaker sections are those of developing a militant class consciousness, or, at the individual plane, of *passing* (i.e. passing oneself off as higher). Thirdly, owing to the persistence of the communal attitude of classifying the people, a large number of relatively 'strong' people are enjoying the benefits which ought to be reserved only for truly 'weak' people.

III

I would like to illustrate the third point made at the end of the last section in some detail since the government policy of supporting the weaker sections is closely associated with the special privileges which are accorded to certain Scheduled and Backward 'classes' (which, incidentally, is a misnomer for castes and tribes). The backward 'classes' are specified by Presidential order.

It is fact of history that most of the tribes and castes (though not all of them) included in the above categories, were generally of low social and economic status in the pre-independence 'caste-based' society. After independence, the Government of India decided to consider these sections as a special backward section which required an extended period of favourable treatment in the political and economic spheres to raise them to the level of the rest of the population. It is obvious that a special treatment on exclusively communal lines of such a large segment of Indian society certainly has political and ideological implications of a far-reaching character. Let us briefly go over these implications for each of the categories of 'backward' classes.

IV

The concentration of the tribal population in economically backward areas is an important sociological fact. There are historical as well as modern political ramifications of this fact. Historically, the presence of the tribal communities in the marginally productive lands is a proof of their 'retreat',⁸ economic, political, cultural, before the advance of the plains society. The fact of their numerical significance and occasionally social dominance in certain parts of the country tends to enhance, in their own regions, their political status. They are either potentially capable or actually able to articulate their interests through the political channels made available to populous communities by our democratic institutions. Nevertheless, because of their general suspicion of 'outsiders' and the self-reliant mode of living they do not take as much advantage of modern political institutions as they could. This has important consequences. Since the tribals are often not conscious of the 'power' of their number (votes) this power is made use of (exploited) by the non-tribal commercial or land-owning castes of their regions. To safeguard against this misuse of political power vested in the tribals, they have been given reserved seats in those areas where they are a large proportion of the population. For the reserved elective posts only tribals may offer themselves as candidates. This device

certainly does help the relatively 'plainised' segment of the tribals who are often put forward as candidates of political parties. The political parties can make use of the commercial element in the 'nucleated villages', or other commercial centres, as also the particularistic loyalties to accumulate tribal votes.

At this moment it is difficult for us to give quantitative evidence to support our contention for the whole of India. But we may safely assume that it is the relatively *stronger* elements of tribal society who have been able to make use of the special privileges accorded to the tribal communities and not the socially weakest sections. At least we can state with a degree of confidence about one of the tribal districts where we have done some field-work. In the last two general elections, of all the candidates to the reserved legislative constituencies of Jhabua district, only one candidate, namely, the sitting socialist member of Alirajpur, was not a big landlord or a rich Patel; all others, including the socialist candidates were rich Bhilala Patels. We also have the Bastar case before us where candidates hand-picked by the Rajah Bhanjdeo of Bastar were the only successful candidates in 1962.

However, the Alirajpur results show that the tribals *do* sometimes vote for a 'poor' but urbanized candidate whom they consider *capable* enough to fight for their interests in administration vis-a-vis certain government departments, such as forest and police and also more oppressive traders. One important fact about the socialist member of the legislature is pertinent in this context. He is an educated and highly politicised tribal and does not originally belong to the constituency. We were in Alirajpur for a part of the time just before the general elections held in 1962 and had the good fortune of observing the main tactics and theme of political campaigns of various candidates. The socialist candidate who won was a skilful manoueverer of the dominant traditional leaders of different tribal communities. By and large his political slogans were confined to emphasizing the conflict of interests between the tribals and non-tribals, including the government administrators. Through his election organization emerged a group of militantly tribal-conscious volunteers, most

of whom were educated up to the primary level in the government (Tribal Welfare Department)-run residential schools and therefore fairly urbanized.

Alirajpur, as well as the Naga case show that where politicisation of the tribals does take place it leads to the growth of a militant ethnic consciousness, which, because of its communal nature, conceals the internal differentiation within the tribe. At least in the early stages of the growth of the community self-consciousness, it is the higher sections which are better represented than the lower ones whose urgent problems tend to be drowned in the general communal demands.

V

The case of the Scheduled Castes is more serious than that of the tribal communities. The greater seriousness of the Scheduled-Caste problem is not due to their poverty, but rather due to their social degradation. Nowhere in India are the tribes considered polluting in the same sense as the Bhangis and Chamars.

The Scheduled Castes are unable to utilize the power of their numbers, since in no part or region do they form a majority of the population. Most people familiar with the Indian social structure will remember that the Scheduled Castes are not an undifferentiated category. Besides being differentiated on the cultural-linguistic axis, from region to region, even within a region, they are different from each other on the pollution-purity axis as well as in the economic axis. The law, however, treats all the Scheduled Castes on an equal footing. This tends to favour, generally, those castes who are relatively more affluent and ritually purer than the lowest of the untouchable castes, e.g. the Bhangis (SWEEPERS). The Chamars and WEAVERS have been socially mobile, whereas the Bhangis have invariably been confined to their traditional occupation. Greater education of the Scheduled Castes has not usually led to the emergence of militant communal groups (the glaring exception is the Mahars of Maharashtra), on the contrary the educated members of Scheduled Castes have tended to pass

into the categories of amorphous castes by changing their surnames and migrating outside their own regions. In a still larger number of cases, they have been converted to Sikhism, Christianity or Buddhism, which are relatively 'open' religious communities. But instead of being accepted as equals by the rest of the members of those religious communities, they have tended to form into endogamous *jatis* within the above-noted religious communities. These proselytes have been considered polluting in the normal course of life, though tolerated within the portals of the religious buildings. Even here, we must make a distinction between the higher and the lower of the untouchable castes. Chamars, for example, have been more easily made a part of the Sikh community in the Punjab as compared to the Bhangis.

Not only are the Scheduled Castes economically more or less mobile, but also there are individual variations among them on economic and consequently social planes. The exclusively community basis of defining the 'Backward Sections', even in the case of Scheduled Castes, tends to favour the relatively 'stronger' segments from amongst them.

Let us now try and see how the Other Backward Classes are affected by the favoured treatment accorded to them by law. Even more than the Scheduled Castes, the Other Backward Classes are far more differentiated. On the whole, the Other-Backward-Classes category is formed of all those castes who were thought to be part of the Shudra *Varna* according to the Hindu *Varna* system.

Now the core of the Other Backward Classes consists of peasant castes of various descriptions,⁴ and they have generally lagged behind the higher castes in education and consequently in professions and government vocations. This state of affairs has tended to give them a sense of exclusion from the foci of power. However, after independence, these castes have been quick to exploit the opportunities offered by the democratic system. In many districts the landlord-abolition acts have placed the so-called backward castes in a position of economic as well as political superiority.

Under pressure from the Central Government the State governments have begun, especially since 1963, to treat the question of helping the Other Backward Classes on the basis of a dual, economic and communal, criterion. But on the whole there has been a stiff political resistance on the part of these castes against the introduction of the economic criterion. The lesson is clear enough. The policy of communal representation and reservation of jobs gives birth to a middle-class communalism which entrenches itself in *jatis* in such a manner as to thwart the interests of the economically weaker sections within these *jatis*. Any attempt to introduce the egalitarian process on the economic axis, on the part of the secular humanistic elements in political life, is more successfully contested by the middle and upper-sections of the *jatis* in the political arena, mainly because they know the ropes of the political system. 'The Lingayats of Mysore and the Ezhavas of Kerala provide good instances of powerful dominant castes which have exerted pressure on their respective state governments for the retention of caste as the basis for defining backwardness'.⁶

VI

Does our analysis above suggest that the Constitution-makers ought to have ignored the 'caste' fact? No, because people do tend to classify persons on the basis of their membership to some community or the other. In our view the life chances of people in India are determined on the basis of a complex of social factors of which the two most important factors are occupation and *jati*. Occupation is important because it largely determines the income of a person. *Jati* is important, not because belonging to a particular *jati* as such, affects the occupational mobility of a person; its importance is rather due to a widespread prevalence of caste-ism in public life. Now, this generally means that those castes who have their members in the governmental or business bureaucracies have an edge over others in terms of job opportunities. Unfortunately, due to the subsumption of class under caste, in the traditional system of India, certain communities have been traditionally excluded from business as well as literate vocations. As a result of

these historical facts the lower castes generally do not find an easy access to better-paid vocations. Concluding the above argument we may say that though the occupational factor is the *fundamental* determinant of the life-chances of people, yet the widespread prevalence of caste-ism tends to retard the mobility of certain backward communities. A fight for the backward sections has, therefore, two aspects, namely, struggle against the caste-ism of the already entrenched castes and struggle for the genuinely weaker sections to whichever caste they may belong.

How can the rights of the weaker *jatis* be protected under the circumstances? Until now, our political leadership, motivated by humanitarian ideals, has tended to protect their rights by providing a weightage to these communities over the rest in the fields of education, vocational training and jobs. But since the economic criterion has not been consistently used simultaneously to limit these facilities to the economically weaker sections of these communities, the middle-class communities have tended to strengthen communalism of these communities as a vested interest. Our feeling is that, if the economic criterion were simultaneously used to withhold weighted opportunities to the richer sections of the backward castes, they would not develop vested interest in backwardness itself; since those who rise up in the socio-economic hierarchy would in turn become ineligible for the 'weighted' treatment and then tend to link up with their professional organizations for the enhancement of their economic interests rather than with their castes.

We do not want to suggest that the above change in orientation will solve all the problems in this sphere. Administratively, probably, the institution of a double criterion makes the situation more difficult rather than less. There will be the problem, first of all, of *knowing* the relative economic status of different sections. Secondly, since communal attitudes are prevalent throughout India's body politic at various levels (though in differing degrees) there will be the problem of defining at each level the income bracket from amongst the

jatis who have to be accorded special treatment. These are serious technical difficulties, but these can be overcome by evolving formulae which would give proper 'weightage' to candidates from different backward *jatis* and low economic classes.

NOTES

1. See Norman Brown W. : 'Class and Cultural Tradition in India' in Milton Singer (Ed.) *Traditional India : Structure and Change*, pp. 35-39.
Also see :—
Lamb H. S. : 'Indian Merchant', Milton Singer, *ibid.* p. 29.
Masani R. P. : 'The Banking Caste and Guilds of India and the Position Occupied by Them in the Economic Organisation of Society from the Earliest Times'. Bombay, *Anthropological Social Journal* XIV, No. 50 (Feb. 1930) pp. 22-36.
2. Though we can say with a fair degree of certainty that the modern professional groups have superseded the occupational caste groups. But we cannot say with equal certainty that the occupational caste groups were the original forms of occupational segmentation in India. The evidence, though scanty, is to the contrary. The vocations were not always hereditary nor were they closed on endogamal principles. The early Rig Vedic literature makes it clear that it was possible for the transference of roles between Brahmins and Kshatriyas. (See Ghurye G. S. : *Caste, Class and Occupation*, Popular, 1961, p. 47). Trade and farming were always kept open to the Warrior and Priest *Varnas*.
3. See the article by Bose, N. K. in *The Adivasis*, Delhi, Government of India, 1955.
4. Beteille, A. : 'The Future of the Backward Classes. Perspectives. Supplement to the *Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 8.
5. Beteille : *op. cit.* p. 7,

CULTURAL FUSION : A CASE STUDY OF ST. MARTIN ISLAND IN THE BAY OF BENGAL

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(Received on 20 April 1968)

Abstract : St. Martin is a coral island in the Bay of Bengal, located between East Pakistan and Burma. The culture of the St. Martin Islanders grew out of a fusion of cultural characteristics from two distinct cultures, Kachin (Burma) and Chakma (East Pakistan), within an insulated environment. The case study has yielded relevant information which can substantiate the hypothesis that a culture which grows out of a fusion from two or more distinct existing cultures does not necessarily resemble any of the parent cultures, nor does it develop in the same direction as the parent cultures.

THIS paper is based on my field-work on St. Martin Island in 1962, as a member of an expedition sponsored by the Society of Natural Sciences, East Pakistan. St. Martin is a coral island in the Bay of Bengal, situated about 25 miles southwest of Teknaf, southernmost point of the Chittagong district in East Pakistan, and 40 miles west of Akyab in Burma. The island's area is 9 square miles and its population, 927.

My research approach was primarily ethnographic. I tried to tap the documentary sources¹ first and then correlated my field-work findings with them. At the outset I had to learn to understand the island dialect which is a curious mixture of Arakanese (a Burmese dialect) and Chittagonian (a Bengali dialect). I selected five informants on the basis of their

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¹Such as collective administrative reports of the District Magistrates on different sections of the district population to the Governor of Bengal and the Reports of Subdivisional Officers to the District Collector.

individual reputation of being honest, straightforward persons. I recorded their life-histories and then randomly interviewed a cross-section of the island population in order to cross-verify the information provided by the informants.

St. Martin Island, first located and named by the Portuguese traders in the 16th century, is locally called Jingira. It was settled in 1880 by fourteen families. The men of these families were from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the southern part of East Pakistan, while their wives were from the Kachin area of highland Burma. The Gazetteer of the District does not say how this came about. Originally, fourteen men from the Chittagong Hill Tracts banded together and went to highland Burma in search of fortune. They married girls of the Kachin tribe, which was against the Kachin tribal rules. Consequently, the couples were ousted from the Kachin area. Travelling home by boat, they took shelter on an island to escape a bad cyclone. They named the island Jingira, which literally means 'chained from harm', and liked it so much that they never cared to leave for the mainland.

The situation was challenging from the anthropological point of view in the sense that Chakma culture, of the male members of the original settler families, and the Kachin culture of their wives are totally different cultures. The island provided an insulated environment because the rough coastal waters coupled with the coral reefs made it extremely difficult for the islanders to go to the mainland. Only during the dry calm weather, which lasts less than two months from December to January, can people move from the island to the mainland. Further, it is nearly impossible to approach the island in a large boat, and incidentally, our expedition was forced to travel in small sampans which looked very frail against the high waves.

The points of my inquiry were, first, how much had the parent cultures of the islanders changed since 1880. Next, to what degree does the present island culture resemble the present parent cultures. How much domination, if any, of one integrating culture over the other occurred in the island's cultural integrating process.

As an answer to the first point, I found, from the District Gazetteer of 1880, about the Chakmas in Chittagong and from Carrapiett's² description of the Kachins in Burma, that these areas have maintained their cultural elements almost in tact to the present day. The Buddhist-Hindu religion of the Chakmas and the Nat religion, a form of spirit worship, of the Kachins are still in tact in those areas. Their socio-politico-economic institutions have remained the same. They still speak their Chakma and Kachin languages. The only major change in the two cultures has occurred in the direction of artefacts. Instead of using spears and arrows, they now use shotguns for their tribal warfare.

In contrast with the parent cultures, the island culture has undergone a remarkable change over a span of four generations. The basic ideologies of the two parent cultures seem to have become integrated and thereby completely changed. The net output is the emergence of an island culture totally different, at least ideologically, from either of its parent cultures. The artefacts of the island culture still maintain a close resemblance with those of the original cultures. However, their social meanings and, to an extent, their functions have changed. For example, big and small bronze bells, which the islanders call *mum* and *juri*, are still used by the Chakmas on the occasion of Buddhist-Hindu prayers. The rings of the bells, to the islanders, in contrast, signifies only the preparation of marriage. The islanders have retained the dress pattern and ornaments of the Kachins, but they wear these to beautify themselves and not, like the Kachins, to please Nat spirits. A few other implements and particularly the structure and materials for building houses have been retained by the islanders from both Chakma and Kachin cultures. The larger the house, and the higher the base poles, the greater is the power and prestige of the owner in the eyes of the islanders.

