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Nirmal Kumar Bose

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N. C. Sarkar

Manager, Man in India Office,

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

Bihar, India.

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CLASS AND CASTE*

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Abstract : A comparison has been made between the concepts of class as used by Weber and Marx, the finding being that the two used the term in two different ways. The concept of *Varna* is then examined, and it is suggested that it was an *ideal* system used to bring order in a society which was the result of co-mingling of many *jatis* or castes.

Weber and Marx on Class

IT is perhaps necessary to draw a distinction between the way in which Weber and Marx have used the term c l a s s.

Weber tried to discover by means of comparison and analysis how some societies were actually stratified into classes. One part of a community might be distinguished from another by differences in the level of consumption, in the distribution of economic or political power, or in some other way. After having examined various ways in which classes were marked off from one another, and also how they had evolved in course of time, Weber tried to find out a suitable definition of the term c l a s s, so that the widest range of observed phenomena might be covered under it with precision.

By contrast, the intention of Marx was something more than a scientific description of a particular kind of social

* Based on remarks made during Dr. Andre Beteille's lecture on 'The Concept of Class in Social Anthropology' at the Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta, on 1st July, 1965. Reprinted from *The Economic Weekly* of 28 August, 1965.

phenomenon. After having examined the history of many societies, he came to the conclusion that all of them were divided into privileged and un-privileged classes ; although the dividing line might be obscure in many cases. The *real* difference between classes lay in the manner in which one class laboured and produced wealth, while another, which exercised private rights of ownership over the means of production, lived more or less on the toils of the labourers.

In their own time, Proudhon, Tolstoy and Gandhi also held that, all over the world, men were divided into those who toiled, and the rest who lived on the toils of others, and were therefore thieves. (For Gandhi see Bose 1962a, pp. 1-125.)

It is interesting that the *ideal* distinction of Marx, Tolstoy or Gandhi into producers and non-producers is never neatly defined. There may be a hundred ways in which the dividing line is rendered obscure. Even labourers may be divided into sub-classes, distinguishable from one another by the proportion between what they produce and what they consume, or by the power which they exercise over their fellow men, which helps them in gathering for their own interest and use, varying fractions of the surplus value produced by the toilers. In addition, the same sub-class may function as 'exploiter' in relation to one below it, and 'exploited' in relation to another above it.

According to Marx, it is this indistinctness which is responsible, to some extent, for the persistence of many of these stratified societies all over the world. This is true as much of the present age as of the past. Marx saw through, or he felt that he saw through, this camouflage placed over *basic* and *real* class differences. His reading of history led him to the conclusion that progress has taken place through a succession of class conflicts. Every conflict does not necessarily lead to a victory of the labouring section of mankind ; but it may be guided to that end. At least, that was the view strongly held by Lenin who thought that the moral responsibility of this leadership lies with the Party which truly represents the interests of the proletariat.

Both Marx and Lenin therefore held that anything which

masks *real* class contradictions should be unmasked, class consciousness accentuated, so that class conflicts may come nearer home. Indeed, even defeats are not useless. Every conflict can, at least, be utilized for augmenting class consciousness by laying bare the involved contradictions. This line of action has to be intelligently pursued, and with determination ; because it leads to a shortening of the process of progressive evolution which is already taking place in human history. The revolutionist's task is to render the process of social change more economical and more efficient. He thus helps consciously and participates actively in the process of 'natural' change. The polarity of interests has to be heightened by him before progress can take place with rapidity, as it ought to, in the present age of science.

Marx was thus not so much interested in *describing* what was happening in the world. This he did occasionally ; and then he played the role of a social philosopher rather than that of a revolutionist in action. For him, the primary duty of a philosopher is not merely *to understand*, but *to change*. Marx thus used the concept of class as an operational instrument rather than as a descriptive term which would cover a wide range of camouflaged and un-camouflaged class antagonisms.

It is therefore not fair to say that Marx now and then contradicted himself in his use of the term class. To say that Weber is logically more consistent, and thus an improvement upon Marx is also not quite correct. One was interested in classifying social phenomena, the other in fashioning an intellectual concept which would pierce through obscurities, and serve as a tool of action. In the use of the same term, Marx and Weber thus stood widely apart from one another.

Caste : The Four Orders

It is possible to look upon the Indian concept of *Varna* in the same manner as Marx's c l a s s, i e. as an instrument of social reorganization rather than as a description of historical facts.

The Brahminical peoples were confronted in the past by the presence of many communities with whom they came into

contact either in peace or in war. Such communities were frequently marked off from the Vedic peoples by sharp contrasts of language, beliefs or social customs. Brahmins had already developed a system of preserving the text of the Vedas by relegating sections of it to the keeping of specific lineages. This system had worked perfectly, and it can be imagined that its success led them to experiment with the pattern in the economic reorganization of society as well.

The rule was established that separate communities or *jatis* should be in charge of separate technological processes, or of services like priestcraft, trade, defence, and so on. They were theoretically to be in enjoyment of monopoly in respect of their allotted function in each regionally distinct area ; and there was to be *no competition* between such groups. Yet, a sufficient amount of resilience was introduced into the system by means of 'alternative rules', or *apad-dharma*, from fairly early times. Manu has recorded this elaborately in his *Institutes* (X, 74 ff-).

Legislators like Manu had, in their time, to examine the situation arising out of the economic and social mingling of many *jatis*. Some of these were evidently of foreign origin ; while others arose out of progressive differentiation of occupations, and also as a few among them tried to climb in social status by concealing their birth and adopting the ways of castes 'superior' to them. (See, for instance, *Mahabharata*, *Shanti-parvan*, ch. 65.) In order to bring a system into this chance agglomeration of *jatis*, social legislators tried to reduce them *ideally* into a scheme in which only four *Varnas* were recognized.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that the classification into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra was not confined to the world of men. Soils, temples, gems, gods and even the stars were actually classified into the same four Orders. (See Bose 1962b, 45-47 ; Tagore 1879.)

Manu believed in the possibility of transmission of character-types from parents to children ; and he also held that a person or a community or *jati* eventually drifts into the occupation for which it is temperamentally equipped by heredity. If the origin of a *jati* is not known, it can be found out by reference

to the ideal order in which the Brahmin is contemplative, selfless, devoted to learning ; the Kshatriya is fond of fighting or ruling ; the Vaishya interested in trade, and the Sudra in service. By applying this four-fold scheme, he claimed to find out the origin of every *jati* ; and then he assigned each to one or other of the four *Varnas* by means of some other rules.

The *Manu Samhita* in its present form is considered to have been written between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.* The following quotations illustrating Manu's Theory of Heredity are from Sir William Jones' translation entitled '*The Institutes of Manu according to the Gloss of Kulluka*' (Calcutta, 1794).

IX. 31. Learn now that excellent law, universally salutary, which was declared, concerning issue, by great and good sages formerly born.

IX. 33. The woman is considered in law as the field, and the man as the grain : now vegetable bodies are formed by the united operation of the seed and the field.

IX 34. In some cases the prolifick power of the male is chiefly distinguished ; in others, the receptacle of the female : but, when both are equal in dignity, the offspring is most highly esteemed :

IX. 37. Certainly this earth is called the primeval womb of many beings ; but the seed exhibits not in its vegetation any properties of the womb.

IX. 38. On earth here below, even in the same ploughed field, seeds of many different forms, having been sown by husbandmen in the proper season, vegetate according to their nature :

IX. 40. That one plant should be sown, and another produced, cannot happen : whatever seed may be sown, even that produces its proper stem.

X. 69. As good grain, springing from good soil, is in all respects excellent, thus a man, springing from a respectable father by a respectable mother, has a claim to the whole institution of the twiceborn.

* Kane, P. V. : *History of Dharmasastras*, vol. 3, p. xvii.

X. 70. Some sages give a preference to the grain ; others to the field ; and others consider both field and grain ; on this point the decision follows :

X. 71. Grain, cast into bad ground, wholly perishes, and a good field with no grain sown in it, is a more heap of clods ;

X. 72. But since, by the virtue of eminent fathers, even the sons of wild animals, as Rishyasringa, *and others*, have been transformed into holy men revered and extolled, the paternal side, therefore, prevails.

X. 59. Whether a man of debased birth assume the character of his father or of his mother, he can at no time conceal his origin :

X. 60. He, whose family had been exalted, but whose parents were criminal in marrying, has a base nature, according as the offence *of his mother* was great or small.

X. 8. From a *Brahmen*, on a wife of the *Vaisya* class is born a son called *Ambastha*, or *Vaidya*, on a *Sudra* wife a *Nishada*, named also *Parasava*.

X. 9. From a *Kshatriya*, on a wife of the *Sudra* class springs a creature, called *Ugra*, with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts.

X. 40. These, among various mixed classes, have been described by their several fathers and mothers ; and whether concealed or open, they may be known by their occupations.

By such rules, the people of Bengal became divided into two Orders, namely, Brahmin and Sudra, although there are numerous *jatis* or castes among them. In other parts of India, all four Orders are present ; and this is how many *jatis* became federated into an *ideal* system invented by Brahmin genius.

Class and Caste

Many authors have described caste as one variety of the class system. There is no doubt that Brahminical communities reserved for themselves a position of privilege in society, while the work by means of which people lived was relegated to the 'lower' Orders. Caste was thus class ; and this is a fact which has been emphasized by many historians in the past, as well

as by sociologists like Bhupendra Nath Datta, M. N. Srinivas and Narmadeshwar Prasad in more recent times.

We must, however, remember the fact that class antagonisms within the caste system failed to generate a sufficient measure of opposition and revolt among the subordinated communities. Narmadeshwar Prasad has tried to account for this by saying that the Brahmins successfully prevented reaction and revolt by the creation of a widespread 'myth' about their own holiness and infallibility ; by a belief in the Law of Karma and transmigration of the soul, and so on. M. N. Srinivas is of opinion that the concern and value attached to ritual purity is so deep-seated among Hindus, and the belief in Karma so pervasive, that both the privileged and un-privileged remain content with the status and role into which they have been born. So much so that there is no desire to rise and revolt against gross inequality.

Srinivas also says that the 'upper' classes have succeeded in maintaining their positions of advantage, not only by extensive indoctrination of the 'lower', but also by usurping positions of authority in other ways. In the past, they did so by ownership of land and an alignment with the ruling powers. In the present age, the same upper castes have taken advantage of modern education, and progressively 'westernized' themselves so as to join the ranks of the new ruling class. This they do by joining the administrative services, or by alliance with one or other of the political parties as they rise into power. The 'upper' castes have thus adapted themselves to change, and still form the upper class ; while those who are below, because of poverty, lack of education and social subordination, retain their attachment to caste's ancient values, and prefer to raise themselves in rank by 'sanskritization' instead of by 'secularization' or 'westernization.'

In the opinion of the present author, however, these hypotheses as explanations of the continuity of caste through the ages in spite of political or cultural upheavals, do not appear to be wholly adequate. In caste, there are several other elements which help in creating a *positive* sense of loyalty among the subordinated classes, even when some of them know

that they are suppressed. These possible causes are enumerated below :

(1) In an economy of relative scarcity, particularly when there were swift changes of rulers, the rules of caste were devised in a manner so that various communal groups were woven together into a network of mutual interdependence.

(2) Competition was positively discouraged. An artisan or priest could seek the protection of the king, or of the local college of Brahmins, or even of the caste- or village-panchayat if he were threatened by competition by any one who infringed upon his preserves.

(3) Each caste was left free to pursue its specific regional or communal customs in an atmosphere of comparative freedom and equality. In other words, cultural autonomy was thus guaranteed to each of the federated communities.

(4) If class differences brought about a growing inequality of income, as they were likely to do, the evils of increasing polarization could be offset by the custom of 'conspicuous expenditure'. Any one who spent lavishly in beneficent acts, or even in sheer exhibitionism, was applauded more than one who hoarded. A practice was likewise built up in connexion with birth, marriage and funerary ceremonies in which even the poorest householder had to make gifts to priests, scholars and the indigent. The more lavishly one spent, even by incurring debts, the more approbation one received.

These elements in the culture of the people mitigated, but did not obliterate, the evils and strains resulting from class differences within the caste system. And, it is the belief of the present author, that it is this fact, which might either be labelled as a camouflage or a conscious limitation of the growing ills of caste's productive system, which prevented the progressive polarization of class differences. The latter could have led to class war in India ; but actually did not, on account of the various safeguards thus built into the social structure.

Marxian Class and Caste

According to the Marxian way of thinking, this ingenious system helped the Brahmin-Kshatriya or upper class leadership

to preserve itself in tact through centuries. This was achieved by not allowing the contradictions in the distribution of power between class and class to develop as it did in the West.

The contradiction between technological progress and growth of population could not, however, be solved by this ingenuity. People remained poor, famine was followed by famine ; and caste persisted because it gave a feeling of security even under the most straitened circumstances. Under the exigency of famine or natural calamity, people turned either to their joint families, or their own kinsmen or castemen for protection and support. Ancient governments were frequently powerless to cope with such calamities, except by an extensive system of doles or gifts.

The remedy, according to the Marxian, lies in tearing aside the arrangements in the superstructure of caste which prevent the 'natural' sharpening of class antagonisms. That alone can prepare the ground for an already belated class conflict, which will inevitably lead to the victory of the organized proletariat under the guidance of the True Party.

Comments

It is not our purpose in the present paper either to find fault with the Marxian view-point, or show up its differences with the Gandhian method of bringing about social change through constructive work and *satyagraha*, to which the author is personally committed. We have only tried to present the Marxian view-point with regard to caste as faithfully as possible.

But the conclusion to which we arrive is that, the latter is as much an idealistic system, an instrument of social reorganization as the Indian system of four *Varnas* happened to be in the past. One may, of course, claim that Marx worked for 'human emancipation', while Manu worked for preserving the rights and privileges of Brahmins. That is, however, a point which can be questioned and modified from the social historian's point of view. But we need not indulge in that exercise for the present.

The point which we have been trying to build up is that c l a s s in the Marxian sense is an intellectual instrument of action, and not a pure description of social phenomena into which Weber tried to convert it.

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A CASE OF ABSENCE OF CONFLICT : THE HILL MARIA GONDS OF BASTAR[1]

EDWARD J. JAY

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Abstract : Factionalism, parties, and numerous disputes characterize life in much of rural India ; but an isolated tribal people, the Hill Maria Gonds of Bastar, display a singular lack of conflict. Minor disputes concerning violations of etiquette, alleged misuse of authority, failure to complete bride-price payments, and alleged witchcraft occasionally occur, but these are mild, infrequent, and ephemeral. Such minor disputes are inevitable in every society, but severe conflict will not occur where certain economic, structural, and psychological conditions are absent.

Introduction

THIS paper will deal with the relative absence of conflict in a Hill Maria Gond village of Bastar, Madhya Pradesh. Although minor disputes occasionally arise in the community, the socio-cultural picture is striking because of the lack of deep-seated schisms and antagonisms. First I shall provide some comparative data to indicate the relative tranquility of the Hill Marias compared to other Gonds in Bastar. The second task is to describe relevant aspects of demography. Thirdly, a few examples of the types of disputes that *do* arise among the Hill Marias will be presented, along with the manner of resolution. And finally some observations will be made relative to the general lack of conflict and aggressive behaviour.

The Gonds of Bastar

The Gonds of Bastar at the time of this study (1958-60)

The author is Assistant Professor of Anthropology, California State College at Hayward. His personal address is 5556 Claremont Ave. Oakland, Calif 94618. U. S. A.

numbered approximately 400,000 persons, of whom only 12,000 were Hill Marias. The Hill Marias occupy the Abujhmar Hill area of the west-central portion of the district and were studied previously in the 1930's by W. V. Grigson, the British administrator of the district (Grigson 1938). The Bison-horn Marias of south Bastar were also studied by Grigson, and now number almost 200,000 persons. The third important Gond group is that of the so-called Ghotul Muria of north Bastar, studied by Elwin, with a population of about 120,000. The remaining 70,000 or so Gonds are composed of numerous smaller groups, the precise ethnography of which is still unclear.[2] Confining our attention to the Muria and the two Maria groups, many cultural continuities can be observed among them, although there are also important differences. The Ghotul Muria and the Hill Maria speak very similar dialects of Gondi, while that of the Bison-horn Marias is quite different, and almost unintelligible to the speakers of the former.

The Muria have an elaborate adolescent dormitory (*ghotul*) attended by both males and females. The Hill Maria dormitory is restricted to males. The dormitory institution is absent altogether among the Bison-horn Marias. The latter are the most 'peasant-like' of the three groups, participating in pervasive interaction with the surrounding society, practising plough agriculture almost exclusively, and maintaining permanent individual rights in the land.

Demography and Social Pathology

It is significant that the crime rate and the suicide rate are higher among the Bison-horn Maria than among the other two groups. Elwin (1943 : 37-41) gathered data on homicide and suicide which showed a rate of seven homicides annually per 100,000 population for the Bison-Horn Marias as compared to a rate of two for the Muria during the ten-year period, 1931 through 1940. The rate for other Bastar populations was about three and one-third per 100,000 during the same period. The figures for suicide were comparatively higher for the Bison-horn Marias. Murder and suicide among the Hill Marias is

practically nil. Elwin's analysis of the situation tends to be superficial on the whole, but it does seem as though the high figures for the Bison-horn Marias are related to greater acculturation stresses and the competition for land and status.

The lack of serious crimes, suicides, and other indices of conflict and social disorganization among the Hill Marias suggests a relatively stable, highly integrated social system and this is in fact what we find. The Hill Maria are the most physically and socially isolated of the Gond groups in Bastar; their population density is lowest, their land situation the most favorable. Swidden is the dominant form of cultivation, and permanent rights to the land are absent except in relation to the small quantities of rice-land which are cultivated with the plough in river valleys. Members of a few other groups live in the hills: DISTILLERS (Kallār), occasional Muslim merchants (Musalmān), BLACKSMITHS (Wāḍē or Ḷohār), COWHERDS (Rāwat or Kopāl), ORNAMENT-MAKERS (Ghāsiā), and a few others. But the number of such persons is small, and although the concept of caste is present, it is unimportant functionally. Most of the villagers shift location periodically; the male members of a village are mostly of one partri-clan, and the average size of a village is only fifty persons. Differences of wealth among the families is slight and even in the relatively large more or less permanent village, which I studied, there was an ethic of equality, and there were institutionalized means of levelling those economic differences that did develop.

Settling Disputes

In this ecological and demographic situation, few disputes of the sort found in most Indian villages develop : disputes over land, the partition of joint family property, conflicts between factions and parties, and those between landlord and tenant. Some disputes do occur, however, though these are rarely intense or lasting. The following are a few typical examples.

Violations of Etiquette

The fermented juice of the sago-palm (*gogā* or *salphī*) is

much valued as an intoxicant, and occasionally is the basis of a minor argument. On one occasion a man was caught sampling the juice at a tree before others arrived for a late-afternoon drink. His cousin discovered him in this breach of etiquette and abused him. When the other men arrived, they fined both the disputants because they refused to stop quarreling. It was stated that both men were misbehaving because of the way they were carrying on, but that the first man was more to blame since he started the whole affair. Hence he was fined one rupee and the second man was fined eight annas. The money was later used to buy every one present some *dārango*, or distilled liquor. After every one had a drink, the cousins joked with each other and were reconciled.

On another occasion, a villager was caught urinating too close to a sago-palm and the others decided after some argument that he should bring a fowl next time, which was then killed and eaten by the drinking group.

Alleged Misuse of Authority

The village headman, or Patel, was often the target of verbal attack whenever he tried to overstep his authority in any way. On one occasion, a number of unmarried youths carried on a long dispute with the headman because he allegedly charged too much money for *dārango* produced in the village distillery. During this time the youths boycotted the distillery and walked six miles to Dhanora to buy liquor there. After the headman threatened to resign, however, he was supported by most of the village elders, and things returned to normal.

Another dispute with the headman occurred when the latter reprimanded a member of his clan for being absent from a ceremony for no good reason. The argument became heated and the two men supposedly slapped one another. This encounter occurred in another village during the spring festival there and never was formally resolved, but there was no lasting enmity between the men, at least, on the surface. On such occasions, the headman often calls on the other village elders for support, and typically threatens to resign even though the position is hereditary.

Bride-price

Arguments between affines over bride-price payments (*molā-hīanā*) sometimes occur. On one occasion, I witnessed a long and heated argument between Waddi Gumo and a number of men from the Usendi clan. The latter asked why he had never given them a pig as part of the *molā hīanā* for his wife, Bairi. He retorted that she had never given him any children, even though they had been married many years. Her clansmen said, 'That is no excuse. Look, we have brought a girl to the village for Chamaru and paid Rs. 100. Suppose she comes and dies after a few days. Then what can we do ?' Finally, Gumo, much annoyed, went home to get a pig and the Usendi men suddenly seemed much embarrased. They yelled to him that they were only joking and he need not bring a pig, perhaps a fowl and a pot of *dārango* would be enough ; but he went and got a small pig and killed it. Behind his back the Usendis later mocked him by saying that they hoped he did not put himself out too much in giving such a 'big' pig.

Witchcraft accusations are occasionally made when an unexpected death occurs or crops do not do well. Usually such accusations are directed vaguely outside of the community, but occasionally a fellow villager is accused. One instance witnessed by the writer was the accusation of an elderly widow who lived with her grown-up son and other relatives in a large and relatively prosperous household. She supposedly caused illness in the village, and when she refused to put her hand into hot water and dung as a test, the village elders concluded that she was a witch. Far from beating her and driving her out of the village, the stated punishment in such cases, they merely fined her son five rupees and told him to make sure that his mother did not do anything wrong in the future. Especially, he should make her stay home and mind her own business instead of poking into other people's affairs as she was wont to do.