The economic institution of the island is considerably conditioned by the ecological factors and, therefore, has very little in common with the tribal parent cultures. The island economy is based on fishing, which would not occur in the hill-tract dwellings of the Kachin and Chakma tribes.

The religion of the islanders has undergone a remarkable change. The present island religion is a peculiar combination of Islam and animism. In trying to trace the process of the change, I found from the two oldest islanders that in the 1920's a Moslem missionary was washed ashore from a boat wreck when he settled on the island. The islanders were so impressed by his miraculous survival that they started accepting whatever he preached. He began teaching the young people the verses of the Koran. Although his religion was accepted, it never occupied the whole ideological life of the islanders. It had to share its place with their deep animism.

Their animistic beliefs were somewhat different in form and substance from those of the Kachin *Nats* and Chakma *Ghar Dutas*. The parent religions emphasized individual and family protection by the house or family spirits whereas the island spirits, who inhabit the 'big tree' and the 'big rock' and the coral reef encircling the island, protected the whole island population against natural calamities. This was a communal animism rather than the familistic animism of the parent cultures.

In addition to worshipping these animated spirits, the islanders believed in Shagar Diu,³ the 'spirit of the sea', and in Toofan Diu,⁴ the 'spirit of the cyclone.' These spirits not only protect the whole island but also maintain order and justice among the islanders. To show respect to Shagar Diu the islanders abstain from fishing on Friday. On Toofan Diu depends the destiny of the whole island. The island is considered sacred by the islanders for the simple reason that during all the past cyclones, the island has remained untouched. In the recent cyclone of 1962, 30,000 people in the coastal island region perished, but nothing happened in the St. Martin Island.⁵ The past natural calamities and the escape of the islanders from such calamities has strengthened the belief that any crime or injustice that goes unpunished on the island will invoke the wrath of Toofan Diu. Therefore no crime can go unpunished. This at times means a search for an expendable scapegoat for the unsolved crime.⁶

The socio-political institutions of the islanders have changed so much that today they are hardly identifiable with those of the parent cultures. Unlike the average patriarchal Chakma and Kachin polygynous families, the average island family is monogamous. Even though descent is reckoned through the father's side, the mother is the primordial character in the family life. And, unlike the parent cultures, the island culture does not attach any stigma to the woman on account of divorce, pre- or extra-marital relations. It is the male partners who are punished for the latter acts.

The social control mechanism of the island, as far as it relates to administration and adjudication, is completely different from that of the parent cultures. In place of the ineffective Kachin Duas and the powerless Chakma Rajas,⁷ (see charts 1, 2 & 3), the islanders instituted a very different system of authority based on the dual concept of hereditary succession and popular consent. At the head of the island's administration and judicial system are the five Mulvis, in a body called the Durba. Their position is hereditary and, at the same time, dependent upon the consent of a body known as the Katra-Katri Shabha, made up of heads of the fourteen original families. The seniormost member of the Mulvi Durba acts as the spokesman for the rest of the Mulvis and delivers judgements as to the defendant's innocence or guilt. The actual mode of punishment is decided by the Shabha, and the punishment is meted out by the family of the guilty person. This was probably innovated to avoid internecine feuds among the islanders, which, incidentally are so common among the Kachins and Chakma tribes. A school-teacher from the mainland who settled on the island about ten years ago is entrusted by the people as advisor to both the councils. People call him Mastoor.

Certain types of conflict like petty thefts, eloping with another man's wife, or plain adultery are usually resolved by a singing contest somewhat like that of the East Greenlanders.⁸ The contest between the accuser and the defendant is known as *kawa lorai* meaning the 'fight between the crows'. The contest that I attended had a very festive

look. It seemed to me to be a big get-together of all the families of the island. Everyone happily chatted on until the head Mulvi gave the signal to start.

It is customary for the wronged party to start the singing with mild coaxing words and gradually introduce all types of invectives and insulting, disparaging remarks. The plaintiff in this particular case started whining a verse that gradually became more and more vindictive. This is how he started :

Hai re hai

Bhair ore bhai

Translated it means :

Oh, alas ! alas !

Oh, brother, brother

The next couplet was also seemingly harmless.

Ki dekhire dekhi

Shamne oita ke

Which means :

What do I see

In front of me ?

But the quartet that followed was quite different ; it definitely revealed a vindictive, insulting note :

Kukur na shukeir ri

Manusher bachcha na ri

Kamete kamete jache

Manusher bachcha na re.

Translated it means :

Is it a dog or a pig

Surely not a human offspring

Actions reveal a human being

Therefore, surely it is not a human offspring.⁹

The song went on comparing the accused with all kinds of base animals and deeds ; and before each time a couplet or quartet was added to the song, a group of the wronged person's friends repeated religiously the immediately preceding couplet or quartet.

From the beginning, I could see that people were not happy with the defendant of an adultery case, and every time

he opened his mouth to sing in his defence, the spectators just shouted him down. So he could not help but to listen silently to the long accusation of the injured husband. After half an hour, the defendant broke down crying and soon he seemed to have a fainting fit. The contest ended, and after everybody had dispersed, the defendant was stealthily carried by his relations to his home. It was not the end of his punishment. I was soon informed by one of the Mulvis that the guilty defendant would not be allowed to get out of the house for three weeks and that nobody would be allowed to bring food to him.¹⁰

The political impact of this type of rigorous social sanction against violators of customary laws of the island is quite remarkable. Offences against property and people are viewed by the islanders as detrimental to the well-being of the island population. This built-in check against arbitrary and harmful individual or group action prevents different group and occupational classes on the island from securing complete loyalty from their respective group members. The net result is that a violator of the island laws can hardly be protected by his own group even if he is the most influential man on the island. The island leadership, therefore, has never been despotic, nor is there any chance of its becoming tyrannical as long as the socio-political control remains a built-in social phenomenon.¹¹

Certain esteemed folklores seem to be designed to prevent transgression of social customs and taboos (no express punishment is prescribed by the island's legal system except ostracism of the violator and his or her family).

The folklore about a starved family is an instance in point. Many years ago, according to the folklore, three fishermen were boat-wrecked near the island. Two of them somehow reached the island. They were too weak to move. While they were lying on the shore an islander saw them but, instead of calling for help, he robbed them of whatever money they had and left them to die. Subsequently, the islander married and had a family. One night he dreamed that he and his

family starved to death. For three consecutive nights he dreamed the same dream. On the fourth night, he dreamed that the two fishermen, whom he had left behind to die on the shore, were crying for water. The next morning, he was sick and subsequently he died of mysterious illness (actually he died of thirst and hunger because he could neither swallow water nor could he eat any food, though there was plenty of both in his household). Just before he died, he confessed the whole story to the oldest member of his clan. Later, his wife and children died of the same mysterious illness. This particular folklore has always provided a positive social sanction against greediness, cruelty and exploitation of the needy.

Another powerful folklore sanction exists among the islanders against incestuous relations. Many years ago, according to this folklore, a widower had incestuous relations with his daughter. Something happened and he could not detach himself from his daughter. When the neighbours found out, the violators had already died of partly starvation and partly shame. The same curse befell the later violators of incest taboo.

The folklores of the Island seem to have developed independently because there is no evidence of similar folklores in either the mainland East Pakistani culture or the Burmese Kachin culture.

The following points have been noted from this study of cultural integration. Firstly, the union of two cultures in an insulated environment tends to give rise to a third culture which is not necessarily similar to the parent cultures. Secondly, the culture which develops with an aloofness from other cultures is easily susceptible to ideological change. The cultural susceptibility to ideological change is probably due to the absence of any real or imaginary outside threat which often makes a people cling to their cultural identity. Where such a cultural competition is significantly absent, a culture can constantly innovate and diffuse new ideologies. A certain limit to such resistance to outside ideology is recognized.¹²

Linguistic change is most often a reliable index of cultural change of a particular society. From the perspective of language and thought,¹³ the St. Martin Island culture seems to be evolving on a trend different from the parent cultures. Certain morphemes from the parent languages have been retained by the island culture but they often signify different thoughts. The morpheme *du* means 'chiefs' in the Kachin language ; in the island culture it signifies 'false vanity'. *Juri* is a morpheme retained from Chakma language which means ringing of bells to signal the time of worship ; in the island language it is associated with preparation for wedding. *Dama* is a Kachin word for son-in-law ; in the island language it means 'expense' or 'cost'.

Certain phonemes of the parent cultures have also undergone drastic change. In both Kachin and Chakma languages *t* and *g* are dental, i.e. pronounced with the tongue directly against the teeth. In the island language, *t* and *g* are definitely post-dental, i.e., pronounced by placing the tip of the tongue on the gum just back of the front teeth. Further, the said phonemes in the parent cultures are continued, i.e. phonemic sounds continue after the phonemes are pronounced, e.g., *math*, *Jaz*. In the island language, the phonemes are stopped, meaning that the sound of phonemes cannot be continued after they are pronounced, e.g., *cat*, *hedge*. The sounds of phonemes *p* and *k* have also undergone change in the island language. The former is pronounced as *h* and the latter *kh*, with a guttural sound. In this particular case, the influence of mainland Chittagonian dialect¹⁴ of the Bengali language is quite obvious.

Morphological juncture is another linguistic development in the island culture. Many words in the island language are neat combinations of two root words (*Sandhi*),¹⁵ e.g., *Manu* (mind) + *Acha* (wish) = *Manecha*, meaning 'desire of mind'. Juncture is also used to connect words from two parent languages into a neat lexical unit, e.g., *Du* (Chief-Kachin) + *Rajo* (Chief of Chief - Chakma) = *Duraj*, a synonym of *Mulvis*. However, while addressing the *Mulvis* formally, the islanders always avoid calling them *Duraj*. The reason may be that

the islanders associate the mainland Chittagonian dialect of the Bengali language with higher social status.¹⁶

In conclusion, it may be said that the case study of St. Martin Island has yielded relevant materials for possible testing of tentative hypotheses, such as, (1) a culture which grows out of a fusion of cultural characteristics from two or more cultures does not necessarily resemble the parent cultures, nor does it necessarily evolve in the same direction as the parent cultures ; (2) a culture resulting from a cultural fusion of two or more cultures usually changes at a much faster rate than the parent cultures ;¹⁷ (3) the integration of religious beliefs of two or more organized religions, Buddhism and Islam in the case of St. Martin Island, in an integrated culture within an insular environment tends to lead to a basic animism and away from the organized religious beliefs of the parent cultures ; (4) a culture that grows in an insular environment does not have to guard against cultural encroachments from other cultures in order to preserve its own cultural identity, and in the absence of such a pressure, the insulated culture can easily accept ideas from other cultures. It may also be said that St. Martin Island is an excellent anthropological laboratory that provides the anthropologist with the opportunity to experiment with many theories.

The author feels that the charts and graph must be explained at least to justify their inclusion. Charts 1 and 2 portray certain characteristics of the parent cultures. Chart 3 shows the socio-politico-economic-cultural characteristics of the island's integrated culture. Chart 4 indicates changes in institutional variables, chosen arbitrarily, in the parent cultures as well as the integrated culture. The comparative cultural change on the basis of change in institutional variables in the parent and the island cultures is graphically expressed (Graph 1). The graph shows the rate of cultural change of the island culture as compared with its parent cultures. Five variables are selected for each institution and a numerical value of 1 is arbitrarily assigned to each of the variables. Therefore, a change of all five variables of each institution can be expressed in the numerical value of 5. Out of a maximum of 25 (change in all variables), the parent cultures scored 6 and the island culture, 23.*

* Percentage-wise, while the island culture changed 92 per cent, the parent cultures changed 20 per cent, over a period of 60 years, (1900-1960).
The selected institutional variables are in Chart 4.

CHART 1

Some elements of Kachin Culture

Social hierarchy	Psycho-cultural characteristics	Economic functions	Political functions
Du (Chiefs)¹	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Village Chief 2. Right to expect honour (<i>hkungga</i>) from others. 3. Social compulsion to give away more gifts than he receives by virtue of his position. 4. Conducts (at times) religious ceremonies (spirit worship). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Landholding cultivator. 2. Receives gifts. 3. Gives away gifts. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resolves conflict. 2. Acts as representative of Burmese government in tribal area.
Darat (free-born commoners)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Priestly duties of keeping the spirits (<i>dutas</i>) satisfied with animal sacrifices (most of the priests are recruited from this group). 2. Performs wedding ceremonies. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Receives gifts from the tribal people for the services rendered. 2. Occasional cultivators. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. At times acts as mediator when expressly chosen by the conflicting parties (this method is always recognized by the Du-(Chiefs).
Mayam (slaves)²	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Carry out instructions from the family head. 2. Treated as equal to the rest of the members. 3. Marriage with a member of the family allowed. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Works for the master (hut-thatching or cultivation or hunting or fishing). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Defends the honour of the master and master's family.

¹Hierarchy in Gumsa type and election in Gumlao type in the Kachin overall social structure.

²Slavery was abolished by the British in 1926. However, it was entirely a different kind of slavery. The slaves were owned by the Dua (tribal chief) who treated them more like Dama (poor son-in-law) working to earn his bride. (See E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1959, p. 162).

CHART 2

Some elements of Chakma Culture

	Cultural characteristics	Economic role	Political role	Judicial role
Raja (King or Chief of Chiefs) His eldest-son.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Speaks Chakma language ; speaks fluent English, training in English schools. Clothing : Western ; ceremonial : wears long decorated (golden) round collar ; a curved sword goes with ceremonial dress. Food : Western. Religion : Buddhist. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Supervises personal land, and accepts gifts from subjects. Receives a yearly allowance from the Pakistani government. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Symbol of Chakma society. Enjoys the honorary rank of Lt. Colonel in Pakistani government. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Acts as a conciliator in cases of conflict between members of the nobility, as between chiefs, (criminal cases are sent to Pakistani courts of law in Chakma land).
Rajanna (Nobility) relations of the king.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Same as the Chakma (Polygamy is at times practised). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Supervise personal lands and receive rent from tenants. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Participates in council discussions. Enjoys a certain amount of diplomatic immunity from Pakistani government. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> At times as conciliator of disputes (only of civil nature) on behalf of the King.
Shava (council members. Usually circle (a composition of a few villages) chiefs.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Speak only Chakma language. (A few educated in English school can speak English). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Supervise personal land and receive gifts from members of sub-tribes. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in council decisions. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Resolve minor conflicts within the sub-tribes.

Chart 2 (Continued)

Cultural characteristics	Economic role	Political role	Judicial role
2. Clothing : Loosely fitted trouser and shirt ; women wear loose skirt and blouse.			
3. Food : Rice, vegetables, (No meat or fish).			
4. Polygamy is often practised.			
Jano (common man) : Commoners	1. Landholding cultivators, merchant, traders.	Nil	Nil
1. Speak Chakma language. (A few educated can speak English.)			