Implications

In general, these disputes and others of the same *genre* are not vitriolic or bitter. Even the relatively serious crime of

witchcraft was handled with moderation and did not result in a permanent split in the community. Witchcraft accusations are much less frequent among the Hill Marias than among other Gonds in the area, and although Grigson describes a murder allegedly relating to witchcraft, such events are obviously infrequent. In most instances, witchcraft is a kind of 'scapegoat', providing an outlet for frustration resulting from mishaps by projecting the blame into hostility or envy among unknown persons in other villages. Sometimes, however, a witchcraft accusation is used within the community as a form of social control, as in the case just described.

Every observer who has travelled in the Abujhmar area, from the nineteenth century onwards has remarked about the peacefulness and good nature of the Hill Marias and the lack of any sort of warfare traditions. My own observations confirm this. The Hill Marias are singularly unaggressive. The disputes that do occur are infrequent and almost ludicrous in tone. Some appear to be caused by personality incompatibilities, and lack a structural basis. It should also be noted in this regard that divorce, though easy, is extremely rare. Friction between husband and wife and between other members of a family does occur, but again my general impression is that it is less common than for other Gonds or for Indian peasants generally.

Summary and Conclusion

The determinants of conflict in folk societies are many; but LeVine (1961 : 3-15) has provided us with a convenient summary under three general headings : economic, structural, and psychological. Among causes in the first category he lists such factors as competition for land, prestige goods, and employment opportunities. Among the Marias, economic competition, although not completely absent, is at a minimum. The dominant ethic is one of co-operation among kinsmen, and such economic differences as do appear are levelled by socio-religious mechanisms that I do not have space to consider here.

Among structural bases for conflict, LeVine suggests demographic variables such as sheer proximity and crowding,

and role or status ambiguity. I have already pointed out that up until 1960, at least, the population of the Abujhmar was sparse and contact among villages relatively rare. As fo status and roles, some conflict with the Patel of Orcha probably based on his growing prestige and authority was noted, but as yet this is embryonic and has not divided the community into any sort of permanent groupings.

LeVine's residual 'psychological' heading stresses such factors as childhood training which encourages aggression, and adult stresses and frustrations other than those arising from competition over scarce resources. Here sexual frustration, and frustration resulting from changed circumstances of life, such as those in acculturation situations, are suggested. The Hill Maria up to the time of this study, at least, were not involved in any sort of rapid acculturation process. Such culture change as does occur is slow, selective, and non-traumatic. Attitudes toward sex are permissive. Pre-marital and certain types of extra-marital sexual relation are allowed, and it is doubtful if sexual frustration is present to any degree. Children are not trained to be aggressive. Fairly early discipline is imposed on girls, however, as they must help the adult members of the household at a much younger age than boys. Some friction was noted between parents and daughters, but severe or persistent aggression certainly was not present.

The Hill Maria situation leads to the reflection that although personality friction, arguments and disputes of various kinds appear to be inevitable in every society, more deep-seated conflict and hostility of an enduring nature do not seem inevitable. The absence of severe conflict among the Marias may be almost unique in India. But the overall ecological and social situation is also virtually unique.

NOTES

[1]This paper results from research undertaken from November 1958 to June 1960 on a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship. A draft version was read at the annual meetings of the South-west Anthropological Association in April, 1964.

[2]These figures are estimates based on Banerjee (1956), Census of India (1954), Elwin (1947), and Grigson (1938). The figures in these and other sources vary depending on the classification of various ethnic groups such as 'Jhoria Murias,' 'Dorlas' and 'Koyas', who are sometimes considered to be Gonds and sometimes not. Banerjee's totals also differ from the Census because of a different sorting of the Census slips.

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CHANGES IN THE JOINT FAMILY IN INDIA

MANISHA DASGUPTA

(Received on 18 July 1965)

Abstract : The author examines some of the studies on the joint family of India, and discusses a few methodological questions. Her suggestion is that unless more extensive and accurate synchronic and diachronic (or developmental) studies are made, it would be too risky to frame generalizations about the way in which the joint family has been changing, either structurally or functionally,

Introduction

A careful reading of the discussions on changes in the family system of India, written over the past decade, reveal a basic confusion of issues. Almost all writers are aware of the major bottle-necks besetting analysis of the changing family system, especially when relevant conceptual and theoretical frameworks are still meagre. F. G. Bailey has suggested a framework of Indian joint family structure, which has its tap-roots in Fortes' concept of developmental cycle in domestic groups. Bailey's framework involves three levels of analysis. The first is an analysis of structural form ; the second is a dynamic analysis, which he calls 'repetitive equilibrium' ; and the third level concerns structural change.[1] The usefulness of this 'framework of questions,' as the author puts it, cannot be appreciated unless field-work in different regions of the country is conducted along this line.

Problems of Definition

Although concerned with a structural framework, Bailey recognizes the difficulty of applying this on account of

Mrs. Manisha Dasgupta is a Senior Research Fellow working in the Anthropological Survey of India. Her personal address is 145B, P. G. H. Shah Road, Calcutta-32.

ambiguity of the definition of the joint family itself. This is vitally important, especially when many parts of India show a transitional stage of development involving types such as 'potentially joint'; 'residually joint'; 'potentially nuclear' (Nimkoff 1959); 'unstable joint' (Cohn 1961), 'limb joint family' (Desai 1956), and so on. Although a particular writer may choose his own criteria and formulate his definition of joint family, the following distinctions must be clearly made so that analytical studies by various writers may be profitably compared with one another.

(i) Distinction between an extended family and a joint family.

(ii) Distinction (in the context of joint family) between household family, kinship family and biological family.

(iii) Distinction between the breaking up of a household and the partitioning of joint property and income.

(iv) Distinction between functional joint family and structural joint family.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the above questions of distinction are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In the interests of analytical clarity, 'parameters' or 'variables' in family or kinship studies should be clearly specified. Among these variables (both independent and dependent), a careful selection has to be made so that they can be adequately tested by means of empirical data. Moreover, there is always the problem of encountering 'personal equations' in the act of selection and observation, both from within and from without the system. In a country like India there is in addition the problem of regional variation.

Other Problems

There is a tendency among both foreign and Indian scholars to cite the old Hindu literature of law and scriptures as the basis which idealizes joint family living, with its *Mitakshara* (except in East India), common ancestor worship, respect for age, social and economic security and so on. The literature stresses that the proper performance of family duties was a part of social ethics and of religion itself; therefore the

family supported certain values rooted in the depth of India's traditional culture. It is hard to prove, however, that the *ideal* social norm was ever actually also realized in life. Few scholars have paid attention to the obvious disruptive forces in joint-living even in early times. Furthermore, some scholars often fail to appreciate the extensive influence exercised by changing legal codes upon the family organization. The Hindu Law of Inheritance of 1929, Hindu Woman's Right to Property Act of 1937, the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, and Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill of 1952 were all the result of the changing Indian attitude towards the family, and they have also been important instruments in actually changing the character of the joint family system, although the rate of change may have been rather slow. The permanent and stable character of the joint family of some authors is, therefore, more a fiction than fact.

Very often a necessary relationship between a familial group and the coparcenary rights and obligations among its members is taken for granted; though it does not necessarily have to be so. This possible misunderstanding, it may be noted, arises usually from a failure to distinguish between joint and extended families.[2]

A failure to recognize the phenomenon of 'cultural lag'[3] may similarly lead to conflicting conclusions. An example of this may be given here. B. S. Cohn observes that the Chamars of Senapur have tended to remain in joint families through a drive for 'sanskritization' due to increasing literacy among them.[4] A. D. Ross, on the other hand, gives us the result of several case studies which shows that younger generations, having increasing contact with urban life and education, tend to break away from joint families.[5] If, however, due allowance were made for time-lag during which cultural discordances can work themselves out fully, conclusions about tendencies would attain greater weight.

The relative importance of the different cultural forces that influence the final outcome in a given phase of social change is a matter for serious study. In our present context, exposure of women to education (which may precipitate individualistic outlook), the statutory revisions in the minimum age of

marriage for women, etc., are some of the most active agents in the process of changing the family organization. In India, except in some parts of the South, the prevailing system of exogamous marriage along with change, in the status of women can in itself act as a fissiparous agent in the joint family. These observations may not be immediately pertinent to the study of, say, a family in a remote village in India. However, in the context of the rapid progress of industrialization throughout the country, involving improved transportation and communication, this remoteness is likely to break down progressively.

It is necessary also to pay attention to the importance of caste groupings in the study of the joint family system. The study by William A. Morrison of the changing family system of Badlapur, a Maharashtrian Konkan village in 1952,[6] shows how the degree of economic and social status and cultural traditionalism associated with caste groupings, became important factors in changing family types. The relatively well-off individuals of the upper caste, for example, are first exposed to the increasing opportunities of western education and urbanization. The occupational background of a person, which in rural areas is still largely related to caste, influences in a very subtle way his attitude towards living in the joint family.[7]

Another point which deserves attention is whether or not an attempt to assess the trend of the changing family system in India can be made in the light of inter-personal relationships. This point was first made by K. M. Kapadia.[8] Here the assumption is that the strength of sentiment favouring family solidarity is a contributory factor in the perpetuation of the joint family system. But there seems to be no reliable way of ascertaining (let alone of measuring) the relative weights of such a sentiment in comparison with the extra-sentimental factors fostering the joint family. The point may be expressed in another way. Familial sentiment can be assumed as universal, and thus a constant in all societies involving dissimilar family types. A variable (family type) cannot therefore be explained by a constant (familial sentiment), especially when the model of analysis is one of social change.

Nevertheless, research in the above areas, as suggested by Kapadia, should be encouraged not for the purpose of determining the direction of change, but for a better and more sophisticated understanding of inter-personal relations in the family. Studies, for example, should be undertaken on the changing role of authority in the structurally and functionally changing joint family system.

Several problems are thus involved in the methodology of investigation. Mention may be made of different methods, such as investigation over time, longitudinal investigation, and so on. Raymond Smith's[9] method of developmental cycle may be fruitfully applied to the study of the Indian joint family system. The sociological concept of 'fringe society'[10] with a modified form of folk-urban continuum may also prove useful.

Conclusion

To conclude, it may be stressed that in a country like India, where the peculiar politico-economic pressures of a desired but 'implanted' industrial development do not necessarily accelerate change in social thinking, a social institution like the family has to undergo tensions arising from the gap between the varied ramifications of industrialization and traditionalism. This picture is in sharp contrast to that of Western Europe where social thinking and technical transformation of society were mutually reinforcing. This tension in the Indian situation caused by discordance between ideational and economic life naturally leads to disruption and waste, and it is hard to say how and when 'equilibrium' is eventually going to be established. The coming generations of India may even choose to innovate a structurally nuclear family, retaining at the same time some stabilizing traits of the traditional joint family system. Such a possibility may not be utterly far-fetched, since Morris Axelrod observes that even in the highly urbanized Western city of Detroit there is a remarkable tendency to stress inter-personal relationships among the members of the extended family.[11] There is no reason to believe that the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the family systems of the newly developing

areas of the East are going to be a mere repetition of the past Western pattern. The great emphasis on a quick and forced industrialization in the new developing countries (through both colonial and national governments) may generate entirely new elements in social change, and may lead their social institutions into stages of equilibrium which have not yet been experienced in the history of social change.

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FACTIONS IN KURMIPUR

P. N. Rastogi

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Abstract : The author describes the factions in a village in U.P. He traces the history of how they have grown on account of disputes between persons. Sometimes this has taken the shape of violent physical conflicts, and sometimes of trials of strength between groups marked off from one another by either caste or political party affiliation.

KURMIPUR (a pseudonym) is a village in Gonda District, 6 miles to the west of the small town of Babhnan and about 26 miles to the east of Gonda town in U. P. The population of the village is less than 500. There are 15 castes in all.

The Thakurs possess about hundred acres of land which they mostly cultivate themselves ; although occasionally they give some land to low castes who serve as share-croppers. Among Kurmis four households have got holdings averaging fifteen acres each, while the holdings of others vary from two acres to ten acres. Lonia, Barai, Kahar, Chamar and Raidas have got very little land of their own. They and the poorer Kurmis however cultivate as share-croppers the land belonging to the Brahman ex-zemindars of the neighbouring large village of Pandeypur. Villagers are also apt to supplement their earnings by the occasional purchase and sale of cattle in village fairs. Rice, sugar-cane, wheat and pulses are the main crops.

Pandeypur, a large Brahman village with a population of over 4,000, lies about a mile to the east of Kurmipur. Pandeys, the dominant caste here in terms of land, wealth and education,

Mr. P. N. Rastogi is Lecturer in Sociology, University of Gorakhpur. His personal address is 48/125 General Ganj, Kanpur U. P.

are the ex-zemindars of this village. They profoundly influence the course of events and politics in Kurmipur.

This small village was originally settled by some Thakurs in the first decade of this century. They came from the district of Barabanki, and brought with them a few families belonging to the Chamar, Kahar and Lonia castes. Kurmis came, at a later stage, with the Brahman ex-zemindars of Pandeypur. Thakurs as well as Pandeys were the zemindars here. The power of Thakurs has declined with the passage of time; but Pandeys still exercise a decisive influence over village politics.

Beginnings of Dissension

The first major schism in the social life of this village occurred in 1935 when Thakur zemindars were asked by the Raja of Payar, a Taluqdar of the region, to pay dues on 600 bighas of land hitherto held rent-free by them. The Thakur landholders contended that the land had been granted to them for services rendered by them to the former Raja, and accordingly they were not liable to pay any rent. In the face of a determined and united stand of the Thakurs, the agents of the Raja, who had been sent to collect dues from them, could not even find a place to stay in the village. Being influenced by the Brahman zemindars of Pandeypur, two relatively prominent young inhabitants of the village, a Thakur peasant and a Kurmi peasant R, however, co-operated with the Raja's agents. In a subsequent litigation lasting over three years, the testimony of these two peasants proved to be crucial and the Thakurs lost their case. Their status as zemindars thus came to an end in 1938.

These two young peasants cultivated the land of Brahmans as share-croppers or on lease. They also acted as agents between the Brahman zemindars and others who wanted land for cultivation or loans from the latter. The Thakur peasant had the further advantage of being literate and understanding legal matters and procedures. Accordingly, both were able to acquire a position of leadership in the village.

Growth of Factions

The Thakur zemindars avenged themselves upon the two by getting their crops cut and stolen and barns burned. The latter retaliated and a violent clash between their followers also occurred. This took place between 1939 and 1941. The Thakur power and influence however waned because of internal quarrels and of division of property within their own households. Life in the village remained uneventful for the next six years.

In the meanwhile, tensions developed between the two peasants themselves. The Thakur peasant had borrowed about Rs. 1,500 from the Kurmi, an amount which he was not able to repay. The latter thereupon became unpleasant and insulted the Thakur, who had to surrender about 15 bighas of land after litigation. Retaliatory harm to the crops of each other took place at this stage (1947-50). The Thakur who considered himself of 'superior birth' as compared to a 'low' Kurmi now made peace with the Thakur zemindars on caste grounds and became aligned with them in his antagonism with Kurmi R. Kurmi B, a cousin of R, had also come to dislike him because of the latter's alignment with his real brother who had separated from him after a quarrel between their womenfolk. R had also come to be on antagonistic terms with another Kurmi M, a rich peasant. In the latter's dispute concerning a field with R's brother, R actively sided with his brother and insulted the rich peasant. A violent clash took place in 1955. Under these circumstances, Kurmi B, the son of the Thakur peasant, some men under the Thakur ex-zemindars and the two sons of Kurmi M beat up R severely, broke his finger and dislocated his hand. His crops were also cut and a store of grain-sheafs burned (1956). These episodes occurred shortly after the Thakur peasant became village Pradhan in the second panchayat election held in 1955.

Panchayat Politics

In the first panchayat election of 1950, this village was part of a larger rural constituency. A Kurmi associate of R stood

for the post of Pradhan against a Thakur of a neighbouring village. However, Thakurs and their adherents were not prepared to support him because of caste and of antagonism towards R. Brahman zemindars were also interested in an upper caste's election against a 'low' Kurmi, and their clients in the village were advised accordingly. Under these circumstances the Kurmi withdrew.

The tenure of the first panchayat was quite uneventful. Lack of interest, lack of understanding and lack of co-operation on the part of villagers combined to make its record a very poor one. Although all the faction leaders were elected as members of the panchayat executive, yet little co-operation for development took place.

In the second panchayat election of 1956, the village got a Gram Sabha of its own. On this occasion, R's friend stood as his group's candidate. Owing to the hostility between the Thakur peasant and R, the Thakur also entered the field in order to frustrate R's bid for power. The Thakur was careful to solicit the Thakur ex-zemindar's support on grounds of caste. B and the rich Kurmi peasant M, together with their adherents, supported him because of their enmity towards R. Brahmans were also in favour of the Thakur on account of his being high caste ; R's friend therefore had to withdraw again.

The Thakur's tenure of office was eventful. First of all, he got R beaten and humiliated. As a sequel to this episode, B was sentenced to six month's imprisonment, while the son of the new Pradhan was let off with a fine, and others got the benefit of doubt (1957-58). B perceived in it a betrayal by the Thakur. He had also expectations of monetary gain in this connexion from the Pradhan and the rich Kurmi. Differences between the Pradhan and B afterwards grew over the construction of a well. B wanted a well built for the convenience of the Lonias and Chamars under his influence. The new Pradhan, however, did not oblige B.

The Thakur had his own ideas regarding village improvement. He wanted the construction of a culvert over the low-lying land of the village which had to be negotiated by wading knee-deep during the rains. For this and other

projects, like the paving of roads, he proceeded to recover the arrears of panchayat tax. The biggest defaulters in this respect were the Thakur landholders and B. When he saw no chance of getting money from them by persuasion, he got legal notices served against them. Auction or *Kurki* proceedings were soon started and the standing crops of the defaulters were attached. Kurmi B and the Thakur landholders were fined Rs. 100 and Rs. 300 respectively (1959-60). They ran for help to Pandeypur and a rich ex-zemindar belonging to the Swatantra Party got their fines reduced to the token ones of rupees 1 and 3 only. Later on, it was found that the Pradhan had received a substantial amount from Block authorities for the construction of the culvert, whereas much of the work had been done by voluntary labour. This allegation as well as the hostility of the erstwhile tax-defaulters made the Pradhan quite unpopular and he lost in the third panchayat election.

During the tenure of the second panchayat, disharmony in the village increased. The efforts of the Pradhan for recovery of taxes and construction work made him liable to the charges of misusing public funds.

In the third election of 1961, there were three aspirants for the post of Pradhan, namely, Kurmis R and B and the Thakur. The Pandey ex-zemindar to whom B was obliged on many accounts exerted pressure upon him not to stand but reach a compromise with R for defeating the Thakur, who had become allied to the section opposed to him at Pandeypur. Pandey had other aims in view as well. He hoped to get free low caste labour for working in his scattered fields with the assistance of a grateful local leader. He also believed that a friendly Pradhan would be politically guided by him. Pradhans occupy a key position in the elections at the higher levels of the Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad, the seats of power at the Block and District levels respectively. Hence he strove hard to bring about a compromise between R and B. A younger brother of R, who was a meek individual, was finally accepted by both as a compromise candidate. The contest now took place between R's brother and the ex-Pradhan. The latter lost, but not by a wide margin.

The new Pradhan is a timid person. Out of apprehension, he did not take charge of office for some time and then went out of his way to placate his Thakur opponent. During his tenure, the development activities have been at a standstill and meetings of the panchayat are seldom held. As Pradhan, he has proved to be quite ineffective and his writ does not run. In 1962, B was alleged to have got a theft committed in the house of a neighbouring Kurmi who was aligned with R. Currently (in 1963) a serious dispute between a Teli affiliated to R and B is going on. B halted the construction of the former's house on the ground that it would obstruct the passage of his bullocks. Knowing the Teli to be aligned with R, B has been harrassing him while R has got the Pradhan to give a verdict in the Teli's favour. B has refused to abide by the verdict, beat the Teli up, and the case is even now going on.

The Thakur ex-Pradhan made a new move in 1961. Perceiving the Pandey ex-zemindar R to be at the back of his Kurmi rivals, he has sought affiliation with the factional antagonist of the former, another rich Pandey landholder. Hence, currently, the factionalism at Kurmipur interlocks with that of Pandeypur and the alignments are based on shared antagonisms.

Kurmi B and the former Pradhan and even R are all interested in denigrating the new Pradhan and preparing the ground for their own election during the next term. They perceive the Pradhan's office to be a source of power, profit and prestige in the local political system.

Conclusion

Factionalism in Kurmipur is seen to have a beginning in time. In its persistent and tension-laden course during the last thirty years, it has convulsed the village with episodes of arson, litigation and violence.

At present there are three factions or *guts* in the village, headed by the Thakur peasant, Kurmi R and Kurmi B respectively. Each is referred to by the name of its leader ; and the factions enter into the calculations of villagers even in regard to the conduct of their private affairs.

Factionalism at the village level does not appear to be a localized phenomenon. Its linkage with the external factional groupings of Pandeypur has been noted. As a matter of fact, the network of alliances and understandings extends over a number of villages, and the political forces are also enmeshed in a complicated pattern. Kurmi R has long been associated with the Congress Party, and even went to jail in the 1942 Quit-India Movement. Kurmi B and the Thakur have become recently aligned with the Swatantra and Socialist Parties respectively. They are mostly unfamiliar with the relatively sophisticated idioms of political ideology; they rather view their affiliation to political parties as a device with which to confront the factional strength of their rivals.

Tension-laden activities at Kurmipur thus centre round key individuals in the local social system. Mutual antipathies between them have, in course of time, produced a situation under which factions are likely to continue indefinitely.

KHERWARA : A TOWN IN A TRIBAL SETTING

N. N. VYAS

(Received on 4 May 1965)

Abstract : Kherwara was originally a military cantonment in the heart of the Bhil country in Rajasthan. It has now developed into an administrative and educational centre. The author describes its impact upon the surrounding indigenous population.