CHART 8

Social Gradation in St. Martin Island

Class gradation	Cultural characteristics	Economic characteristics	Amount of Power exerted in Island Social Life
<p>1. Mulvis (5 in number) originally chosen by the people but since 1920 the positions have become hereditary.</p>	<p>Language: a dialect which is more akin to Bengali (Chittagonian dialect). Clothing: Lungi (cloth wrapper for around lower part.) Kamiz (shirt). Food habits: Meat, milk, ghee (melted butter), rice, and vegetables.</p>	<p>1. Leading prayers in the Island Mosque. 2. Smuggling rice from Burma. 3. Occasional fishing.</p>	<p>1. Mulvis are executors of the decisions of the Karta-Karti Shabha. 2. Mulvis cannot use arbitrary power. 3. Mulvis do use economic power through employment of islanders for smuggling and fishing.</p>
<p>2. Mastoor (teacher who migrated from the mainland in 1950. (30 people.)</p>	<p>Language: a dialect which is akin to Bengali (Chittagong) but uses a few words of Burmese (Kachin and Arakanese dialects). Clothing: Men wear the same as the Mulvis but the women instead of dressing like the Mulvi women now use a 3-piece apparel: choli (blouse), ghagra (skirt) and rimal (handkerchief covering the head). Food Habits: same except milk.</p>	<p>1. Mastoor teaches at local school (5 grades at the same time). 2. Mastoor teaches at local school (5 grades at the same time). 3. Mastoor teaches at local school (5 grades at the same time). 4. Mastoor teaches at local school (5 grades at the same time).</p>	<p>1. Purely deliberative body. 2. At times recommends arbitrary method for resolution of conflict, etc., <i>Kawa Lora</i>. 3. Exerts economic power as raisers of food crops.</p>
<p>Karta-Karti Shabha (composed of male or female heads of the original fourteen settlers families) - fourteen in number (their immediate family 70 people).</p>	<p>Language: a dialect which is akin to Bengali (Chittagong) but uses a few words of Burmese (Kachin and Arakanese dialects). Clothing: Men wear the same as the Mulvis but the women instead of dressing like the Mulvi women now use a 3-piece apparel: choli (blouse), ghagra (skirt) and rimal (handkerchief covering the head). Food Habits: same except milk.</p>	<p>1. Brings charges against violators of island's customary laws. 2. Decides cases. 3. Cultivate lands for rice-paddy, pulses, and vegetables.</p>	<p>1. Purely deliberative body. 2. At times recommends arbitrary method for resolution of conflict, etc., <i>Kawa Lora</i>. 3. Exerts economic power as raisers of food crops.</p>

Chart III (Continued)

Class Gradation	Cultural Characteristics	Economic Characteristics	Amount of Power exerted in Island Social Life
Jolas (weavers) occupy a lower position in the social hierarchy of families (42 people).	Language : a dialect which is akin to Burmese (Kachin dialect). Clothing : Men seldom use any Kamiz (shirt) and women do not use rumal Food Habits : same except for milk and ghee.	1. Weaving cloth in the hand loom ; hand-woven fishing nets. 2. Raise vegetables and chicken for own consumption.	1. Often consulted by Karta-Karti shabha on important cases. 2. Exerts some economic power as raisers of food crops.
Julus fishermen) occupy the lowest position* on the social scale of the Island population.	Language : purely indigenous island dialect (resembles neither Burmese nor Bengali dialect). Clothing ; Men wear parted Lungi and women use the same two piece dress as the Jola women.	Catching fish, drying and selling in Burma (illegally) and E. Pakistan. Raise vegetables for personal consumption.	1. Never consulted by Karta-Karti Shabha. 2. Exerts some economic power as dried fish sellers (dried fish is considered a delicacy on the island as with the mainland population).
Sharnakar (goldsmith) family settled in the 1950's works mostly on silver ornaments. Only the Mulvi Families can afford gold ornaments.	Language : Bengali dialect (Chittalong). Clothing : Dhuti (lower) and Ratua (upper) shirt on special occasions. Religion : Hindu. Food : Same except beef.	1. Makes ornaments for island women ; at times makes gold-ornaments for Mulvi women. 2. Raise vegetables and chickens for personal consumption.	Never consulted by Karta-Karti Shabha Exerts some economic power as maker of ornaments.

* However, there is no caste stigma attached to the socially subordinate groups (because people belonging to different classes are maritally connected). The only exception is the Goldsmith family, considered a different caste by the island population.

CHART IV

*Cultural Change in the Parent and the Integrated Culture**No Change—Change X*

Institutions	Variables	Parent Cultures	Island Integrated Culture
Marriage-	1. Number of mates	-	X
Divorce	2. Ceremony		
	(a) Preparation	-	X
	(b) Ritual	-	X
	3. Immediately after the wedding		
	(a) Where do the couple spend their first marriage night ?	-	X
	(b) Where do they settle afterwards ?	-	X
	4. (a) Divorce cause	-	X
	(b) Divorce procedure	-	X
	5. Alimony and custody of children	-	X
Economic System	1. Types of crops raised	-	-
	2. Method of cultivation, hunting or fishing	X	X
	3. Land rent	-	X
	4. Property inheritance	-	X
	5. Technology	X	-
Family and Association	1. Type of family	-	X
	2. Type of association	X	X
	3. Rights and duties of the head of the family.	-	X
	4. Selection method of association leaders	-	X
	5. Method of resolution of conflicts within the family and association, e.g., groups of fishermen, weavers, blacksmiths, etc.	-	X

Chart IV. (Continued)

Institutions	Variables	Parent Culture	Island Integrated Culture	
Political System : Leadership and Conflict-Resolution	1. Decision-making process of the tribal or island population	-	X	
	2. Mode of recruitment of leaders	-	X	
	3. Powers and functions of leaders	X	X	
	4. Deliberative process			
	(a) Mode of formation of tribal or island assembly	-	X	
	(b) Powers and functions of the assembly members	X	X	
	5. (a) Method of implementation of assembly decision	X	X	
	(b) Mode of punishment to violators of customs	-	X	
	Religion	1. Type of religious beliefs	-	X
		2. Mode of worship	-	X
3. Rituals		-	X	
4. Rights and duties of priest		-	X	
5. Social impact				
(a) Social order		X	X	
(b) Individual honesty	X	X		

NOTES

1. See page 1.
2. *The Kachin Tribes of Burma*, Superintendent, Govt. Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1929.
3. *Diu* means powerful spirit which can cause harm to mortals. Every natural phenomenon is associated by the islanders with a powerful spirit. Natural calamity is regarded by the islanders as a display of displeasure of such spirits. *Shagar* is derived from a Sanskrit word which means sea.
4. *Toofan* is derived from Persian word *Tofaan* which means cyclonic turbulence.
5. *Morning News*, Dacca, Pakistan, July 28, 1962.
6. The scapegoat is a rarity. However, the islanders mentioned a few cases when the party agreed to take out their anger on a bachelor who is selected by the island's Karta-Karti Shabha to face consequences for a wrong which he did not commit. Such a selection of a scapegoat depends on two major considerations; general dislike for the person and the belief that if a wrongdoer goes unpunished, the spirits will punish every islander. The Tiwis of North Australia follow a somewhat similar custom. A bachelor scapegoat is needed to resolve conflict between two warring groups. See C. W. M. Hart and Arnold R. Philip: *The Tiwi of North Australia. Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology*, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960 pp. 88-89
7. *Duas* and *Raja* respectively mean chiefs and king. Kachins have many chiefs and so do the Chakmas. The only difference is that the Chakma Raja is regarded as hereditary chief of the chiefs. There is no such parallel in the Kachin political system.
8. Among the East Greenlanders song duels are used to resolve all kinds of crime, except murder. However, an East Greenlander may take recourse to song contest to avenge the murder of his relative if he is physically weak, or if he is sure of victory in such a contest. Among these Eskimos, the ability to harrass an enemy through the simple skill at the song contest very often outranks gross

physical prowess. See E. A. Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man*, Cambridge ; Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 93.

9. Offspring is the literal translation of the word *bachcha* which the islanders incorporated from the Urdu language. The couplets and quartets used by the islanders at the song contest had somewhat different linguistic structure than their everyday language. The song words are more akin to Bengali words of the mainland.
10. In practice, however, the guilty party's relations are not seriously prevented from bringing food to their convicted relation provided the operation took place in a highly secret manner after midnight.
11. Over a period of time, the islanders came to realize that unless they recognized certain rules of the game, there was hardly any chance for them to survive in the island's insulated environment. Gradually, the individuals have been socialized to value social order and abhor conflicts. The homicidal acts among the English mutineers (who brought along Tahitian women) after they had taken refuge on Pitcairn Island indicate the consequences of the absence of an internalized social control system most suitable for survival in an insulated environment. Their English social organization did not prevent them from exterminating each other. See John Greenway, *The Inevitable Americans*, New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1964, pp. 113-114. Anthropologically, the most valuable book about the Pitcairn Islanders is Harry L. Shapiro's *The Heritage of the Bounty : Six Generations*, New York : Simon and Schuster 1936.
12. In any type of cultural contact, whether diffusionistic (A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, rev. ed. 1948, chaps. 11 and 12) or acculturistic (M. J. Hirskovits, *Man and His Works*, New York, 1949), one culture puts up resistance, varying in degrees, to ideological encroachments by another culture even though the resisting culture may accept very willingly the technical knowledge from the encroaching culture. See also E. A. Hoebel, *Anthropology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1958, pp. 75-84, and J. Beattie, *Other Cultures*, Free Press, New York, 1964, pp. 241-243. The St. Martin Island

culture falls under a different category : a kind of cultural fusion (F. M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology*, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, 1966, p. 389). The Island culture is the result of the mixture of two cultures now existing which are on the same plane in terms of their material possessions.

13. See S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action*, Harcourt, Brace, and Co, New York, 1941, pp. 21-28. A very lucid discourse on relation between words and the ideas and thoughts they stand for. See also E. Sapir, *Language* (1921, reissued 1949) pp 222-232.
14. In two other dialects of Bengali language, Noakhali and Sylheti, /p/ is pronounced as /h/, e.g., 'pāni' (water) is pronounced as 'hāni'.
15. See John T. Waterman, *Perspectives in Linguistics*, University of Chicago Press, 1963, pp. 4, 31, for a lucid discussion on 'juncture' (*Sandhi*).
16. Language serves the status symbol in every society. The respect for Chittagonian dialect may be due to the love and respect which the older islanders still cherish for the Moslem missionary who was boat-wrecked and washed ashore in the 1920's. He apparently spoke Chittagonian dialect and could probably speak chaste Bengali. See Chart III.
17. The island culture changed 92 per cent whereas, the parent cultures changed 20 per cent, over a period of sixty years. Though the cultural variables are arbitrarily selected, they do serve the heuristic purpose. See Chart IV and Graph I.

THE MISHMI WORLD-VIEW

SAMIR KUMAR GHOSH

(Received on 9 September 1968)

Abstract : This paper extends to ethnography certain assumptions and procedures of cultural philosophy. The subjects are the Taorā Mishmis of N. E. F. A. An attempt has been made to quantify and criticize their ways of looking at things and subjects, and understanding them (*World-view*).

NO society elaborates its world view from a philosophical *tabula rasa*. Each society has a history; consequently, it has been through different existential experiences, every one of which resulted in a specific intellectual transposition. This means that the world-view of a society results not only from the contemporary experiences of the group, but also from the preceding world-views. (Maquet. 1964 : 27)

World-views reflect imperfectly and with some lag in time the complete cultures of which they are a part. Comparisons and syntheses of cultural philosophies are made by a logical process of induction and deduction, but philosophically oriented researches use rather large a priori categories covering all the logical possibilities, whereas anthropologically oriented studies prefer to utilize concepts immediately inferred from the cultural philosophies considered.* (*ibid* : 30)

The Mishmis referred to in this paper are the Taorā Mishmis who live in the Lohit District of the North-East Frontier Agency, India. My intentions among the Mishmis were to study the socio-linguistic situation and ethnocentrism and to identify the emotional qualities which people revealed as they acted their cultural roles and account for such qualities in terms of dominant underlying motivations. In this paper I

* J. J. Maquet : Some epistemological remarks on the cultural philosophies and their comparison. *In Cross-cultural Understanding : epistemology in anthropology*, (Eds) F. S. C. Northrop & Helen H. Livingston. 1964.

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have not hesitated to make a sketch of the problem and to put forward very tentative views, expecting to benefit from criticism.

World-view is defined here as the way of looking at things of life and the world, perceptible and suprasensory, and understanding them, which is handed down from one generation to another as a social heritage. That is, on the intellectual level, it 'expresses experiences lived by the members of a society in their dealings with one another, with people of different groups, and with their physical environment.' It is also assumed that the world-view of a person belonging to a group is conditioned by at least three factors: the culture in which he is born the language(s) he speaks, and the religion he believes in. A first glance at the Mishmi ways of life makes it possible to equate significant contrasts found on different planes: botanical, economic, geographical, meteorological, philosophical, religious, ritual, social, technical and zoological; i.e. it thrives on a dichotomy. We shall examine and explore this later.

Every Mishmi is in certain respects like all other men, like some other men, Mishmi or non-Mishmi, and like no other men. But being born and raised in the Mishmi community, he certainly inherits and learns certain cultural traits, a cultural philosophy; and as a participant he nurtures them which he, in his thinking process: cannot get rid of, at least, not easily. To quote Ruth Benedict: 'Most individuals are plastic to the moulding force of the society into which they are born. In a society that values trance, as in India, they will have super-normal experience. In a society that institutionalizes homosexuality, they will be homosexual. In a society that sets the gathering of possessions as the chief human objective, they will amass property.' (*Patterns of Culture*, p. 196)

Or as Linton remarked in his *Cultural Background of Personality*, if the hypothesis of basic personality structure was correct, 'the bulk of the individuals within a given society' should have common personality ascribed to it. (1945, p xi.) Though it must be remembered in this connection, Kaplan's provocative statement on 'modal personality' and its relation to cultural

influence : 'That great variability exists does not argue against the influence of culture on personality ; it merely means that cultural influences do not necessarily create uniformity in a group. All individuals interact with their cultures. However human beings are not passive recipients of their culture. They accept, reject, or rebel against the cultural forces to which they are oriented. In many cultures, including our own, there exists a pattern of outward conformity and inner rebellion and deviation. It is probably correct to say that individuals seem a good deal more similar than they really are.' (*A Study of Rorschach Responses in Four Cultures*, 1954, p 32.) Each culture, however, permits only a limited number of types to flourish and rejects many as deviants or abnormals which do not fit its dominant configuration.

The case will be applicable to the Mishmis also. But let us first outline the Mishmi world-view and then will remark on the above statements.

Mishmi society, like any other society, sets rules of behaviour for its members. These are meant to regulate interpersonal/intergroup relations, to help them in dealing with the physical environment, to understand the *rites de passage* : birth, puberty and death, to furnish inspiration and strength when confronted by natural calamities, diseases, sorcery, and so on.

The Mishmi land is in tropical rain-forest, its terrain transitional between rolling plains and hilly upland, where people are completely at the mercy of Nature, specially during the heavy monsoon. They are also dependent upon the rains for their slash-and-burn (*jhum*) cultivation, but an excess of rain causes havoc by washing away both cultivable and habitable land. A Mishmi child's encounter with nature in course of his attaining adulthood or later, is, thus, of all or none, sufferings or pleasure. The invisible is a fearful reality and the visible world cannot be predicted. So one must make contracts with nature or with the spirits and even with men, for a living. The results are either good or bad, successful or otherwise. The Mishmis are reputed to be

good traders, both in the plains of Assam or across the border in Tibet, and thus have gained a strong sense of profit and loss. The role and responsibility of the women who are in charge of cultivation, feeding the men and children, maintaining a granary of her own and looking after the pigs and fowl are on a different plane from her male counterpart who is the head of the family and is in charge of hunting, felling big trees and cleaning the jungle for *jhum* cultivation, settling disputes or is engaged in trading. In this polygynous, patrilocal society one has to buy a woman to get married, by paying heavy a bride-price. Thus marriage has different meaning for different sexes. For a woman it is to go to man's house (*hāve moa can liya* = I am married); but for a man, it is to buy a woman (*hā mia braitha liya* = I am married). The kinship system shows also the dichotomy. For example, to marry a MoBrDa is preferential, but marriage to a FaSiDa is taboo. The folk-taxonomy says that one who has taken a woman out of ego's household is a *kumu*, i.e. it includes FaSiHu, DaHu, SiHu, etc., and no woman can be bought (brought) from his house.

The spirits and deities are also classified into two classes: big or small, harmful or benevolent. The two big deities who are benevolent are Jep Malu (earth-deity) and Ring or Rinya (Sun-deity). So are also the shamans or priests (*goak*): major or helping ones. Their functions are distinctly marked. Sacrifice or slaughtering of big animals like mithuns (*Bos frontalis*) will indicate that the occasion is indeed big.

The Mishmis always speak of big or small clans (exogamous) and only Tayang and Tinda (with 9 villages each in the Mishmi land) are considered as the bigger clans, all others are subordinate to them. A proverb distinctly says: If the men are numerous, the clan becomes bigger; and the bigger is the clan, the greater is the tribe. A person with plurality of wives has pride and prestige in this casteless society; he is considered as a man of wealth (*tabri*). In fact he is so, as marriage is a very costly affair.

In the world of fauna and flora, not only are big things distinguished from small ones, but also the utility of a thing is

taken into consideration. Note also that the main big bifurcation (trunk) of a tree is termed as *masang taha* and all other bifurcations are simply *masang haro*. The harmless animals have the prefix *ma-*: *macab* 'cow', *mabi* 'goat', *majare* 'cat', *majet* 'buffalo', *macu* 'a kind of deer' etc., and the harmful, jungle variety or unpleasant ones have the prefix *ta-*: *tabab* 'snake', *tamya* 'tiger', *tameying* 'elephant', *tayu* 'dam dim' (noxious fly), *tamin* 'monkey', *tapom* 'worm', etc. However, three very useful and harmless animals have no apparent prefixes. They are *asya* 'mithun' (*Bos frontalis*) which is very essential in the economic and ritual life of the community, as one has to buy a woman by paying bride-price in terms of mithuns; *belei* 'pig' and *kuok* 'dog'. The female cow after she has given birth to a calf is called *macab kru*, before that she is *macab suda*. In this connexion, we may note that the *dao* (dagger) used by a woman in cultivation and small in size is termed *maru* and the bigger variety used by men for various purposes is *tarā*.

It is well known that life histories, dreams and responses to psychological tests contain in them a good deal of cultural information. In our analysis of 100 dreams, the dichotomy of extremes in the native interpretation of dreams is crystal clear, and shows that there are 'culture pattern dreams'. For example, the small fish seen swimming in the river is interpreted as a good omen, while the big fish will mean devastation; the woman seen naked will bring disaster but a man seen naked means some good fortune; falling of front teeth means definite death of near ones, but of back teeth as death or disaster of a distant relative.

Taorā Mishmi language, a member of the Tibeto-Burmic family of languages shows also dichotomy in grammar. There is no tense system as such, as we find in the Indo-European languages—here 'present' is in opposition to either 'past' or 'future'; 'past' may be with or without 'completion' (*-li**), immediate 'past' or non-immediate. The case system which is of adverbial local nature shows the dichotomy of local vs. non-local. Any noun occurring in a sentence must be in one

of case forms. The grammatical structure of their language leaves them no other alternative, and a speaker cannot use a noun or a verb without putting it into one of these dimensions. The copulative verb 'to be' illustrates another example ; here the dichotomy depends upon whether the subject is animate or non-animate. For example,

There is paddy in the house : aṅgō ke ā-ā

There is fish in the river : taphragō tā iya.

Folk-taxonomy of nouns illustrates this very well.

The above illustrations indicate and assert that the Mishmi world-view thrives on a dichotomy—a binary classification (+) and (-) of objects seen and perceived—both on the physical as well as on the mental plane. Psychological tests will perhaps confirm some kind of split personality among the Mishmi individuals. A Mishmi child must participate in his great body of tradition, if he is not a defective, diseased, injurious or neglected one, in order to be accepted as fully human. He may resist or revolt on some occasions, but on greater issues of life, he is merely at the mercy of his world-view derived from his culture-religion-language-economy etc., as he is at the mercy of nature for his subsistence.

Apparently then, it is possible to point out the oppositions and establish homologies between natural, mental and social conditions through a study of Mishmi culture-relation-language, so also through the mythical system or cults and the modes of its representation. But there is a contradiction, which is strikingly clear. The following equivalences can represent the picture :

- A. Male—animate—sacred—superior—big—fertilizing—bad season (rains).
- B. Female—inanimate—profane—inferior—small—fertilized (land)—good season

In fact, this is exactly the same contradiction as Levi-Strauss pointed out in his comment on Warner : 'One can see at once that there is contradiction embedded in this table which sets out the canon of the native logic. In fact, men are superior to women, the initiated to the uninitiated and

sacred to the profane. On the other hand, all the terms in the top line are homologous with the rainy season, which is the season of famine, isolation and danger, while the terms on the lower line are homologous with the dry season during which abundance reigns and sacred rites are performed.' (*The Savage Mind*, 1966, p. 93)

Recall also that in Mishmi there is one term for 'he' and 'she' which is *ewe*, which contradicts the dichotomy of male vs. female.

Every culture, primitive or non-primitive, is a complex. No culture is without inner contradictions or contrasts, which, in fact, designs its own colourful tapestry. Though it is plausible to discover and arrange the patterns of a culture in a systematic whole, it may not be possible to predict precisely in what forms they will appear and arrange themselves. Scattered views on the world of myths, rituals, tales, proverbs or historical traditions of a society, put together may not even constitute a philosophical system. Moreover, as Maquet puts it : 'the covert philosophy of society, i.e. the set of inferences drawn by an anthropologist, cannot be said to be a part of that culture.' (p. 15) And the apparent contradictions and contrasts may not even be seen or felt by the natives. We learn to live with incongruities, in almost every culture. And to quote Mead and Wolfenstein : 'Humanity as we know is not merely a matter of human physique, of our prehensile thumbs, upright posture, and highly developed brains, but of our capacity to accumulate and build upon the inventions and experiences of previous generations.' (*Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, 1955, pp. 6-7)

Now we will turn to look at the Mishmi social personality rather closely. It is characterized by some interrelated dominant motivations or value-orientations, each of which must be understood in terms of its context and not by other definitions which these terms may have. The first of these motives is melancholy. A Mishmi seldom expresses happiness. Words conveying this idea are few and, when they are used, the turn of expression sounds awkward. The Mishmi

vocabulary is however rich in words denoting unhappiness. Many aphorisms, songs, myths and personal philosophies of life contain as their central theme ways to cope with unhappiness, rather sadness, on the ground that it serves a useful purpose, as in ensuring the proper order of familial relations.

A second dominant motivation is individualism or egocentricity, defined here as a high evaluation of personal independence in which interests are self-centred rather than group-centred. Self above clan and clan above tribe is the maxim. The intra-covies and father-son tensions are often results of this individualism.

The next dominant motivation is utilitarianism—a concept that refers to a practical and resourceful attitude towards the acute problems of living, an interest in concrete rather than abstract thinking. The Mishmis are present-oriented, take things in terms of profit and loss, little concerned with a remote future. This results in another guiding tendency in Mishmi social personality, namely indifference. Though hostility is not lacking, in fact inter-clan feuds do exist, the Mishmis believe in frictionless human relations, aloofness and procrastination. Money-mindedness, non-payment of dues, making requests obliquely, peculiar mode of behaviour in threatening, resulting in violence, etc. tend to prove this.

Another dominant motivation, flexibility, is difficult to define positively. It denotes a state of mind in which external necessity, duty and hurry are subordinated to personal inclination—an attitude of compromise. This state reveals itself in an absence of rigidity and in tolerant, even indecisive, attitudes towards the demands of living. The absence of hurry or rigorous time-tables, the people's easy conscience, the non-compulsive way in which the children are reared and dogs trained, and lack of obsessiveness, all express this motive.

From the emotional point of view, each Mishmi is an island—emotional isolation is a striking note in Mishmi social personality. The concept includes a strong desire to maintain aloofness from emotional experience and emotional involve-

ment as well as a tendency to suppress all feelings. It is most evident in pre-marital sexual relations. It is based on a characterological inability to tolerate strong emotion, including affection. How far opium smoking exerts some influence on personality is a matter to be investigated. But Mishmi women complain of frigidity in men. Individualism is quite in harmony with a social organization where one has to make some money in isolation to buy a wife, where co-wives keep separate granaries for their children and husband, and in which families must work hard in relative isolation, being engaged in trade or in hunting or in *jhum* cultivation, under a social system that is without superordinate authorities. While free post-marital sexual relation is taboo for a woman, the promiscuity of men in this polygynous society reveals emotional isolation, as it offers the opportunity for sexual satisfaction without risk of emotional involvement.

On the whole, the Mishmi world-view consists of a pendulum swinging of contractual relationships—contracts on emotional, physical and ritual planes. It sways between the idea that experience is manageable and life is a hostile reality and uncertain. One has to take up arms against nature and at the same time accept it. The self-view also comprises two conflicting attitudes: value placed on self-reliance and a tendency to abandon striving and revert to passivity. The former is far more acceptable than the second. Passivity particularly manifests itself in crises, when there is eager reaching out for help and surrender of active striving.

Emotional isolation has its roots in the early socialization. Except for suckling babies, children are left alone by their mothers who must work in the field, under the care of older children or old men and women. The value orientation is rooted in the way a Mishmi mother withdraws emotionally from her child when the youngster is between two or three years old. The indulgent care of infants creates a striving for independence. In this situation the child unconsciously makes a decision never again to invest strong affection on others. In this highly favourable period of life, the Mishmi baby develops

an unverbaliized attitude of confidence in himself and hopeful expectations towards the world. These expectations are only loosely entrenched, however. They are contradicted by emotional withdrawal that comes as an early shock. The passivity of Mishmi personality in certain crises can be explained as it derives from this traumatic episode and also as it reflects the hold which the passive-rective state of infancy continues to exert in the personality.

He was born in a friendly world and has to take up arms against the sea of affectless people and events, as he grows up. The style of life has to be acquired through a criss-cross of currents, up and down the stream, up and down the hill, he is alone in the midst of many.

INTER-KIN MARRIAGE : A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

D. A. CHEKKI

(*Received on 18 March 1968*)

Introduction

IT can be predicted that any movement toward a conjugal family and freedom of courtship is likely to reduce the percentage of marriages between close relatives. The range of possible eligibles becomes much wider, and freer social intercourse reduces the simple statistical chance that a given individual will fall in love with and marry a close relative. So simple a prediction cannot be easily applied to the Indian case, however.¹ Compared to the social situations that prevailed during the first two decades of the twentieth century, among the Brahmans of the city of Dharwar in northern Mysore State there has been a gradual trend toward a conjugal family and freedom in the choice of a mate during the last forty years. But this trend is not exactly the same as we find in the industrially advanced countries of the West.

The elementary family is still largely enmeshed in the extended kinship network. Despite relative freedom in mate selection, parents and other intimate kin exercise their control over it even now. Rules of caste endogamy and *gotra* exogamy are being followed. Marriages among preferential kin are practised. Other things being equal, a man would prefer to marry in order of priority his sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, or other preferential kin. Although inter-kin marriages are preferred especially by the older generation they are not in any case obligatory.

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In the traditional Hindu social system Brahmans have been priests, teachers, accountants and the like and formed the intelligentsia. Having received modern education the Brahmans of today have been the most mobile community, both geographically and socially. They are being exposed increasingly to new cultures and new role-models. Yet the Brahmans practise marriages among preferential relatives. The empirical data⁹ that follow are based on the genealogies collected from hundred and six Brahman households and include 266 marriages in all. The table below presents the frequency of various categories of inter-kin marriage.

TABLE 1

Frequency of Kin Marriages (Brahmans)

Total No. of kin marriages	Categories of kin marriages				
	I SiDa	II MoBrDa	III FaSiDa	IV Other types	V Types not known
59	26	12	7	5	9
%	44.08	20.34	11.86	8.47	15.25

Of the total 266 marriages 21.18 per cent constitute kin marriages. Among the various types of kin marriage there is a high frequency of uncle-niece (MoBr-SiDa) marriage. Bilateral cross-cousin marriages (Types II & III) constitute 32.20 per cent, wherein matrilineal cross-cousin marriage predominates over patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Other types of kin marriage include such marriages as that of a man marrying his brother's wife's sister, mother's mother's brother's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter and the like. In the case of the last category, informants knew that it was a marriage among preferential relatives but were not knowing as to which type of kin marriage it belonged to. So these kin marriages may possibly belong to any one of the previous categories listed above.

In another suburb of the same city, genealogies recorded by me in hundred and fifteen Lingayat⁹ households indicated a still higher frequency of inter-kin marriages. Of the total 303 marriages about forty per cent are preferential kin marriages.

The following table presents different categories of kin marriage among the Lingayats of Dharwar.

TABLE 2

Frequency of Kin Marriages (Lingayats)

Total No. of kin marriages	Categories of kin marriages				
	I SiDa	II MoBrDa	III FaSiDa	IV Other types	V Types not known
118	30	38	25	9	16
%	25.42	32.20	21.19	7.63	16.56

Among all categories of kin marriage the Lingayats have the highest frequency of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage followed by uncle-niece marriage. From the above mentioned quantitative data it is evident that both among the Brahmans and Lingayats matrilateral cross-cousin marriage occurs more frequently than partilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Theories on Cross-cousin Marriage

On the basis of the foregoing data the theories with regard to cross-cousin marriages advanced by some scholars may be reviewed. Some of these theories generally refer to communities which practise unilateral cross-cousin marriage. But both Brahmans and Lingayats practise bilateral cross-cousin marriage. However, the material presented above shows a definite preference for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage as against the patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

William Goode⁸ believes that these behaviour patterns are supported by local values and some structural elements in India's patrilineal kinship system give it emotional support. First, the marriage of a mother's brother's daughter to a father's sister's son repeats the relationship of deference and respect which is due from the matri-line. The woman's parents are expected to be grateful to the man's family for marrying her, and this harmony is created in the next generation if the daughter moves in the same direction. By contrast, if a daughter from the father's line were to be married to the mother's brother's son, the deference would be reversed and

disharmony would be created. More important, however, is the case of social relations between a boy and his mother's brother as contrasted with the patriarchal respect in his relations with the father's brother or the father's line generally. The permissiveness on both sides makes for a closeness and simplicity of social interaction in which a further union of the two lines may come to seem desirable. It does not however explain why it would develop as a preferred social arrangement that is an explicit part of the system.

Mrs. Karve⁴ explains the preference of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and discouragement (lesser incidence) of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage by a folk-saying 'The creeper should not return' (*Balli tirugu bārādu*). The creeper is the girl given in marriage. Her daughter must not be brought back as a bride into the house as it would be returning of the creeper back to the place where it started, which would stop the growth of the family and bring it disaster; and if a marriage does take place, some expiatory ritual is performed. But M. N. Srinivas⁵ considers, 'the rule that the creeper should not return' is a dead letter in practice. It is only used to avoid an unwelcome bride.

It is true that marriage like many important social relationships must have been a system of mutual obligations and returns. If A took a girl from B's family he had to compensate B's family in some way. The best compensation always is doing to the others what they have done to you, in this case by exchange of girls, or through a process of delayed payment giving to B's family their daughter's daughter in marriage. When a daughter's daughter returns to the family as bride the original obligation is cancelled. On this principle a man marrying his father's sister's daughter fulfils the obligation in the second generation. The same principle is at work when a man marries his elder sister's daughter. In a society based on mutuality of social relationships this marriage procedure appears to be the most natural. Wherever there is an exchange of daughters, naturally the father's sister's daughter is identical with the mother's brother's daughter, but the stress is on the first relationship and not on the second.