KHERWARA is situated on National Highway No. 8 which links Delhi and Ahmedabad. It is 51 miles from Udaipur and 105 miles from Ahmedabad.

Before 1815, Kherwara was an isolated spot inhabited by hardly 50 families of Bhils. It was the seat of the Mewar Bhil Corps and, therefore, only traders and contractors who were connected with the military establishment settled here permanently. Kherwara is now the Tehsil headquarter at the district level, where tribal people of this region come for various official purposes. Its population in 1963 was 5219. The Panchayat Samiti Office was established here in 1959-60. In 1960, the Government Higher Secondary School was opened. As there are various offices, a large number of officials, teachers and clerks now live here with their families.

Panchayat Samiti Kherwara covers 2,68,737 acres of land. Out of this, 2,363 acres of land are irrigated and 63,539 unirrigated. (*Panchayat Raj Ke Badhte Kadam*, Public Relation Office, p. 19.) Here, agriculture cannot provide the basis on which a township of large size can subsist. Kherwara

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The author is Offg. Principal, Tribal Research Institute, Rajasthan. The data for the paper were collected in a study camp of M. A. students (Dept. of Sociology, M. B. College, Udaipur) conducted under his guidance in December, 1963. The data were processed by the author in August, 1964, at the Institute. This paper was read in the Staff Seminar of the Institute. The author is indebted to the Institute for permission to publish this paper. His personal address is 9 Panchavati, II Road, Udaipur, Rajasthan.

thus formerly remained essentially a cantonment area providing restricted economic opportunities. Later on, agriculture had to be encouraged on account of the increasing demands of the cantonment.

Kherwara township, can be divided into four zones.

Military cantonment zone : The old Kherwara and Mewar Bhil Corp area is included in this zone. Before 1815, few Bhil families settled here and later on in 1841 the Mewar Bhil Corps (M. B. C.) was established. Temporary quarters were built for them. This area seems to have been selected because of water facilities and a good open space for parade. By the year 1875, the temporary military quarters were converted into permanent ones. Eight lines of quarters built. A post office and a middle school were established at the end of the 19th century. All round the military area, good roads were also constructed.

Market zone-cum-residential zone : This area includes the market which was developed and encouraged by the M. B. C. Recently a small shopping centre at the bus stand is also emerging. The market area is largely inhabited by migrants who have come from Himmat Nagar, Delhi and also from the neighbouring villages. Immediately after the establishment of the M. B. C., an urgent need for traders was experienced for supplying food to the regiment. Some Agarwal traders of Nisan village (20 miles from Delhi) were induced by eleven Rajput soldiers from villages near Delhi to come and settle here. Chiranji Lal Agarwal of this village was the first trader to accept a contract for the supply of food in 1841. Gradually, Chiranji Lal brought some related families, and their number increased from 8 to 18. They have constructed shop-cum-living houses in two straight lines. None of them purchased land for cultivation, and so far none has also married in Rajasthan.

This is the only zone where trade is centred. It is situated in the heart of the town and is accessible to all office-workers and merchants. Many teachers and other government servants find this place suitable for residential purposes. Trader-owners of these houses let their houses on rent at rates which

are considered exorbitant by the tenants. The bus stand is situated on the main road, where four tea stalls, two betel shops, one cycle shop and two fruit vendors cater to the needs of passengers. A new settlement is emerging in the south and a market is also being developed. 24 buses pass daily through Kherwara towards Ratanpur and Dungarpur.

Administrative zone : This zone consists of government offices, such as, P. W. D. Office, Panchayat Samiti Office, Adivasi Girls' Hostel and Missionary institutions. Some of the senior officers also live in this particular area. All the government offices are located on tops of hills due to lack of plain fields for building.

Zone of rehabilitation : This is the latest of all the zones of the township and is intended to rehabilitate the Adivasi people. Twenty-four quarters have been constructed. This zone lies on the southern side of the market. The new Higher Secondary School building is also located here on the western side of the road.

The natural environment of this area has helped the growth of a cantonment which has influenced the social and economic life of the tribal people. The M. B. C. became a great social force in fostering and disciplining them and providing stability to the region.

With facilities for hostels and higher education, Kherwara has become an educational centre of the tribal region. There are four reasons for this.

Firstly, a middle school was opened here for the first time. Secondly, Kherwara attracts many boys and girls because their kinsmen were employed in the M. B. C. Thirdly, Kherwara as a centre of communication is accessible to all villages by road. Educational facilities in the neighbouring villages exist only up to the primary standard, and after passing the fifth standard, tribal boys and girls come to Kherwara for further studies. Fourthly, Kherwara is the centre of social welfare agencies, tribal welfare agencies, C. D. Project and Missionary institutions which run schools and hostels for tribal boys and girls.

Educational facilities in Kherwara consist of the Government Higher Secondary School, one separate middle school for boys and girls, one separate primary school for boys and one for girls. Besides, there are two girls' hostels, one run by Missionaries and the other by the Social Welfare Department of the state.

In his fifth report for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1955, L. M. Shrikant has some critical comments to make about the girls' hostels in Kherwara : 'There are 19 girls in the hostel (the number of girls in 1963 is 39). They are all Bhil girls, but were putting on North Indian dress. I suggested that the Bhil dress should be in accordance with the local conditions.'

In the Higher Secondry School, 80 Bhil students study in different classes from the sixth to the eleventh standards. The total number of students is 270. Jawahar Chhatravas or hostel is managed by the school, specially for tribal students. On all national festivals, the M. B. C. band is played and also on many occasion the M. B. C. playgrounds are used by the school. Occasionally games are also played between the Higher Secondary School and M. B. C.

It was in 1882 that a Christian Mission began its work here. The cantonment was then under British officers who encouraged their activities. The Mission runs a primary school with 132 inmates and three teachers. This school admits tribal and non-tribal children. In the field of medical facilities, the Mission has a mobile hospital. Such facilities were not available before the Mission started work in the area.

The impact of the Christian Mission should not be judged by the number of converts in the past, but by the total impact on the growth of the township. The number of tribal converts in the last 82 years has not been more than 484. This total, in terms of such a long time, is negligible. But Missionary activities should be seen as a process generating a change towards modernization.

The medical dispensary and veterinary hospitals are some of the major attractions for many tribal people of the surround-

ing villages who often visit them. Economically speaking, the tribal people come from neighbouring villages to Kherwara for making purchases and also for selling their wares. This constitutes one of the major forms of co-operation between traders and tribal people. Administratively speaking, Kherwara also prepares the ground for contact of tribals with non-tribals.

Kherwara is thus performing important functions of a town in two ways : (1) Kherwara being a centre of concentration in the tribal area, influences surrounding villages by extending modern amenities to them. Many surrounding and remote villages like Chhani, Kandal, Sishod, Bilak, Robia, Rajob, Jotri, Boei, Badala, Calana and other which are situated beyond the 3-mile radius serve as consumers of the facilities available in Kherwara.

The contact of neighbouring villages with Kherwara helps the process of exchange and diffusion. Thus Kherwara has become a centre of concentration and diffusion in the tribal area.

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PALM PRINTS OF THE KALITA

RENUKA DAS

&

BHUBAN M. DAS

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Abstract : In this article the palm prints of 30 Kalita males and 84 Kalita females have been described.

Introduction

THE present article deals with the palm prints of the Kalita, who form an important caste of Assam. Palm prints of 90 male and 84 female Kalita were collected in the months of November and December, 1964, from Rangia and its neighbouring villages, situated on the north bank of the Brahmaputra in the district of Kamrup in Assam.

Finger prints and anthropometric characters have also been studied by the present writers. The results have already been reported. (*Man in India*, vol. 45, nos. 2 & 3.)

Analyses have been made in order to find out the main line formulæ, endings of main lines, patterns of thenar, hypothenar, interdigital areas and distribution of axial triradii.

The Data

The frequencies of the different main line formulæ in the two hands of the two sexes are given in Tables 1a and 1b.

The frequencies of some important main line formulæ have been shown in Table 2.

TABLE 1a

Main Line Formulæ

Male (no.=90)

%	Abs. No.	Left Hand	(Left+Right)	Right Hand	Abs. No.	%
3.33	3		7.5″.5′.4		3	3.33
22.22	20		7.5″.5′.3		6	6.66
1.11	1		7.5″.5″.5′		5	5.55
1.11	1		7.9.5″.5′		1	1.11
1.11	1		9.7.5″.5′		4	4.44
11.11	10		9.7.5″.3		5	5.55
1.11	1		9.0.5″.5′		1	1.11
3.33	3		9.9.5″.3		5	5.55
1.11	1		9.7.5″.4		2	2.22
4.44	4		9.9.5″.5′		2	2.22
2.22	2		11.9.7.5′		24	26.66
1.11	1		11.7.7.4		1	1.11
2.22	2		11.9.7.4		2	2.22
2.22	2		11.0.7.5′		2	2.22
2.22	2		11.9.7.3		2	2.22
2.22	2		11(10).9.7.5′		5	5.55
1.11	1		10(9).9.5′.4		1	1.11
3.33	3	7.9.5′.3		9.0.5′.3	1	1.11
1.11	1	9.9.5′.4		9/7.9.5″.5′	1	1.11
2.22	2	9.X.5″.3		11/7.9.7.5″	3	3.33
1.11	1	9.X.5″.5′		11(10).7.7.3	2	2.22
2.22	2	9/7.7.5″.3		11.11.9.3	1	1.11
2.22	2	9/7.0.5″.3		0.9.5″.5′	1	1.11
2.22	2	8/7.5″.5′.3		11.0.9.5′	1	1.11
3.33	3	11.7.7.3		11.11(10).8.5′	1	1.11
1.11	1	11.7.9.5′		9.0.5″.3	1	1.11
1.11	1	11.X.7.5′		11/9.9.7.5′	1	1.11
1.11	1	11(10).7.7.3		11/9.10.8.4	1	1.11
1.11	1	11/7.9.9.3		11(10).9.7.3	3	3.33
1.11	1	9/7.9.5″.4		10.0.9.5′	1	1.11
2.22	2	11.0.7.3				
1.11	1	7.9.5″.3				
1.11	1	10(9).7.5″.3				
2.22	2	9/7.9.5″.3				
1.11	1	11/7.0.7.5′				
1.11	1	7.9.7.5′				
1.11	1	9/7.7.5″.4				
1.11	1	11/7.9.7.3				
1.11	1	9/7.0.7.5′				
1.11	1	10(9).X.5″.4				

TABLE 1b

Main Line Formulæ

Female (no. =84)