Mrs. Karve further argues that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is preferred as against the patrilateral cross-cousin marriage because there is a feeling of social superiority arising out of cultural contact and dominance of one class over another and because of the practice of hypergamy. The creeper cannot return in such a society. A man's mother may belong to an inferior family, he can choose a bride from her family and by preference the choice falls upon the mother's brother's daughter. His father's sister, on the other hand, must have married into a family of equal status or preferably into a family of higher status; she can therefore not give her daughter back into a brother's family.

Levi-Strauss advanced the hypothesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage for a man occurs more frequently than patrilateral cross-cousin marriage because it leads to generalized exchange of women and produces greater solidarity in the society. He holds that generalized exchange is better than restricted exchange from the point of view of the organic solidarity of a society and argues that from the same point of view MoBrDa marriage (generalized exchange) is better than FaSiDa marriage, and so more societies follow the former than the latter rule.

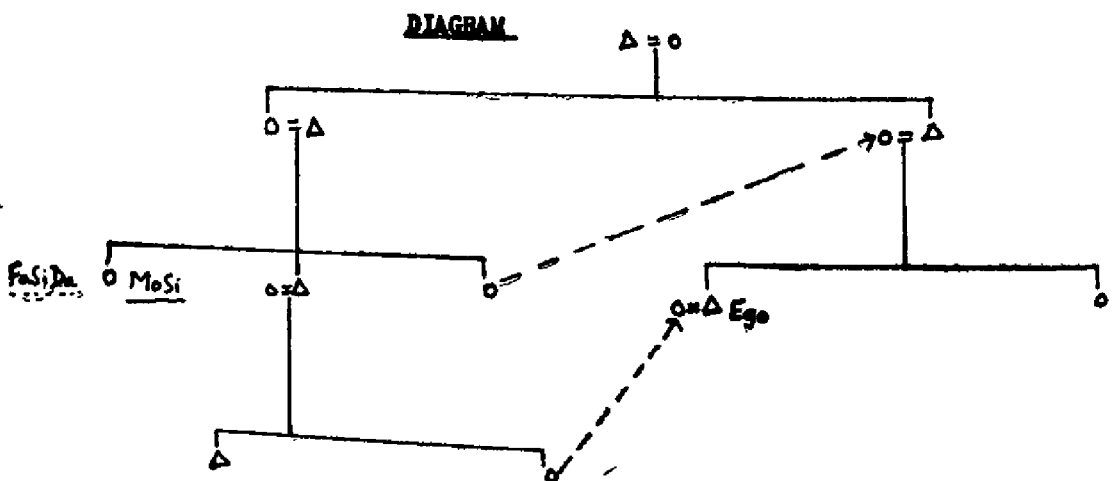
Homans and Schneider concentrated their attention on a study of unilateral cross-cousin marriage and considered Levi-Strauss's theory to be a final-cause theory and therefore unsatisfactory and they sought for an efficient-cause theory. The theory with which they started was that the matrilateral form would be found in societies possessing patrilineal kin groups, while the patrilateral form would be found in societies possessing matrilineal kin groups. This hypothesis arose from a more general theory presented by Homans that 'a man seeks affectionate relationships where authority does not lie.'

The proposition was tested on various societies and the new formulation stated that 'societies in which marriage is allowed or preferred with mother's brothers' daughter but forbidden or disapproved with father's sister's daughter will be societies in which jural authority over ego male, before marriage, is vested in his father or father's lineage, and societies in which

marriage is allowed or preferred with father's sister's daughter but forbidden or disapproved with mother's brother's daughter will be societies in which jural authority over ego male, before marriage, is vested in his mother's brother or mother's brother's lineage.'

Homans and Schneider consider that mother's-brother's-daughter marriage may be particularly common in patrilineal societies because of the close nature of the tie between ego and mother's brother in these societies. They found in the structure of inter-personal relations the individual motivations, or efficient causes, for the adoption of a particular form of uni-lateral cross-cousin marriage. It is further observed that 'As he visits mother's brother often, ego will see a great deal of the daughter ; contact will be established. As he is fond of mother's brother and his daughter in the patrilineal complex, the Oedipus Complex if you will, are themselves particularly close to one another, he will tend to get fond of the daughter. Their marriage will be sentimentally appropriate ; it will cement the relationship. Or if women are indeed scarce and valued goods, and ego is in doubt where he can get one, he will certainly be wise to ask his mother's brother, on whom he already has so strong a sentimental claim.' The general theory according to them is that 'the form of uni-lateral cross-cousin marriage will be determined by the system of interpersonal relations precipitated by a social structure, especially by the locus of jural authority over ego.'

Considering the foregoing theories it could be stated that FaSiDa marriages are less because in the Lingayat and



Brahman communities, among the various types of kin marriage the most preferred one is uncle-niece marriage. In such a case, by the time Ego (male) wishes to marry it is quite possible that Ego's father might have married his own SiDa. In these circumstances, the Ego's FaSi becomes MoMo and her daughters becomes Mo or mother's sisters (Diagram). Hence Ego cannot marry his mother's siblings. Therefore, Ego has to look for his MoBrDa. Hence greater frequency of matrilineal cross-cousin marriages rather than patrilineal ones.

The views expressed by William Goode, Karve, Levi-Strauss, Homans and Schneider about cross-cousin marriage explain the various factors responsible for greater incidence of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage in patrilineal societies as that of the Lingayats and Brahmans. Mutual obligations among kin and the consequent exchange of girls, hypergamy, inter-personal relations and organic solidarity, jural authority and high incidence of uncle-niece marriage, all these are the social forces significantly correlated with higher frequency of matrilineal form over patrilineal form of cross-cousin marriage in the patrilineal Lingayat and Brahman communities. Moreover, the patrilineal communities, as the Lingayats and Brahmans, practising both bilateral cross-cousin marriage and uncle-niece marriage, show a definite preference to uncle-niece marriage over the matrilineal form of cross-cousin marriage. The following figures refer to the frequency of uncle-niece and cross-cousin marriages of both communities as recorded in the genealogies of their wider kinship network

TABLE 3

Frequency of Uncle-Niece and Cross-Cousin Marriages

	SiDa	MoBrDa	FaSiDa	Total
Lingayat	111	96	62	269
Brahman	79	42	13	134
Total	190	138	75	403

So it could be stated generally that societies in which uncle-niece marriage is allowed along with bilateral cross-cousin marriage, people prefer uncle-niece marriage in the first instance, followed next by matrilineal and patrilineal cross-cousin marriages.

Conclusion

A study of attitudes among the Brahmans and Lingayats concerning preferential kin marriage revealed that about 57 per cent of the Brahmans and about 55 per cent of the Lingayats are pro-kin marriage and about 36 per cent Brahmans and 38 per cent Lingayats are anti-kin marriage, and the rest of them are indifferent. It seems that the traditional needs and values have developed such marriages among relatives as a preferred social arrangement. Pre-puberty marriage, lack of personal choice of mates, caste endogamy and hypergamy, geographical immobility of populations, poor economic conditions and social norms have been the determining factors in the occurrence of preferential kin marriages. Some of the people, however, believe that such marriages among relatives will bring unfortunate consequences biologically and socially. Significantly enough, the figures for inter-kin marriage in both the communities of Dharwar show no marked difference between stated preferences and actual practice. The spread of education, modern values, increasing geographical and social mobility, temptations of dowry, greater freedom of choice of mates and new aspirations among Hindu youths, will, it is maintained, gradually tend to reduce the frequency of such marriages among relatives and also weaken the customs approving such a social arrangement.

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GOND CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGES

K. S. YADAV

(Received on 7 September 1968)

Abstract. A Gond is socially bound to marry his cross-cousin except in certain circumstances. Strict adherence to the custom results in many unhappy unions, elopements and divorces in the community.

Introduction

CROSS-COUSIN marriage is known as 'Return of Milk' (*doodh-lautana*) among the Gonds living in the district of Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh. A Gond male may marry either his MoBoDa. or FaSiDa. Marriage with MoBrDa is called *doodh-duhani vivah* and with FaSiDa. as *pal-duhani vivah*.

Data were collected from two Gond villages, namely, Dhusawani and Mohpani Malguzari. Both the villages are situated in the Gond track of Chhindwara district in Madhya Pradesh. For the present analysis, we studied the first marriage of all the living married males, numbering 293.

Frequency of cross-cousin marriages

An analysis of first marriages of 293 Gond males revealed that 173 or 59.04 per cent were married with their cross-cousins (females). Among those who had married their cross-cousins, 127 or 73.41 per cent were married to the MoBrDa, and 46 or 26.59 per cent with their FaSiDa.

Besides their obedience to custom, the Gonds also gave several other reasons in favour of the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Important among them were :

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(a) Cross-cousin marriage interlaces two families, and at the time of crisis both the families stand as one for defence.

(b) Parents need not worry about the marriage of their children as they (children) are to be married with their cross-cousin spouses and, as such, no middleman is required to settle the marriages.

(c) Since both the cross-cousins are familiar with each other from their childhood, they do not face difficulties of adjustment after marriage.

(d) If there is discord and the girl runs away after marriage or the boy deserts his wife, both the families put pressure on them to re-unite.

(e) No extra amount besides the customary bride-price, called *kharachi*, is paid while marrying a cross-cousin (*Sango*).

Furthermore marriage feasts also become economical as both the families have common invitees.

(f) If any of the parties is not in a position to meet the marriage expenses, it can easily ask the other either for help or for postponement of marriage for some time.

General observations

Among 293 married males, 120 or 40.96 per cent did not find any cross-cousin spouse available for them from either side. 37 or 30.83 per cent among them were able to secure other girls and married them after rather heavy payment. 14 paid extra amounts ranging from Rs. 150 to 400 besides the customary bride-price payment; 15 gave their own sisters in exchange to the brothers of their wives for marriage and 9 served from 3 to 7 years in the capacity of a husband serving for the wife (so-called *Lamsena*) in the homes of their parents-in-law and worked there like hired bullocks. The remaining 83 or 69.17 per cent did not find virgins for marriage and had to be content with widows or divorced women.

An analysis of 173 cross-cousin marriages evinced that 17 or 9.83 per cent were performed in a rather tense atmosphere. In 11 of these cases, the girls, whose parents were not willing, were captured by force from lonely places like fields and

forests by the cross-cousin grooms and their parties and the marriage was performed of their own accord before the girls' parents arrived for defence. In 6 cases the girls were forced by their parents to enter into the house of their cross-cousin mates so that marriage may come into effect by intrusion even if the boy's parents were unwilling. Since all these were matrilateral cross-cousin marriages, the community people did not object, but only charged a feast as fine from the offending party. But the generation-old friendliness between the concerned cross-cousin families was disturbed as a result. Instead of co-operation, the aggrieved families did their best to get their boy or girl separated before the community elders could mediate. The families succeeded anyhow in breaking the cross-cousin unions in 13 cases and later on had the boy or girl married elsewhere.

In another 23 or 13.29 per cent cases, in obedience to custom, the parents gave in marriage cross-cousins even when there was greater disparity in age between them. Out of these, 14 girls and 9 boys who were minor were married with their adult cross-cousin. In accordance with local tradition the girls stayed with their parents till they or their husbands attained maturity. But among them 18 girls eloped with other men as there was an opportunity for them to do so. Further, among the 14 husbands whose cross-cousin wives were minor, 8 again married widows or divorced women and 6 waited for the maturity of their wives ; but the latter did not join them afterwards.

In another 24 or 13.87 per cent cases the spouses had other loves, but were married to their cross-cousins by their parents. These spouses did not object to their parents at the time ; but very shortly after, 15 of them divorced their cross-cousin spouses and became married to mates of their choice.

Only in 93 or 31.73 per cent, out of 293 marriages, the cross-cousin marriage fared well and in 80 or 27.30 per cent cases did not fare well at all ; as in 46 cases these unions did not endure, and in 34 cases the unions remained unhappy. Besides, 120 or 40.96 per cent of the males thus studied faced great

difficulty in finding wives due to the absence of cross-cousin spouses.

The frequency of divorce has become high mainly because of unsuitable cross-cousin unions. At present 20.40 per cent marriages have ended through divorce and the custom of cross-cousin marriages accounted for 88 per cent divorced cases. On account of frequent divorces, out of 293 males, 15.70 per cent had faced divorce once, and 4.44 per cent twice. Divorce brings gain to no one, but it certainly causes the loss of prestige to all concerned. It affects the economy of husband's family quite severely. For the proper functioning of the household as well as agricultural activities he has to think of remarriage, which again means a heavy expenditure. Remarriage certainly leads many Gond families to indebtedness.

Traditional inter-familial cordial relations leave no chance for virtual cross-cousin mates to hide bad habits from each other and after marriage the knowledge about the premarital sex intimacy with others makes their married life very unpleasant. Such spouses do not enjoy the happiness of married life as ought to be in the early period of marital stage, but remain doubting the faithfulness and continue to fear divorce from each other's side till a child is born. Furthermore, the males married with their cross-cousin mates also remain under the obligation of their parents-in-law and, as such, they are expected to help them particularly in their agricultural activities on no wages. At times it so happens that one's own agriculture suffers due to the call of help made by his parents-in-law.

THE SECULAR TREND OF MENARCHEAL AGE IN THE CITY GIRLS OF CALCUTTA*

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(*Received on 5 May 1968*)

Abstract : The Average menarcheal age, as represented by the Hindu sample of Curjel, was found to be 13.62 ± 0.11 years in 1920. Sen in 1953 found it to be 12.78 ± 0.05 years. This is a statistically significant difference ($t=70$). The present survey on 169 city girls of Calcutta yielded a mean menarcheal age of 12.90 ± 0.09 years which is not statistically significant ($t=1.7$) with Sen's mean but significant with Curjel ($t=5.1$). The mean menarcheal age of the city girls of Calcutta appears to be going down at the rate of 5.7 days per annum.

Introduction

THE average age at menarche of the girls in the city of Calcutta appears to be gradually going down. A trend towards this decline was first pointed out by Sarkar (1951) from the then available data. Sarkar's opinion has been contested by Banerjee and Mukherjee (1961). Rakshit (1962) pointed out the heterogeneous nature of the above two author's data and that they were not comparable with Sen's (1953) samples from Calcutta and her own sample from Assam (1961).

Banerjee and Mukherjee (1961) studied 1047 mixed rural and urban girls of Calcutta, Howrah and the hill districts of

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North Bengal. They remarked that their mean menarcheal age of 13.75 years is the same as that obtained by Robertson in 1845. They write; 'One would look askance at the exact correspondence of the average age of puberty in Bengali girls obtained by us with that obtained by Robertson (1845) 115 years back, in spite of Sarkar's (1951) observation that 'there are, however, indications that in this country as well, the menarcheal age is going down.'

It might be mentioned here that Robertson's data were collected from Bombay, from various social groups and the mean of 13.6 years is higher than that (12.38 years) found by Gupta (1848) from Hindu Bengali families of Calcutta. The sample sizes were 230 and 37 respectively. Das's figures, quoted by Banerjee and Mukherjee, could not be transferred to mean values. It is difficult to say how far the data of the different authors are comparable with one another, since the age factor is not adequately known.

The Present Study

In order to test the above problem an investigation was carried out among the city girls. A rural sample from the village of Daharpur, in the district of Midnapur, was also studied during the months of January—March 1966. The above data have been utilized here as an end point of the time span with reference to the earlier data beginning from Curjel (1920).

Each urban girl was questioned regarding her date of birth and the date of menarche. 169 girls were correct upto the month. 28 girls were unable to state the exact date of birth. Many of the latter were also unable to state the date of menarche accurately.

Almost all the rural women had passed through the ceremony of *Punarbibaha* on the occasion of their first menstruation; as such they had a clear memory of its month and year, but they hardly cared to remember their dates of birth.

The distribution of the urban and rural groups according to menarcheal age is summarized in the following table.

TABLE 1

Menarcheal Age of Rural and Urban Women

Age at menarche in years	Frequency of urban girls	%	Frequency of rural women	%
10	3	1.8	1	2.9
11	14	8.2	0	—
12	45	26.6	5	14.9
13	62	36.6	7	20.5
14	33	19.5	12	35.2
15	9	5.3	9	26.4
16	2	1.1	0	—
17	1	0.6	0	—
Total	169		34	

10 years means 9 years 0 months to 9 years 11 months.

The mean menarcheal age of the urban girls was found to be 12.9 ± 0.91 years compared with 13.65 ± 0.20 years in the rural sample. This higher mean is not however statistically significant, the value of 't' being 0.81.

Ashley Montagu (1948) is of opinion that menarche before 12 years of age is abnormal and as such the frequency of abnormality among the urban girls and rural women is as follows :

TABLE 2

Percentage of Abnormality in Menarcheal Age

	Menarche upto 11 years of age	Percentage %
Urban girls	17	10.05
Rural girls	1	2.90

It will be apparent from the above table that the frequency of abnormal menarche is nearly more than three times higher in urban girls than in the rural one.

Discussion

The age at menarche has been found to vary between 10 and 17 years in the case of urban girls and between 10 and 15 years in the case of rural women. The mean menarcheal age of 169 urban girls is 12.90 ± 0.09 years and that of the 34 rural women is 13.65 ± 0.21 years. There is no indication from the

present study that girls in high income group attain puberty earlier than those in the lower income group.

A comparative idea of the various mean menarcheal ages of the different populations of India will be obtained from Table 3.

The mean menarcheal ages of the Nayar of Kerala (Sen 1953) (14.29 ± 0.19 years) and the Brahman of Maharashtra (Rakshit 1962) (14.34 years) seem to be the highest of all. It also appears that the Bengali and the Assamese girls show greater resemblance in their menarcheal ages.

TABLE 3

<i>Age at Menarche</i>				
Region	Group	No.	Age at menarche Mean and S. E.	Author
Bengal	{ Upper Castes	647	12.78 ± 0.05	Sen (1953)
	{ Hindus (Urban) Bagdi	60	13.25 ± 0.15	
	{ All Castes (Hindu)	169	12.90 ± 0.09	This study
	{ Bagdi (Rural)	34	13.65 ± 0.20	
Assamese	Total	138	12.39 ± 1.01	Rakshit (1960)
Assam	Kalita	172	12.61 ± 0.14	Das and Das (1967)
U. P.	{ Hindus	253	13.62 ± 0.07	Dubey and Srivastava (1965)
	{ Muslims	17	13.87 ± 0.26	
	{ Christians	91	13.46 ± 0.11	
	{ Total	361	13.57 ± 0.06	
Maharashtra	Brahman	103	14.34	Rakshit (1962)
Kerala	Nayar	74	14.29 ± 0.19	Sen (1953)
Different parts of India	{ Hindus	268	13.62 ± 0.11	Curjel (1920)
	{ Muslims	140	13.64 ± 0.11	
	{ Christians	81	13.69 ± 0.17	
	{ Combined	489	13.64	
	{ Average			

This very recent data could not be used for 't' values

The rural Bagdi women of the present study exhibit slightly higher mean (13.65 ± 0.20 years) menarcheal age than that (13.25 ± 0.15 years) obtained by Sen (1953) and by Banerjee and

Mukherjee (13.60). But on the whole girls from Bengal and Assam exhibit lower mean menarcheal ages as compared to the girls from U. P., Maharashtra and Kerala (Table 3).

In India we have more representative data from among the Hindus by various authors as shown in the Table 3 than the other religious groups. They were also taken at different intervals of time. We may therefore attempt to find out from the above data whether the Bengalee Hindu girls, who possess the most representative data, show any trend towards the decrease of their average menarcheal age.

TABLE 4

Value of 't'

	1. Hindu (Curjel)	2. Bengalee Hindus (Sen)	3. Bengalee Hindus (This study)	4. U. P. Hindus (Dubey and Srivastava)	5. Bengalee Bagdi (Sen)	6. Bengalee Bagdi (This study)
1. Hindu (Curjel)	x	7.0	5.1	0	2.05	0.13
2. Bengalee Hindus (Sen)	7.0	x	1.7	10.5	3.13	4.3
3. Bengalee Hindus (this study)	5.1	1.7	x	6.5	2.05	3.5
4. U. P. Hindus (Dubey and Srivastava)	0	10.5	6.5	x	4.6	0.14
5. Bengalee Bagdi (Sen)	2.05	3.13	2.05	4.6	x	1.6
6. Bengalee Bagdi (this study)	0.13	4.0	3.5	0.14	1.6	x

Values above 2 have been taken as significant statistically.

Applying the values of 't' test of significance between the four Hindu groups, those of (i) Curjel (1920), (ii) Sen (1953), (iii) Dubey and Srivastava (1965) and those of the (iv) present study, it will be seen from Table 4 that the Hindus (Dubey

and Srivastava 1965) alone show variation from Curjel's sample whereas both the samples of Sen and the present writers show statistically significant differences from the above sample.

Curjel found the menarcheal age of the Hindu girls as 13.62 ± 0.11 years for Calcutta girls while Sen obtained an average of 12.78 ± 0.05 years for the upper caste Hindu girls of the same city. The time interval between the above two studies is 33 years, and during this period the average mean menarcheal age went down by 0.84 years or about 7 days per annum. The value of ' t ' between the above two samples is 7.0 showing highly significant statistical difference. When the mean obtained from the present study is compared with that of Curjel we find a difference of 0.72 years or about 5 days per annum. The mean obtained from the present study is 12.90 ± 0.09 , which when compared with that of Curjel, show a statistically significant difference ($t=5.1$), showing that the menarcheal age is really going down. Sen (1953) pointed out this phenomenon with some reservation in her study and the present study now supports Sen's the then observations of earlier maturity of Bengalee girls. The present study was carried out after 13 years of Sen's study and there is no statistically significant difference between the above two samples ($t=1.7$) which show that the time span of 13 years is not probably enough for such a change. The slightly higher mean value of 12.90 years than that (12.78) of Sen may be due to the small size ($n=169$) of the sample of the present study in comparison to that of Sen ($n=647$).

It is surprising however that this phenomenon is not present in U. P. as judged from the data of Dubey and Srivastava (1965) and Curjel (1920) ($t=0$). But that the U. P. mean is significantly higher than the two Bengalee means of Sen and the present study will be apparent from the values of ' t '—they being 10.5 and 6.5 respectively.

Coming to the Bagdis of Bengal both Sen and the present writers obtained a higher mean value (Table 3) than the Bengalee Hindus of Calcutta and both of them show significant statistical difference ; Bengalee Hindus (Sen) and Bengalee

Bagdis (Sen) ($t=3.13$). When compared with the Hindu data of Curjel, Sen's Bagdi sample show statistically significant difference ($t=2.05$) while the present data do not show the same picture ($t=0.13$). Compared with the U. P. Hindus, Sen's Bagdi sample shows similar statistically significant ($t=4.6$) picture as that with Curjel's data while the Bagdis of the present study do not show any statistically significant difference ($t=0.14$).

Both the Hindu means (13.62) of Curjel and from the U. P. are greater than the Bagdi mean (13.25) of Sen while that of the present study (13.65) appears to be the highest of all. It is probable that these small variations are due to size of the samples.

In the Western countries the average menarcheal age of girls is also gradually going down. In Sweden during the last 50 years the average age at menarche is going down at the average rate of 10 days per annum. In the U. S. A. Whites there was an acceleration in menarche amounting to 4 months between the years 1930 and 1968. The Negroes of U. S. A. also show the same trend. In Japan it is going down at the rate of one year in a period of 8 years. (Matsumoto, 1963.)

It will be apparent from the data of the present study that the average age at menarche of the Bengalee Hindu girls of the city of Calcutta is going down at the rate of 5-7 days per annum.

Thanks are due to Dr. P. K. Bhowmick for his kind help in the collection of the rural sample from Midnapur and to Mrs. Amiya Das, Head Mistress, Kamala Chatterji School for Girls, Calcutta, for her help in the collection of the urban sample.

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P. T. C. SENSITIVITY AMONG THE RANA THARU THAKURS OF CHANDAN CHOWKI (UTTAR PRADESH)

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(Received on 3 October 1967)

Abstract. 209 Rana Tharu Thakurs (110 male and 99 female) have been tested for P. T. C. Taste sensitivity by employing Harris and Kalmus's sorting out technique (1949). The frequencies of the T and t gene are found to be 0.615 and 0.385 respectively among the Rana Tharu Thakurs.

DURING the months of November-December, 1966, the author conducted a genetic survey among the Rana Tharu Thakurs of Chandan Chowki, U. P.

The Tharus are a tribal people, living in a malarious area in the Tarai region of Uttar Pradesh. Rana Tharu Thakurs are one of the major endogamous groups of the Tharu community. They are primarily agriculturists and have been found chiefly to practise village exogamy. Rana Tharu Thakurs were studied in detail with respect to ABO blood groups, ABH secretion in Saliva (Basu and Chattopadhyay, 1967), taste sensitivity to phenylthiourea, Finger and Palmar dermatoglyphics, various somatometric measurements and somatoscopic observations. The present paper deals only with the taste sensitivity to phenylthiourea whereas other results will be published separately in a series of subsequent papers.

Material and Method

The material consists of 209 unrelated (110 males and 99 females) Rana Tharu Thakurs of age group 20-40 years. The data were collected from 13 Rana Tharu villages around the

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Results and Discussions :

TABLE 1

Threshold distributions among the Rana Tharu Thakurs

Sex	SOLUTION NUMBERS														
	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Male	10	2	3	5	1	2	7	15	21	18	11	5	3	5	2
	** (9.09)	(1.82)	(2.73)	(4.54)	(0.91)	(1.82)	(6.66)	(13.64)	(19.09)	(18.36)	(10.00)	(4.54)	(2.73)	(4.54)	(1.82)
Female	8	2	—	—	—	2	2	6	14	22	13	11	14	4	1
	(8.08)	(2.02)				(2.02)	(2.02)	(6.06)	(14.14)	(22.22)	(13.13)	(11.11)	(14.14)	(4.04)	(1.01)

** The figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage.

base camp of Chandan Chowki. Detailed genealogies were drawn and special care was taken to exclude the related ones in order to avoid the familial peculiarities masking the very characteristic of the group.

The method of serial dilutions with a sorting test developed by Harris and Kalmus (1949) was followed in this study. A stock solution containing 0.13% of the phenylthiourea was made in boiled tap water and then serial dilutions were prepared.

The chi-square (X^2) were calculated by using the G-tables of Woolf (1957) and probability levels were obtained from Fisher and Yates Table (1953).

The distribution of the taste thresholds for males and females are shown in Table I. The frequency distributions over the different solution numbers show the usual bimodal character (Fig. I) in both males and females. It is observed from Table 1 that in males, the antimode lies at solution number 4 whereas in the case of females, it lies between solution numbers 1 and 5.

The mean threshold for the tasters is 8.77 ± 0.43 in males and 9.65 ± 0.39 in females. The sex difference for the mean threshold value in the Rana Tharu Thakurs is found to be insignificant ($t = 1.52$, $0.20 > P > 0.10$, $d. f. = 176$).

TABLE 2

Phenotype and Gene Frequency of Tasters and Non-Tasters

Sex	Total Tested	Phenotype Tasters	Frequency Non-Tasters	Gene T	Frequency t
Males	110	89 *(80.91)	21 (19.09)	0.563	0.487
Female	99	89 (89.90)	10 (10.10)	0.682	0.318
M+F	209	178 (85.17)	31 (14.83)	0.615	0.285

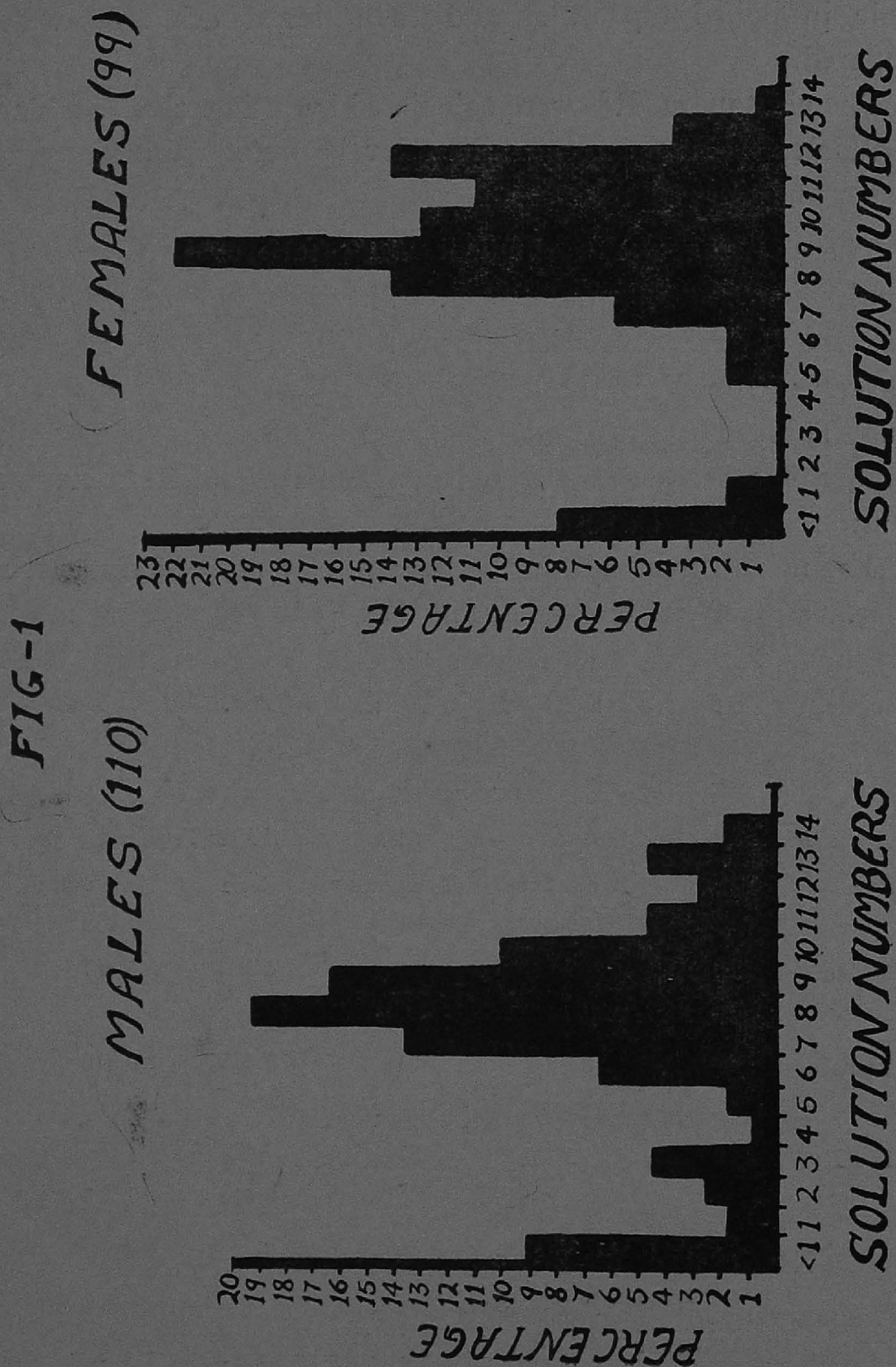
X^2 (chi²) for male-female difference = 3.4104,

$0.10 > P > 0.05$, $d. f. = 1$

*The figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage.