%	Abs. No.	Left Hand	(Left+Right)	Right Hand	Abs. No.	%
3.57	3		7.5″.5′.4		1	1.19
1.19	1		7.7.5′.3		1	1.19
13.09	11		7.5″.5′.3		6	7.14
5.95	5		9.7.5″.5″		9	10.71
9.52	8		9.7.5″.3		3	3.57
1.19	1		9.7.5″.4		5	5.95
3.57	3		9.0.5″.5		2	2.38
1.19	1		9.X.5″.3		1	1.19
3.57	3		9/7.9.5″.5′		1	1.19
1.19	1		11.9.7.4		5	5.95
1.19	1	7.9.5′.3		7.5″.5″.5′	4	4.76
2.38	2	7.5″.5″.2		7.0.5′.3	1	1.19
1.19	1	7.9.8.5′		7.X.5′.3	1	1.19
1.19	1	7.5″.4.3		9/7.8.5″.5′	1	1.19
1.19	1	7.X.7.5′		10.9.6.5″	1	1.19
1.19	1	7.0.5″.5′		10.9.9.3	1	1.19
1.19	1	9.9.5″.3		11.7.9.5′	1	1.19
2.38	2	8(7).5″.5″.3		11.8.10.5′	1	1.19
4.76	4	9.9.5′.4		11.9.7.3	3	3.57
3.57	3	9.0.5′.3		11.0.7.5′	4	4.76
3.57	3	9.X.5″.5″		11.9.X.5′	1	1.19
1.19	1	9/7.0.5′.4		11.X.8.5′	1	1.19
1.19	1	9/7.7.5″.5′		11(10).7.7.3	1	1.19
1.19	1	9/7.7.5″.3		11(10).9.7.5′	2	2.38
5.95	5	11.7.7.3		8.7.5″.5′	1	1.19
1.19	1	9/7.9.5′.2		11(10).X.7.5′	1	1.19
1.19	1	11.7.9.5″		10.9.8.5′	1	1.19
2.38	2	11.7.7.4		9/7.8.5″.5′	1	1.19
2.38	2	11.0.7.4				
1.19	1	11/7.9.7.4				
1.19	1	10.7.6.4				
1.19	1	10.0.5″.3				
1.19	1	0.7.5″.5′				
1.19	1	7.0.5″.5′				
1.19	1	9.9.5″.3				

TABLE 2

Frequency of some important main line formulæ

	Male (no.=90)						Female (no.=84)					
	Left		Right		Total		Left		Right		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
11.9.7—	6	6.66	28	31.11	34	18.88	7	8.33	30	35.71	37	22.02
11.7.7—	4	4.44	1	1.11	5	2.77	6	7.14	—	—	6	3.57
9.7.5—	18	20.00	11	12.22	29	16.11	14	16.66	17	20.23	31	18.45
9.9.5—	8	8.88	7	7.77	15	8.33	5	5.95	—	—	5	2.97
9.0.5—	1	1.11	3	3.33	4	2.22	6	7.14	2	2.38	8	4.76
7.5.5—	26	28.88	14	15.55	40	22.22	16	19.04	11	13.09	27	16.07

It appears from Table 2 that the main line formula 11.9.7— occurs in the highest percentage (22.02%) in the females. It is followed by the formula 9.7.5—(18.45%), which is again followed by 7.5 5—(16.07%). On the other hand, the formula 7.7.5— occurs in the highest percentage (22.22%) in the males. The formula 11.9.7—occurs in the next highest percentage (18.88%). It is followed by 9.7.5—(16.11%).

On analyses of the endings of main line formulæ, it appears that in the females, line D ends in 11 in 33.92%, in 9 in 29.16% and in 7 in 21.42%, while in the males it ends in 11,9,7 in 26.66%, 25.55% and 25.00% respectively. Line C ends in the females in 9 in 32.73%, in 7 in 30 35%, and in 5 in 17.85%, while in the males it ends in 41.66%, 23.33% and 21.11% in 9, 5 and 7 respectively. It is abortive (X) in 7.14% and 3.33% in the females and males respectively. It is absent (0) in 8.33% of the males and 10.71% of the females. Line B ends in the males in 5 in 60.55% and in 7 in 36.11%, while in the females it ends in 5 in 56.54% and in 7 in 35.11%. Line A ends in the females in 5 in 50.00%, in 3 in 32.73% and in 4 in 15.47%, while in the males it ends in 3 in 48.88%, in 5 in 38.88% and in 4 in 12.22%. Thus there appears a general agreement between the two sexes in respect of endings of the lines D and B. The two sexes appear to differ in respect of C and A lines.

As regards the hypothenar area, in both the sexes the most dominating pattern is arch. Radial loops occur in higher percentage in the males (11.11%) than in the females (3.57%), while ulnar loops occur in almost equal frequencies in the

males (5.00%) and in the females (6.54%). Open fields (O) also occur in 8.33% and 13.33% in the females and the males respectively.

In most of the cases of both the sexes, there are no indications of patterns or vestiges on the thenar and I interdigital area. Loops are seen in 3.57% in the females and 4.44% in the males. Whorl is rare.

As regards patterns on II, III and IV interdigital areas, the combination O.O.L. is preponderant in both the sexes. It is 39.88% in the females and 35.55% in the males The combination O.L.O. occurs in the next highest percentage in both the sexes, being 26.78% in the females and 21.22% in the males.

The axial triradius *t* preponderates in both the sexes, being 64.28% in the females and 50.55% in the males. The next highest percentage is shown by the type *t'* in both the sexes (male : 18.88% ; female : 11.80%). In 18.33% of the males and 10.71% of the females axial triradius is absent. *tt'* type occurs in 8.33% of the females and 6.67% of the males.

AN ANTHROPOMETRIC STUDY OF THE HOS OF SERAIKELLA, SINGHBHUM

GURU CHARAN GHOSH

(Received on 10 August 1965)

Abstract : The present anthropometric study of the Hos was undertaken in the month of January, 1962, and the data were collected among males from ten villages surrounding Seraikella, a small town in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar.

DR. D. N. Majumdar (1947-49) and Das & Chatterjee (1925) undertook surveys among the Hos in respect of social and physical anthropology. Majumdar had taken the data from Kolhan, while Das & Chatterjee collected the data from Seraikella.

The present measurements were collected from 100 individuals between 21 and 65 years of age. Physically deformed persons were excluded. Measurements were taken according to Martin.

The present series was compared with the data published by Majumdar and Das & Chatterjee. A close similarity was found in stature and cephalic index, so far as mean and standard deviation are concerned. In the case of head length, differences of mean between that of Das & Chatterjee and the present series is statistically insignificant ($t = 1.76$); but it is statistically significant ($t = 2.30$) when compared with that of Majumdar. Again, the differences of mean are significant when the present series is compared with both the series in respect of head breadth, nasal length and nasal breadth. Regarding nasal index, the present series differs from the other two in respect of mean and

Mr. Guru Charan Ghosh is Senior Technical Assistant in the Anthropological Survey of India. His address is C/o. Authropological Survey of India, Post Box 20, Nagpur, M.P.

standard deviation. It differes from Das & Chatterjee's data and Majumdar's data by 7 and 10 units respectively, so far as the mean is concerned. In the case of standard deviation, differences are of less magnitude. Bizygomatic breadth of the present series was only compared with data given by Majumdar. The two series are more or less alike when the mean bizygomatic breadth is taken into account. The mean of minimum frontal diameter and nasal depth of the present series is 100.16 ± 0.83 and 16.85 ± 0.18 with a standard deviation of 3.84 ± 0.27 and 1.89 ± 0.13 respectively. Jugo-frontal index and nasal elevation index of the present series has got the mean of 75.75 ± 0.33 and 41.51 ± 0.51 with a standard deviation of 3.37 ± 0.23 and 5.19 ± 0.36 respectively.

Classification table is compared only with the data given by Das & Chatterjse. In mean and standard deviation in respect of stature and cephalic index, the statistical constants are not very different, though, when specification is taken into account, some differences are manifest. According to the present series, the people are mostly short (48%), though 72% of people are of medium stature. But from the data given by Das & Chatterjee it appears that the majority of the people were of medium stature (51.51%), shorter people being only next to medium (40%). Both the series however agree in one point, viz. there are few people who are tall. In the case of cephalic index, dolichocephalic persons are in majority (49%) followed by mesocephals (43%). This is contrary to the data given by Das & Chatterjee where dolichocephals dominate (78.18%), mesocephals only being found among 19.36% of the sample. No leptorrhine nose was met with in the present series, while the most dominant nose type was found to be platyrrhine (79%). In contrast, Das & Chatterjee found almost equal percentages of mesorrhine and platyrrhine (46.06% and 41.8% respectively) and a sizable percentage of leptorrhine noses (12.12%).

Discussion

The present sample closely resembles the data given by

Majumdar and Das & Chatterjee in regard to stature and cephalic index in respect of mean and standard deviation. But comparing the classification of cephalic index, some differences have been observed. According to Das & Chatterjee's data, the people were mostly dolichocephalic with a few cases of mesocephalic heads. Whereas, in the present sample, the people are dolichocephalic in general followed by mesocephals. On scrutiny it was found that the difference in cephalic index in respect of classification data of the two series is more due to increased head breadth rather than length of the present series. Nasal index also differs considerably from the other two series when mean and standard deviation are taken into account. Majumdar also found some difference in nasal index when he compared his data with that of Das & Chatterjee, though his sample had close similarity in respect of stature and cephalic index. The present sample differs from that of Majumdar in nasal length and in nasal breadth, the measurements being secured by the same technique. So the differences in nasal length, breadth and their ratio appears to be real, unless we presume that some errors were involved in securing the measurements, though there is no ground to suspect the latter. On specification, it has been found that the present sample does not include a single leptorrhine individual though it was found by Das & Chatterjee. It is also to be noted that Das & Chatterjee collected the data from the same locality, though some 37 years before the present series.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author is grateful to Sri T. C. Roy Choudhury of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, under whose supervision and guidance the present study was undertaken.

TABLE 1

Village origins of the persons measured

Name of villages	No. of individuals
Guriadih	20
Sargidih	39
Kendupusi	1
Dhudhi	5
Nimbdi	8
Sasan	14
Manikbazar	9
Naoga	2
Barbil	1
Deogam	1
Total	100

TABLE 2

Direct Measurements in mm. (no.=100)

Mean, Standard deviation and Min. – Max. Value

Measurements	Mean ± S.E.	S.D. ± S.E.	Min – Max.
1. Stature	1600 ± 5.1	51.6 ± 3.6	1466 – 1757
2. Head length	186.41 ± 0.66	6.60 ± 0.36	172 – 204
3. Head breadth	140.56 ± 0.48	4.00 ± 0.28	131 – 149
4. Min. Frontal diameter	100.16 ± 0.83	3.84 ± 0.27	83 – 112
5. Bizygomatic breadth	131.9 ± 0.49	4.96 ± 0.35	120 – 143
6. Nasal height	45.72 ± 0.29	2.99 ± 0.29	38 – 53
7. Nasal breadth	40.67 ± 0.27	2.72 ± 0.79	34 – 48
8. Nasal depth	16.85 ± 0.18	1.89 ± 0.13	10 – 22

TABLE 3

Indices (no.=100)

Mean, Standard deviation & Min. – Max. Value

Index	Mean ± S.E.	S.D. ± S.E.	Min. – Max.
Cephalic	75.46 ± 0.32	3.26 ± 0.23	68.39 – 84.30
Jugo-frontal	75.75 ± 0.33	3.37 ± 0.23	61.48 – 82.03
Nasal	89.63 ± 0.90	9.09 ± 0.64	71.15 – 105.0
Nasal elevation	41.51 ± 0.51	5.19 ± 0.36	29.27 – 55.00

TABLE 4

Classification

Class	Range in mm.	Percentage (no.=100)
(a) *Stature*		
Very Short	1300 – 1499	4
Short	1500 – 1599	44
Below Medium	1600 – 1639	27
Medium	1640 – 1669	15
Above Medium	1670 – 1699	5
Tall	1700—1799	5
(b) *Cephalic Index*		
Hyperdolichocephalic	x – 70.4	4
Dolichocephalic	70.5 – 75.9	45
Mesocephalic	76.0 – 80.9	43
Brachycephalic	81.0 – 85.4	8
(c) *Nasal Index*		
Mesorrhine	70.00 – 84.9	21
Chamaerrhine	85.00 – 99 9	79

ABO BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ZELIANG NAGA

MUKUL CHAKRABORTTY

(Received on 31 August 1965)

Introduction

BLOOD group investigations were carried out during the years 1962 and 1963 among the Zeliang Naga tribe who live in Nagaland. They are also present in Assam and Manipur. Their population in Nagaland is about 9,700, distributed in thirty villages. (*Vide* Office Record of Block Development Officer, Peren.) The other tribal population of this area is formed by the Thadou Kuki who live in villages of their own.