The distribution of the taster and the non-taster phenotypes and their respective gene frequencies are shown in Table 2. It will be observed from the table that the frequency of non-tasters (10.10%) is lesser among the females as compared to the males (19.09%). But male-female difference is not statistically significant ($X^2 = 3.4104, 0.10 > P > 0.05, d. f. 1$).

Very few U. P. populations have been investigated in respect



of taste dimorphism. Table 3 shows the comparison of Rana Tharu Thakurs with other populations of U. P., along with their X^2 results. No comparison of the Rana Tharu Thakurs could be made with the Danguria Tharus (Srivastava 1961) since the latter were tested by filter paper method (filter paper soaked in 0.13% of P. T. C. solution).

It will be observed from Table 3 that with respect to taste sensitivity, Rana Tharu Thakurs exhibit statistically non-significant differences with Kumaonis (Seth 1962), Brahmin (Srivastava 1959), Kayasthas (Srivastava 1959) and Khattries (Srivastava 1959) while highly significant differences have been observed in the case of Muslims (Srivastava 1959) and Vaishas (Srivastava 1959). It may be pointed out here that with respect to ABO blood groups, the Rana Tharu Thakurs have been found to show non-significant differences with the Kumaonis (Brahmins, Rajputs and Doms), Kayasthas, and the Khattries (Basu and Chattopadhyay 1967).

Summary

(a) 209 (110 males and 99 females) Rana Thakurs have been tested for phenylthiocarbamide taste sensitivity.

(b) The method of serial dilutions with a sorting test developed by Harris and Kalmus (1949) has been followed in this study.

(c) Both males and females show distinctly bimodal character with respect to the taste thresholds distributions.

(d) The mean threshold for the tasters is 8.77 ± 0.43 in males and 9.65 ± 0.39 in females. The sex difference for the mean threshold value is statistically non-significant ($t = 1.52$, $0.20 > P > 0.10$ d.f. = 176).

(e) The gene frequencies for the non-tasters are 0.437 and 0.318 among males and females respectively.

(f) The distribution of the taster and the non-taster phenotypes in the two sexes is insignificant ($X^2 = 3.4104$, $0.10 > P > 0.05$, d.f. 1).

Acknowledgement

The author is grateful to Professor P. C. Biswas, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi for the

TABLE 3
Comparison of Rana Thakurs with Other Populations of U. P.

Population	Author	Total tested	Non taster %	Gene frequency ('t')	χ^2 d. f.=1	Probability	Inference
Kumaonis	Seth 1962	104	19.60*	0.443*	1.6072	0.30 > P > 0.20	Non-Significant
Muslims	Srivastava 1959	67	38.80	0.623**	16.1716	P < .001	Highly Significant
Brahmins	do	69	24.63	0.496**	3.2838	0.10 > P > 0.05	Non-Significant
Vaishas	do	58	37.73	0.614**	12.5565	P < .001	Highly Significant
Kayasthas	do	52	24.99	0.500**	2.8391	0.10 > P > .005	Non-Significant
Khattries	do	30	30.00	0.548**	3.7784	0.10 > P > 0.05	Non-Significant
Rana Tharu Thakurs	Present study	202	14.83	0.385	—	—	—

* Calculated by the present author from the table showing the distribution of the taste threshold values for different P. T. C. Solutions.

** Calculated by the present author from the percentage of non-tasters given.

necessary research facilities. The author is also thankful to Mr. P. K. Chattopadhyay and Mr. Surender Nath, Research Scholars of the Department, for their valuable help in the preparation of this paper.

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SEX DIFFERENCE IN ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS

GURU CHARAN GHOSH

Abstract. The purpose of the present article is to find out sexual differences, if there is any, in respect of anthropometric characters and also to test whether there is any group difference in respect of sexual diamorphism.

Introduction

THERE is a considerable volume of anthropometric studies among the male population in India. But only a few investigators studied the anthropometric characters of females in which they have stressed the importance of sexual differences in direct measurements. There exists sex difference in bodily dimensions and human males are larger than the females in almost all dimensions except a few. The present articles is an attempt to find out the sexual diamorphism, if there is any, of six anthropometric characters and also to test whether there is any group difference in respect of sexual diamorphism.

Materials and Method

The present article is based on the materials of seven different groups—Tharu of Majumder (Mahalanobis et al 1949); Onge of Guha (1954); North and South Andamanese of Molesworth (as cited in Guha 1954); Pahira of Ray (1958); Kadar of Sarkar (1959) and Ho of Ghosh (1967). The mean values of six common anthropometric measurements of above mentioned series such as stature, head length, head breadth, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth were taken into consideration for the purpose of present study.

Female/male index is applied here to test the magnitude of sexual diamorphism for each measurement. Utility of this

index was advocated by Steggarda (1932), wherein it is stated "It is obvious from such an index that nearer the index approaches 1, the closer the two sexes alike for this determination. If the index is more than 1, female is larger than the males and if less than 1, the male is larger than female". Co-efficient of concordance, W , of Kendall (1955 : Rakshit 1965) was applied to test the significance of difference in sexual diamorphism in different anthropometric characters as well as in different groups. For these tests F/M values have been given rank in descending order and co-efficient of concordance has been calculated for the ranked materials.

Analysis

From tables 1 and 2 it appear that there exist sexual difference in anthropometric characters and male groups show higher values than that of females. The data were also arranged in the frame of rank correlation method to find out whether there is any groupwise difference in sexual diamorphism. From table 3 it appears that the sexual diamorphism over all the characters is lowest among the Onges and highest among the North Andamanese. But statistical test by W does not confirm heterogeneity of sexual diamorphism over the groups as the probability is greater than 0.05.

Similar analysis was made to test significance of characterwise difference in sexual diamorphism. Table 4 shows that there are different values for different characters. Out of six anthropometric characters nasal height and nasal breadth show highest sexual diamorphism followed by stature. In head length, head breadth and bizygomatic breadth the sexual diamorphism is less conspicuous than in previous characters. Hence there are some characterwise differences in sexual diamorphism. In other words the magnitude of sexual difference varies from character to character. Statistical test by W , confirms significant difference in sexual diamorphism over the six anthropometric characters, probability being less than 0.01.

Conclusion

The above analyses show differential sexual diamorphism in at least above mentioned six anthropometric characters. The magnitude of sexual diamorphism varies from character to character and it is maximum in nasal length, nasal breadth and stature and minimum in head length, head breadth and bizygomatic breadth. Though the groups are not identical in rank scores, the differences over the groups are not statistically significant. The present material therefore do not justify, in using sexual diamorphism as a discriminating criterion for taxo-ethnic purposes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is deeply grateful to Sri H. K. Rakshit for his constant guidance and valuable suggestions in preparing this article.

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TABLE 1

Mean of six anthropometric characters in mm.

Character	Tharu		Onge		South Andamanese		North Andamanese		Pahira		Kadar		Ho	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Stature	1638.3	1511.3	1482.8	1378.6	1481.7	1402.5	1485.6	1385.4	1522.3	1424.2	1557.5	1435.10	1600.0	1497.6
Head length	187.78	180.97	169.7	165.8	173.1	166.0	173.0	165.2	180.2	169.6	178.90	173.03	186.48	178.68
Head breadth	135.90	131.42	139.3	137.6	143.7	137.4	141.8	135.3	135.3	131.5	132.70	127.03	140.56	134.62
Bizygomatic breadth	131.68	125.46	127.0	122.2	132.0	126.9	132.6	125.2	127.3	120.3	124.93	118.10	131.91	129.88
Nasal height	49.94	46.00	45.7	43.0	42.7	38.7	41.4	36.9	44.7	43.6	48.00	44.00	45.72	41.90
Nasal breadth	37.90	35.62	38.1	35.2	37.7	34.6	38.4	34.8	37.6	34.4	39.80	37.14	40.67	37.48

TABLE 2

F/M. Index of six anthropometric characters

Group	Character	Tharu	Onge	South Andamanese	North Andamanese	Pahira	Kadar	Ho
	Stature	0.925	0.980	0.947	0.933	0.936	0.921	0.936
	Head length	0.964	0.977	0.959	0.955	0.941	0.967	0.958
	Head breadth	0.967	0.988	0.956	0.954	0.972	0.957	0.958
	Bizygomatic breadth	0.953	0.962	0.961	0.944	0.945	0.945	0.985
	Nasal height	0.921	0.941	0.906	0.891	0.975	0.917	0.916
	Nasal breadth	0.940	0.924	0.918	0.906	0.915	0.933	0.922

TABLE 3

Rank scores in descending order for F/M index of seven different groups over six characters.

Group	Character	Tharu	Onge	South Andamanese	North Andamanese	Pahira	Kadar	Ho
	Stature	6	5	1	4	2.5	7	2.5
	Head length	3	1	4	6	7	2	5
	Head breadth	3	1	6	7	2	5	4
	Bizygomatic breadth	4	2	3	7	5.5	5.5	1
	Nasal height	3	2	6	7	1	4	5
	Nasal breadth	1	3	5	7	6	2	4
	Sum	20	14	25	38	24	25.5	21.5

$$m=6, n=7,$$

$$\text{Sum of Sums} = \frac{1}{2} mn(n+1) = 168,$$

$$\text{Mean } (\bar{X}) = \frac{1}{2} m(n+1) = 24, \quad \frac{1}{12} m^2(n^2-n) = 1008$$

$$\Sigma(T) = 1, \quad m\Sigma(T) = 6,$$

$$S = 321.50, \quad W = \frac{S}{\frac{1}{12} m^2(n^2-n) - m\Sigma(T)} = 0.32, \quad p > 0.05$$

TABLE 4

Rank scores in descending order for F/M index of six different characters over seven groups.

Group	Character	St.	HL	HB	BzB	NH	NB
Tharu		5	2	1	3	6	4
Onge		5	2	1	3	4	6
South Andamanese		4	2	3	1	6	5
North Andamanese		4	1	2	3	6	5
Pahira		5	4	2	3	1	6
Kadar		5	1	2	3	6	4
Ho		4	2.5	2.5	1	6	5
Sum		32	14.5	13.5	17	35	35

$$m=7, n=6, S=554, W=0.65, 0.01 > P$$

BOOK REVIEWS

Puranic and Tantric Religion (Early Phase). By J. N. Banerjea. Pp. xiv + 189. *Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, Calcutta-12. 1966. Rs. 12.50.*

This is the last book written by the late Professor J. N. Banerjea of the University of Calcutta. In 1960, he had published a book in Bengali entitled *Panchopasana*, covering the same subject. It is a pity that he did not live to see the present English book in print. His disciple and successor in office, Prof. D. C. Sircar took upon himself the responsibility of seeing the present publication through the press ; and we are grateful to him on that account.

After presenting in the first chapter the general background of the evolution of Brahminical religion from the Vedas onwards, Professor Banerjea has presented in the following chapters a history of Vaishnavism, Saivism, Sakti Worship and Tantrism, Sun Worship, and of minor cults like the worship of Karttikeya, and of Ganapati.

The treatment is limited to the questions of theology, iconography and the origin and history of the sects who were devoted of the particular deities dealt with. As is expected of a scholar of Professor Banerjea's eminence, the treatment is sober, scholarly, and never goes beyond the limits of speculation set by the available data.

The Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta deserves our congratulation for making this series of lectures available to scholars and lay readers alike.

N. K. Bose

Leadership in India. Ed. by L. P. Vidyarthi. Pp. xxii + 375. *Asia Publishing House, Bombay-1. 1967. Rs. 28.00.*

In August 1962, a seminar was held under the auspices of the Council of Social and Cultural Research and the Department of Anthropology, University of Ranchi, on the subject of 'Leadership in India'. The papers presented there, as well as a few more, have been carefully edited by Professor L. P. Vidyarthi and presented in the present volume.

The papers are broadly divided into three categories, namely, General and Theoretical, Tribal Leadership and Rural Leadership. They are preceded by a Foreword by Prof. S. C. Dube and a learned introduction by the editor himself. The papers cover a wide spectrum; there are descriptive accounts of changes occurring among communities in various parts of India, analyses of receptivity of improved agricultural practices or of the growth of secularism; the rise of political parties, as well as of the causes underlying some of the 'messianic' movements which have taken place in the past.

The book thus affords plenty of stimulating reading, and should be welcomed by every student of culture change in modern India.

N. K. Bose

Anthropological Collections in the Museums of India. *Edited by Dr. Sachin Roy, Indian National Committee of International Council Museums; National Museum, New Delhi, 1967. Pp, xvi+70. Rs. 3.00.*

This is an excellent guide-book to anthropological collections available in different parts of India. The first ten pages of the book cover an introduction by Dr. Grace Morely, a foreword by Shri C. Sivaramamurti and an editorial note. This is followed by a section describing how anthropological collections have grown up in universities and elsewhere, and how they compare with similar museums in other parts of the world.

The Directory which follows gives full information on National Museums, State Museums, and Private Museums, as well as University Museums and those connected with Tribal Research Institutes in some States of the country. A list is given in the Appendix of all museums in India.

The publication will prove most helpful to anthropologists and museologists alike.

N. K. Bose

Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa. *By Robert F. Stevenson. Pp. xiii+306. Columbia University Press, New York and London. 1968. 90 shillings.*

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard came to the conclusion, on the basis of their study of African political systems, that density of population did not necessarily go with State-formation. The present

author has contested this view, and that very successfully. He has arrived at the conclusion that there is a positive correlation between the two.

The author rejects the manner in which Fortes and Evans-Pritchard arrived at their estimates of population densities. He shows by means of detailed analysis, and also through a consideration of various historical factors (which led either to dispersals of population or to their concentration on account of the rise of new lines of communication) how the estimates of the earlier authors have to be considerably modified. And when this is done, a positive correlation can be established, as we have said, between population density and the complexity of political organization.

The book is very original in its approach, and can be considered to be a very important contribution to modern anthropological literature.

N. K. Bose

**Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Incorporated
Report for 1965 and 1966. 14 East 71 Street, New York, N. Y. 10021.**

The name of the Wenner-Gren Foundation is known all over the world among anthropologists for the excellent way in which it has helped in the promotion of research, and in the dissemination of recent acquisition to knowledge in that branch of science. A detailed examination of the research projects promoted or partially supported by the Foundation shows how they cover nearly every part of the globe, and range over subjects from primate behaviour, Tertiary or Pleistocene geology to various branches of archaeology, and physical or social anthropology.

The journal 'Current Anthropology', which is in charge of Professor Sol Tax, and which is financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, has helped to build up a democratic institution, steadily exercising its influence in the promotion of anthropology in all countries of the world.

N. K. Bose

Some Aspects of Kautilya's Political Thinking. By R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Vidya-Vachaspati. Pp. 6+51. The University of Burdwan, West Bengal. Rs. 3.00.

Professor Radhagovinda Basak delivered three lectures of an introductory nature on the political aspects of Kautilya's *Artha-*

sastra in August, 1965, at the University of Burdwan. These have now been published in the form of a booklet by the Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Prof. Govinda Gopal Banerjee. Professor Basak has dealt with the structure of the bureaucracy, the broad principles of civil and criminal laws, and the manner in which a king should behave if he has to consolidate and preserve his authority. The themes chosen for treatment are of great relevance today, and the presentation is also lucid and stimulating. It should lead scholars to read the *Arthasastra* more deeply.

N. K. Bose

Le Sultanate D'Atjeh Au Temps D'Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) par Denys Lombard. Pp. 300. Paris: Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient. 1967.

Atjeh was situated in the northern tip of Sumatra, jutting out into the Indian Ocean. The history of Atjeh before the 17th cent. is rather fragmentary. However it had already acquired some commercial, and therefore, political importance, due to the fact that it lay along the trade route of the Portuguese. Muslim traders had established themselves at various points along the shipping routes from Europe to the Far East. Atjeh was a port, rather hidden, though strategically situated. Ruled by a Sultan, it grew into a fairly extensive commercial centre. The author describes its growth in wealth and in power, which eventually led to conquests and especially to the establishment of a fairly powerful monopoly in trade. As a consequence of its prosperity, Atjeh developed a culture of its own; a characteristic literature evolved and sufism flourished.

Of this golden age of Atjeh, Sultan Iskandar Muda is the great name best remembered, not surprisingly, considering that during his reign of thirty years Atjeh reached its apogee of prosperity and power. Mr. Denys Lombard traces the little known story of this 17th century sultanate with facts, figures and photos.

F. E.

Pays Des Maa'—Domaine Des Genies : Nggar Yaang. Essay d'ethno-histoire d'une population proto-indochinoise du Viet Nam central, par J. Boulbet. Pp. 152. Paris: Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient. 1967.

Mr. J. Boulbet has lived for a considerable time among the Maa'

tribe (Central Vietnam) and was able to make a personal study of their ways and customs. In *Pays des Maa'* the author traces the history, the unwritten history of the Maa' people as they have conceived and expressed it in their cultural heritage, in songs and poems. In their literary tradition they have a veritable 'Genesis' and genealogies not unlike what we read in the Bible. It is only towards the end of the 19th century that the French made their first contacts with the Maa'. The Vietnam war has made havoc of this tribe and it may never find back its former peaceful existence. This is the sad conclusion of the author. A useful glossary and some excellent photos complete the book.

F. E.

The Rabhas of West Bengal. By *Amal Kumar Das and Manis Kumar Raha*. Pp. 166. *Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare Department, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1967.*

The Rabhas live in the districts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar, while the majority of them are distributed in the State of Assam, south of the Himalayan Mountains. They are a Mongoloid people who make their living principally by agriculture. This publication of the Cultural Research Institute of West Bengal presents a good ethnographic account of the tribe.

N. K. Bose

Bibliography on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Selected Marginal Communities of India (C-F Series), (G-K Series), (L-N Series). (Cyclostyled edition) *Census of India, 1961. Office of the Registrar General, India, 2-A Mansingh Road, Delhi-11.*

This is a useful compilation produced by the Office of the Registrar General of India. If readers find that some references are not there, it would be a great help if they communicate this to the Registrar General's office, so that they can also be incorporated.

N. K. Bose

Agricultural Innovation among Indian Farmers. By *Prodipto Roy, Frederick C. Fliegel, Joseph E. Kivlin, Lalit K. Sen*. Hyderabad—*National Institute of Community Development*. 1968. Pp. 112.

Agricultural Innovation among Indian Farmers is not an exhaustive survey; the study of tribal areas has been neglected so far, possibly because the adoption of new practices is more difficult there. The survey is of interest to sociologists,

agricultural economists and extension workers : a pity though that the man in the village has been too much forgotten. Pages 100 and 101 summarise the study very well.

The conclusions of the study as well as the findings of the survey are well known to every one who works with villagers and the scale of innovation runs true to pattern everywhere : composting and preservation of farm-yard refuse, chemical fertilizers and new seed varieties, pesticides and insecticides, new practices of cultivation, implements of improved types, better irrigation and rotation of crops, and specialized practices are adopted in that order.

The survey was made in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal, states which after Punjab and U. P. have made the greatest progress in agriculture. A point not sufficiently stressed is that marketing difficulties and low control (or procurement) prices are not inducive to farmers for striving wholeheartedly after new ways and real intensive agricultural production. If governments were to be aware of the principle of parity level of prices : keeping the input costs low enough and letting the output costs soar according to the natural price index, more farmers would strive after innovations which assure a higher return. For the obstacles mentioned can all be overcome, as the authors themselves declare, through education, co-operation and social renewal. Is it not strange that in socialistic countries the peasants remain the exploited class? Exploited people have no ambition nor profit motive : why should they enrich others? Social and economic status evidently together with better education are the factors causing adoption of new practices and methods. One has only to consider the Prestige clubs or Tonnage clubs all over the land.

It is to be hoped that this survey will open the eyes of many sociologists and politicians and that all will help the *kisans* of India—and so Mother India—to prosperity and not merely to self-sufficiency in food.

The print and presentation of the work are excellent, but the price Rs. 10 is rather high or even excessive for a publication of the National Institute of Community Development. A lower price and a less technical treatment of the material would make it a more popular and so more helpful work.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient—*Tome LIII, Fasc 2* (Pp. 311-748) Paris, 1967.

One always opens a new issue of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* with pleasant expectations. As usual, the present fascicle contains a number of articles of varying length that will be of interest to specialists. Besides the rather extensive obituary notices on Maurice Glaize and Victor Gouloubew, and book reviews, there are lengthy articles on Khmer Toponymy and related linguistic problems, on the odyssey of the 18th century French traveller and explorer, Pierre Poivre (with photos of ancient maps), on the Annals of the ancient kingdom of S'heng Khwang (in present-day Laos—with maps and plates), and an extensive recent bibliography of Indonesia : all very scholarly and very informative for the student of the Far Eastern countries' history. Scholars carry on their work quietly in spite of the turbulent conditions in these regions.

F. E.

La Kasika-vritti (adhyaya I, pada I)—*traduite et commentee par Yutaka Ojihara et Louis Renou. 3e Partie, par Y. Ojihara. Pp. 1-188. Paris. 1967.*

The Kasika-Vritti (c. 650), a commentary on Panini's *Astadhyayi*, has engaged the interest of two scholars, Japanese Yutaka Ojihara and French Louis Renou. Volumes I and II of their translation and highly technical commentary of the K-V (sutras 1 to 59) were published in 1960 and 1962 respectively and briefly reviewed here. Now we have volume III, appearing under the single name of Mr Y. Ojihara. The commentary (covering sutras 60-75) in this volume is rather more developed than in the two previous ones.

An excellent analytical index and a table of contents, covering all three volumes, are appended to this 3rd volume which concludes the work ; for as stated in the Preface to the 1st volume, the authors intended to deal with sutras 1 to 75 only. A study for specialists only.

F. E.

A History of India, Vol. I. By Romila Thapar. Pelican Books, 1966. Pp. 381. 7s. 6d.

This history of India from the earliest times up to 1526 in nearly 400 pages does not belong to the usual type of merely

political histories with which the general reader is familiar. It is an attempt to assess and interpret the culture and civilization of India on its own merits and to trace its broad development through more than 2500 years ; and the author has succeeded very well in her task. It is a good little book on a great subject. It is long enough to cover the subject in its broad lineaments and short enough to incite the readers' curiosity to know more, for which a bibliography has been given. One may differ here and there with the author's interpretation ; but every Indian who claims to be educated must read the book thrice.

It has some blemishes however ; and we point them out in the hope that they may be corrected and the subject amplified, where necessary. At p. 27, the reference to T. Moreland : *Agrarian System of Moslem India* is wrong. It should be W. H. Moreland : *India at the death of Akbar*. His estimate is 100 million ; we have tried to correct it to 110 million in the *Population Bulletin of India*, 1959. Again at p. 185 the function of *mathas* established by Sankaracharyya has been given. But Joshi *Matha* near Badrinath was sold away by its head some four centuries ago ; and there was no *Jagadguru* or spiritual head until some 20 or 25 years ago when Brahmananda was selected at Banaras and forced to accept the position. The consequent disorder in North India led to the establishment of independent *mathas*. The endowments of Gobar-dhan *Matha* at Puri were confiscated by the Bhonslas of Nāgpur ; and it can hardly maintain its missionary activities.

The merchant guilds of South India knew the use of bills of exchange, not merely promissory notes. At p. 252, the statement that the Kayasthas were of mixed origin is wrong. They are Kshatriyas who live by the pen instead of the sword. Some lower caste people, e.g. the Doms in Bengal, have enrolled themselves as Kayasthas in the Census ; but that does not mean that the Kshatriya caste is of mixed origin. At p. 277 the revenue of Firoze Tughlak is given as 6 crore *tankas*. It should be 685 lakhs or nearly 7 crores. (See W. H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 232 and the *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 101, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.)

In spite of such minor blemishes, the book under review is a good book and should be read by every cultured Indian.

J. M. Datta

Heroines of Tagore ; A study in the transformation of Indian society, 1875-1941. By *Biman Behari Majumdar*. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1968. Pp. xii + 353, Rs. 30.

The *Heroines of Tagore* depicts, through a critical analysis of the important female characters of the novels, short stories, dramas and poems of Tagore, the changing social pattern of India and specially Bengal from 1875 to 1941. It is, to quote the author's own words, 'a study in the transformation of Indian society'.

The author begins with a detailed analysis of the economic, social, religious and political background of the period and shows how the heroines of Tagore are the typical products of the period in which they were created or are, in some cases, the heralds of the successive epoch, reflecting the diverse phases of rural and urban society during the sixty-six years of Tagore's creative life. With profound understanding and an insight both objective and critical the author brings out, most effectively, the various stages of the emancipation of Indian women, fighting not only for their own rights but also for those of down-trodden humanity.

The study commences from the heroines of 1881-1897, characters like Kusum (*Tyag*) and Chandra (*Shasti*) who have had no college education and who quietly submit to oppression and injustice done to them and concludes with the heroines of 1927-41, girls like Bibha (*Rabi bar*), Labanya (*Sheser Kavita*), Ela (*Char Adhyay*), who are all highly educated, modern, self-assertive and independent. They have been classified as maidens, married girls and widows. The heroines owing their origin (or inspiration) to epic tales, Buddhist legends and the mediaeval age have been discussed separately, as also the heroines of symbolic writings. Then there is a further categorization, period-wise, of the heroines of pre-war days, those of the period of the First World War and the ones of the inter-war years. This two-fold classification forms an extremely interesting study.

While it is not difficult to realize the author's preference for the later heroines (and it is they who shine brightest among those analysed), the heroines of every period have been given their due importance. Not many among the critics of Tagore have succeeded in giving us such a deep yet objective study of heroines like Binodini, Lolita, Hemnalini, Urmimāla, Ela, Damini, Bimala,

Sohini and many others or such an interesting study in the transformation of the same character in accordance with the changing times (as for example, the transformation of Bibha from the mute sufferer of *Bau Thakuranir Hat* to the braver soul of *Prayaschitta* and the heroic lady of *Paritran*).

But after all is said and done, are the heroines of Tagore no more than mere products of their age? What about the transcendental touch which makes them stand out as universal figures, that light that never was on sea or land, with which Tagore touches them all, making them unforgettable and immortal? Can any study of Tagore's creations, heroines or otherwise, be complete without referring to this aspect?

Because the work claims to be a comprehensive study of all of Tagore's heroines, one notices certain omissions. The honest, fearless mother of Satyakam (*Brahman*), Mallika of *Bisarjan*, Manorama of *Gora*, *Ahalya*, and the shrewd Khiree of *Lakshmir Pariksha*, who deserve mention, however brief, seem to have escaped the author's notice.

The work would have been more objective if the author had not tried to dictate the probable solutions and conclusions (specially those relating to love and marriage) left untold by Tagore. When the probability of more than one conclusion has been granted by Tagore himself it is hardly for the author to state categorically that the sannyasi of *Ghater Katha* could not have been Kusum's husband; that Ramesh and Hemnalini could never have been married; that Malini had no love for Supriya or that Sucharita actively 'chooses' Gora as her life's partner.

It would also have been neater if instead of referring to the same work by different names in different places the author had stuck to the original titles alone. For example the use of three titles 'Curse at Farewell', 'Biday Abhishap' and 'Kacha and Devyani' in three different places appears to be a trifle clumsy.

The work can certainly be classed as a successful, if not remarkable, achievement in the field of Tagore scholarship. In addition to the valuable critical analyses of the 228 heroines, it gives us, as no other single work on Tagore, a panoramic view of Tagore's world of creation. The two appendices are likely to be of special benefit to students. It is indeed a welcome and original addition to the history of literary criticism.

Swapna Datta

The Journal of Social Issues, April, 1968. Vol. XXIV. No. 2. Issued by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Annual Subscription \$ 9.00, single copy \$ 2.25.

This special issue of the Journal of Social Issues is devoted to social psychological research in developing countries. There is an introduction by Robert Hefner and John DeLamater, and 18 papers, followed by concluding remarks, biographical sketches, abstracts, etc.

The papers were presented in the conference held in Ibadan from December, 1966 to January, 1967. They have been divided into four sections as follows: Potential Contributions of Social Psychological Research in Developing Countries; Motivational Aspects of Technological Development; Problems of Education and Diffusion of Knowledge; The Organization of Research in Developing Countries; Issues and Potential Solutions. As the Ibadan Conference was held in two languages, English and French, each paper presented in the volume is followed by a resume in French.

In trying to explain the relevance of Social Psychology to questions relating to development, the editors have said: 'The potential relevance of a social psychological perspective to problems of national development is perhaps obvious. In particular, social psychology is unique in possessing concepts and methods which attempt to deal with social environment—institutions, organizations and group influences—and the individual. There is a tendency for other social sciences to focus primarily on macro-social problems, such as relations between institutions, consistency or inconsistency in widely-held values, etc. Social psychology, on the other hand, can deal with macro-social issues, and especially the impact of the macro-processes which constitute development on individuals in the society.' (p. 2)

We welcome the publication, and hope that many of the papers will lead to a fuller appreciation of problems connected with national development. It should open up new lines of research and perhaps also lead to a greater co-ordination between various branches of social science in India.

N. K. Bose

Applied Anthropology in India (Principles, Problems and Case Studies). Edited by L. P. Vidyarthi. Pp. xviii+543. 1969. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Rs. 20.00.

Some of the 36 papers collected here were previously published in various journals; but they have been collected together in the volume under review because they present many relevant useful facts on the subject of applied anthropology. The editor has furnished a learned introduction and grouped the papers under four broad headings, namely, Principles and Concepts, Approaches and Problems, Agencies and Case Studies and, lastly, Applied Physical Anthropology.

The range covered is thus wide: and some of the papers are from the pen of such distinguished authors as Professor Sol Tax or the late D. N. Majumdar of Lucknow.

We are confident that the book will prove useful to anthropologists and social workers in India. It should also be welcomed by university students of sociology and anthropology who will be able to gain an idea as to what Action Anthropology and Applied Anthropology actually stand for.

N. K. Bose

Relevés de monuments anciens du nord Viet-nam, par Louis Bezacier. Paris—Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient—1959.

This album of Ancient Monuments of North Viet-nam is number VI of a special series: 'Collection of Texts and Documents', published by the French School of Far Eastern Studies. It is a set of eighty-five plates (21 × 30 cm.), many of them double size, so that the album has over 125 pages. The author had a more ambitious plan, but the outbreak of hostilities in Viet-nam forced him to curtail his original project. He hopes however to publish a manual of Viet-nam Art and Archaeology at some later time. Meanwhile he offers us this album of 85 plates; line drawings of 55 temples (mostly Buddhist), that is, sketches, ground plans, sections, elevations, perspectives, adding the scale and measurements of these various monuments and two maps.

This publication will be of interest particularly to those engaged in the comparative study of Eastern religions and their architectural styles. One will naturally compare the Viet-nam temples with those of India, China, Japan etc. When the author's projected book will be available the full value of the present album will be appreciated. The introductory fascicle of XVI pages, comprising preface and table of contents gives the reader helpful indications.

F. E.

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Articles should also be accompanied by an abstract of the paper covering not more than 10 lines. Contributors are also requested to type their official designation and personal addresses at the foot of the first page of the typescript.

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Annual Subscription :

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