Method of Study

Agglutination tests were done by the usual slide method, with the grouping sera prepared from persons of peviously known A and B blood groups. The test sera were prepared from the blood of the author who belongs to group A and Dr. K. R. Datta, Medical Officer, Peren Government Hospital, who belongs to B. The testing serum B was also prepared afterwards from the blood of a nurse in the hospital. A Zeliang Naga provided O group serum About 10% of the data were re-tested with the grouping sera obtained from the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. Frequent checks were made by grouping the blood of persons of known blood groups and also by the use of O serum. Usually, whole blood was tested. A hand centrifuge was used for centrifuging the red blood corpuscles.

Analysis of Data

Altogether 610 individuals, i.e. 6.3% of the total Zeliang population of Nagaland, were grouped, of whom 400 were male and 210 female. Their blood group composition is shown in Table 1.

The author is Professor of Anthropology at the Narasinha Dutt College, Howrah. His personal address 35 Dharmatala Lane, Sibpur, Howrah.

TABLE 1

Blood group composition of Zeliang Naga

	O		A		B		AB					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	p	q	r	D/σ
Male (400)	211	52.75	107	26.75	71	17.75	11	2.75	0.161	0.109	0.726	+0.75
Female (210)	116	55.24	53	25.24	36	17.14	5	2.38	0.150	0.103	0.743	+0.16
Total (610)	327	53.61	160	26.22	107	17.54	16	2.62	0.1565	0.1065	0.7321	+0.95

$p' = 0.1569$, $q' = 0.1067$, $r' = 0.7356$

Expected values :— O = 330.68, A = 155.82, B = 102.70, AB = 20.42

$chi^2 = 1.27$ P_s d.f. = .70

It will be seen from the table that O has the highest frequency (53.61%), 52.75% being among males and 55.24% among females. The next is group A with the frequency of 26.22% ; the frequencies of B and AB are respectively 17.54% and 2.62%. No sex difference in respect of blood groups is noticed among the Zeliang ($chi^2 = 0.26$. $P > .70$).

The data include 90 closely related individuals, 54 being male and 36 female. They show no significant difference from the total sample ($chi^2 = 5.066$. $P > .05$), as shown in Table 2, though P is rather low. But the value of chi^2 becomes very small when the unrelated sample is compared with the total sample. For this, the frequencies of genes have been calculated from the undifferentiated total sample.

TABLE 2

	O		A		B		AB			
Sample	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Chi^2	P
Related (90)	56	62.22	15	16.62	16	17.83	3	3.33	>5.066	.30÷.05
Total (610)	327	53.61	160	26.22	107	17.54	16	2.62	0.135	>.70
Unrelated (520)	271	52.11	145	27.88	91	17.50	13	2.50		

The frequencies of the three genes p, q and r, calculated from the total sample, are found to be 0.1565, 0.1065 and 0.7321 respectively ($D/\sigma = +0.95$). The value of r is the highest so far recorded in India. The gene p is higher than q. In this respect the Zeliang show some affinity with the other tribal populations of this part of India, although the samples of the latter are not always sufficient in number.

By using Bernstein's improved formula p', q' and r' become 0.1569, 0.1067 and 0.7356 respectively. From these the expectations for each of the four groups have been calculated ($x^2 = 1.27$, P 3d.f>.70). The high probability shows that the deviation between the observed and the expected values for the respective blood groups is due to chance only and no specific reason underlies it.

Comparative Study

There is no previous record on the ABO blood groups of the Zeliang Naga from Nagaland and elsewhere. So the present data cannot be compared for regional and other variations. Table 3 gives a comparison with some selected Mongoloid peoples of India and abroad. The intergroup chi^2 shows that the Zeliang show no significant difference from

TABLE 3

Comparative data

Peoples	Authors	O %	A %	B %	AB %	Intergroup x^2 with Zeliang	P
Zeliang Naga (610)	Chakrabortty	53.61	26.22	17.54	2.62	×	
Angami Naga (100)	Bhattacharjee (1954)	45 00	38.00	11.00	6.00	10.7	<.05
Konyak Naga (127)	British Assn. (1939)	45.7	40.2	10 2	3.9	10.1	<.05
Khasi (200)	Macfarlane (1941)	33.00	35.00	18.5	13.5	24.15	<.01
Thadou Kuki (127)	Chakrabortty (1965)	25.20	47.24	18 90	8.66	45.0	<.01
Chinese (2127)	Boyd (1950)	34.2	30.8	27.7	7.3	17.38	<.01
Ambom (1471)	Bijlmer	55.9	20.9	20.9	2.3	2.03	>.50
Igorot (166)	Schebesta	50.6	22.8	24.1	2.5	2.48	>.30

the Ambom and the Igorots of the East Indian Archipelago. On the contrary they differ significantly from the Angami Naga, Konyak Naga and Thadou Kuki of Nagaland, the Khasi of Assam, as well as the Chinese. Thus it is interesting that serologically the Zeliang differ significantly from their neighbour, the Angami Naga, who are somatologically similar to them, while they resemble the Ambom and Igorots of a distant locality with lesser somatological resemblance.

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PROSPECTS OF FISH CULTURE IN TRIBAL AREAS

A. K. DAS

(*Received on 8 November 1964*)

Abstract. This article deals with the prospect of fisheries and their development among the tribes, particularly those living in the mountain fastnesses of India. An attempt has been made to deal briefly with the problem and suggest steps for its solution.

Introduction

SRI U. N. Dhebar, Chairman, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, said in a recent speech at Hyderabad, 'You should approach him with a view to secure his economic development and the only two avenues of doing it are animal husbandry on one side and khadi and village industries on the other'.

The third avenue, which is expected to catch the imagination of people connected closely with the welfare and culture of tribal regions, is the opening up and development of fisheries in those areas. There are nearly 30 million tribal people living in India to-day. Fishery must have its legitimate place in the changes to be introduced in the economy of India.

Technique

Let us now straightaway proceed to the problem of fish culture in the hilly and forested areas where mostly the tribes live. Of course, there are tribes in the hills as well as in the plains. For those in the plains, the problem is somewhat different. The creation of virgin fresh-water fishing areas in the mountains should be given the fullest consideration.

Planning of ponds: Ponds in the mountain regions ranging from 3,000 ft. to 4,000 ft. above sea level may be constructed

Mr. A. K. Das is Assistant Director of Fisheries in Andhra Pradesh. His personal address is 126, Marredapalli, Road No. 4, Secunderabad, A. P.

for the production of fish. They can be divided into two categories : single farm ponds which are usually filled by surface run-off water, and groups of ponds with a permanent water supply. Farm ponds are relatively inexpensive to construct in hilly areas because of the valleys present there. Individual fish ponds can thus be built there by simply de-weeding and manuring patches of land at the foot of the hills and in the neighbouring valleys, and building small dams across the termination of hill slopes for the collection of rain water. The second method of forming a tank is simply to canalize the rain washings from the hill slopes, which otherwise run waste into large natural receptacles (natural *bunds* below the hills). However, a compact group of ponds with a permanent water supply can be operated more effectively and profitably than ponds.

Pond site : Efforts to construct new fish farms in the hills must receive serious consideration ; for the success of a pond depends very much upon the selection of a suitable site. A suitable pond site should have the following characteristics :

(1) Topography that can be converted into a pond economically ;

(2) Sub-soil that contains enough earth to hold water, i.e. where seepage is negligible ;

(3) Water supply that is adequate but not excessive.

Broad draws or depressions with a slope of 2 ft. per 100 ft. are desirable sites. Such areas are often found in low-lying regions below the hills. In a comparatively flat land, as available in a valley, the pond basin must be created by excavation below the ground level. But an excavated pond is usually more expensive. Therefore, their number should be limited to ponds for demonstration purposes only.

Too much water flowing into the ponds from a large drainage area should be avoided, as a large rush of water may carry away food, fertilizer and fish out of the ponds.

Run-off waters, turbid with silt and clay, deposit them right into the ponds fed by them. Therefore, the drainage area should be covered by vegetation to prevent erosion ; the pond

embankments should also be similarly covered. The flow of water should be interrupted by constructing steps or terraces downstream.

An ideal site for a fish farm would be below a perennial spring or a waterfall in a relatively low-lying area. The best results are, however, obtained when a fairly large spring, waterfall or a number of small springs are used to feed a large storage pond from which water can be piped into ponds in the fish farm. The capacity of the storage pond should be twice as much as all the ponds in the fish farm put together. This is in order to ensure water supply to the farm ponds throughout the year.

Fish farm : A fish farm in such a region would be a collection of ponds of different sizes for fish culture. It should include a hatchery, a nursery and ponds for rearing and stocking. After the construction is over, fish culture techniques begin with keeping the fish eggs in the hatchery and allowing the embryos to hatch out. A simple and useful way of doing this is by the use of *hapas* (inverted mosquito curtain-like device), for breeding and hatching, they are simply laid in a hill stream or tank with a flow of water and allowing into it, a pair of fish to breed and hatch out.

After the hatchlings and fries are collected from the *hapas* and hatcheries, they are stocked in the nursery pond till they attain the size of one inch to one and half inch. Then they are led into rearing ponds where they remain up to the fingerling stage. Lastly, they are switched on to the stocking ponds where they are fed up to the adult stage either for use as spawners or for marketing.

Raising the fish : The fastest growing and the best edible fresh-water fish to be introduced as test fishes into these waters in the hills are the major Indian carp, viz. *Catla* (*Catla catla*), *Rohu* (*L. rohita*), *Calbasu* (*L. calbasu*) and *Mirgal* (*Cirrhina mirgala*). But we have yet to see how these fishes adjust themselves to the cold of comparatively high altitudes in tribal areas. Already as the result of a very modest experiment with these fishes in the Araku Valley (about 3,500 ft. high) in the Vishakhapatnam

District, the Labeo variety and the Cirrhina group of fishes are doing well there for about a year. There is no reason why they should not grow elsewhere at the same height or under similar climatic conditions.

The exotic fishes which may be introduced with success are the German carps (which grow easily to a size of 6 lb. to 8 lb. in a few years), *Cyprinus carpio* (a common carp) of the Bangkok variety, now flourishing very well in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, and *Pitalkas* (*Etroplus suratensis*) known in Hyderabad as 'freshwater pomfret' on account of its appearance and taste. The German carp and the *Cyprinus carpio* have already become acclimatized to the Araku Valley waters. Attempts for the culture of the *Pitalkas* must also be made, as it is a good and tasteful fish.

Other important fishes that can be raised with success are the *Ophiocephalus striatus* or *Sole, Heteropteneuster fossilis* or *Singhi, Clarious latrachus* or *Magur* and *Ophiocephalus punctatus* or *Lata* at the foot of the hills and in the valleys ranging from 2000 ft. to 3000 ft. above sea level. This is because of the *initial ease* with which these flourish in the wild on their natural bed of water in ponds with marshy bottoms and in swamps with a mat of rank vegetation. These fishes are predominantly of the air-breathing type and, therefore, very little dissolved oxygen as available in such swamps is quite sufficient for their aquatic respiration. Moreover, these swampy areas which trap in their marshy meshes an abundance of natural live larval food for the *Sole, Singhi,* etc. tend to pose confidently as an economic proposition for stocking purpose without much cost.

The last but not in the least less useful fishes are the common Indian minnows which, if given opportunity to thrive amongst our tribal brethern, would provide a most important article of nutrition. Very little or no attention has been given to this important fish by experts and nutritionists in our the country. It was Dr. K. P. Basu, the well-known biochemist, who first brought to the notice of scientific India that 70% calcium of these fishes is absorbed into the human system when they are eaten whole after frying. These small fishes,

such as, *Punti, Mourala, Chela* etc. should be given a permanent place in the diet of the tribal people and specially of their children. These can also be reared in the hills with very little expense. Besides, these can subsequently be used as prey or forage fishes in *Sole, Singhi* and *Magur* culture as Prof. Swingle did in his experiments on the Bass (a carnivore) by using the blue-gill as a forage fish.

So far nothing has been said in the foregoing pages about the culture of fishes in hill-streams or torrents. These can also be developed into important fisheries of the hills. *Cyprinides* and cat-fishes are very suitable for this purpose. There is, besides, the popular *Mahseer* group (*Barbustor B. khudree*) of fishes that normally grows up to 30 to 40 lbs. in many hill-streams, and may be cultured in captivity and bred in a hatchery or a *hapa*. The only thing is that its habits and habitat in hill streams will have to be studied in the wild and the results so obtained would be grafted on to the conditions of captive life, as has been so successfully done in the case of *Rohu* and *Catla*. Needless to say, *Mahaseer* is an important game fish of India.

Recently the author had the privilege of visiting the Araku Valley which mostly inhabited by tribes and is a pretty spot about 70 miles from the town of Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. The tribal children of that place are short in stature, pale and rickety. They seem to suffer from protein deficiency. The result is that these poor unlucky children are victims of one of the following pathological symptoms :

(a) retarded growth ;
(b) apathy and irritability ;
(c) diarrahoea ;
(d) alteration of colour and dry skin ;
(e) oedema ;
(f) marked fatty infiltration of the liver ;
(g) heavy mortality in the absence of proper treatment.

The expansion of fisheries and fish farming into such areas offers an excellent promise of increasing the supply of animal protein. The value of fish should not only be emphasized in the nutrition of these children, but also of

pregnant and lactating tribal women. It is the task of scientists, administrators, educationists and social welfare workers to see how this can be done expeditiously.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Peoples of Africa. *Edited by James L. Gibbs Jr. Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York. 1965. $ 10.50.*

This book portrays the life of fifteen tribal groups representative of Sub-Saharan Africa. All the five significant ethnic elements in that region and the major language-families have been represented. Six of these groups practise hoe agriculture, four live by mixed farming, three are pastoralists and two are hunters and food-gatherers. As the modes of subsistence have a direct bearing on population size and patterns of social and political organization, diversity in these features is also mirrored. The three structural principles of kinship, association and territoriality are combined differently in the different societies. Patrilineal, matrilineal and double-descent systems are also represented.

Each contributor conforms to a particular pattern in the description. Besides location, physical type, language, habitat, economy, social and political organization and religion, such topics as child training, ceremonial friendship, law etc. have also been covered. Within the limits of the framework, the theoretical orientation of each author also emerges from his paper.

The studies reflect differences between the British structural school in which most of the present-day authorities in African anthropology were trained and the American approach which is more configurational. Some of the studies are synchronic, others are diachronic.

The book provides a bridge to more specialized literature on African societies.

Sachchidananda

Religion in South Asia. *Edited by Edward B. Harper. University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1964. $ 6.50.*

This volume originated from the Conference on Religion in South Asia held at Berkeley in 1961. It comprises eight papers based on field work in India and Ceylon, together with a scholarly introduction by Professor Mandelbaum. The papers do not give a

systematic coverage of religion in the two countries ; the stress being on structure and process rather than on description and content.

Religion provides the goal and purpose of life as well as a rationale for society. It is a means of fostering social cohesion. People use it in serving various purposes. How some of these purposes are served have been described by Opler, Beals and Gumperz. Opler shows how religious practices link individual to culture and culture to the individual in a North Indian village. Both Hindu and Muslim rites have been described to illustrate common religious processes. Alan Beals shows how secular social interaction is promoted through religious ritual in South India. Gumperz discusses the role of religion in mass communication. The code of religious symbols is well understood across lines of caste, creed and region.

The remaining five papers are more concerned with structure than with process. But in each the structure is described in terms which throw light on the process also. Berremann describes how in the Pahari region of the Himalayas priests and shamans function on different levels. Harper distinguishes between the benevolent high gods and the malevolent lesser deities. He shows how the use of the terms Great Tradition and Little Tradition is misleading. According to him, the phenomena can be classified into Transcendental Complex and Pragmatic Complex, each with different religious functions, forms and specialists. Both can be found at all levels of the social hierarchy, and contribute to the total religious practice of the community. Pauline Kolenda shows how in actual practice the two are combined in the life of the Sweepers. Michael Ames gives an outline and structural analysis of the religious system of the Singhalese, while Nur Yalman describes the healing-rituals. From these accounts it emerges that, compared to Hinduism, Singhalese religion is more rationalized, more closely integrated and more socially unified.

Harper analyses the social function of the purity-pollution concept, how it regulates the relation of man to the supernatural and acts as the prime rationale for social interaction between castes. The individual's behaviour in respect of his own bodily functions is also determined by this.

In religious belief and ritual, changes are taking place, though at different rates, among different sections of the population. In the countryside, both medicine and pragmatic rites co-exist. The transcendental complex still provides the inspiration and guidance for the new society.

Since the publication of Srinivas' study on religion and society in Coorg, this is perhaps the best study which adds to our knowledge of this aspect of Indian society.

Sachchidananda

Social Anthropology. *By Godfrey Lienhardt. Home University Library Series. Oxford University Press, London. 1964. 10/6 shillings.*

The first book on social anthropology in this series appeared in 1912. Its author, Dr. R. R. Marett, then made a substantial contribution to the growth of the discipline. It is a strange coincidence that the task of writing the present volume after half a century has fallen to a member of the same college to which Marett belonged. The author has done full justice to the subject and in the short compass provided has presented an extremely readable narrative. His task has been rendered much more difficult than that of his predecessor as the literature and field of social anthropology has expanded considerably.

The author makes a rapid survey of the development of social anthropology from the middle of the 19th century to the present day pointing out the essential elements of the contributions made by different thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic. Later on, he takes up one by one, environment, political life, economic relations, kinship and religion. In all these different fields the contributions of earlier thinkers, as well as modern, have been dealt with briefly. In the last chapter, he shows how anthropological studies can throw light on many of our current problems. He also emphasizes the fact that though the subject is vast, the organizing principles are relatively few in number.

The book leans towards the societal approach and does not deal with the contributions of psychologically oriented anthropologists or of modern American scholars. It is a faithful representation of the British tradition in social anthropology.

Sachchidananda

The Human Species : An Introduction to Physical Anthropology. *By Frederick S. Hulse. 1963. Pp. xxii + 504, 78 figures, 18 tables, and 31 photographs. Random House, New York. $ 7.95.*

This is a welcome text-book on physical anthropology. In his foreword the author states that the book has grown out of his class-room experience, and as such we find that the subject has been discussed in a very lucid and interesting way.

As anthropology is the science of man, Hulse begins with the question, 'What is Man ?' This is followed by a discussion on the properties, chemistry, necessities and transmission of life. For a proper understanding of the primates, the evolution of vertebrates and of mammals has also been given.

Fossil evidences of races in Africa, Asia, Australia and America have been described in the light of 'race as an evolutionary episode'. Hulse has suggested that climate and other factors of environment have played a great part in guiding the evolution of human races ; but he points out that climate must always be considered in relation to culture. Human genetics, the diversity of man, and distribution of races have been dealt with in separate chapters. The problems of race, language and culture and the future of human evolution have also been described.

Towards the end of the book, anthropometry and laboratory methods have been briefly dealt with. The glossary adds to the value of the book.

A. B. Saran

Agama Tirtha : Five Studies in Hindu Balinese Religion. *By C. Hooykaas. Pp. 253, photographs, drawings and maps. 1964. N. V. Noord-Rollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, Amsterdam. $ 9.80 .*

As obvious from the heading, the author has taken up five aspects of the Hindu-Balinese religion for his study. These also form the basis of the chapters in the book, namely, I. Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning, II. Yama-Raja, the Lord of Judgement, III. Padmasana, The Throne of God, IV. Siva-Linga, The Mark of God, V. Siva-Ratri, The Night of Worship. Besides, there is an introduction which gives us an idea of previous works on the subject and acquaints the reader with the approach and purpose

of the present study. The studies presented here are the 'offspring of the larger work being done on the ritual of the six kinds of Balinese priests'. Throughout his study, 'the approach of the author has been mainly that of the philologist who tries to understand his textual materials and explain them.' It has been also intended to keep the book as serviceable as possible and the author has done a good job by including maximum possible references to relevant texts which would otherwise have remained inaccessible to the majority of the English-reading public. Some of the chapters make brief references to Indian concepts of deities or festivals.

The book contains more than two dozens of photographs and diagrams, five maps, a list of printed and stencilled references and manuscripts which add to its value.

K. N. Sahay

Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies. *Ed. by Raymond Firth and B. S. Yamey. Pp. 399. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 45 sh.*

Capital, Saving & Credit in Peasant Societies, published in April 1963, is a pioneer work describing various research works carried forward in a number of under-developed countries. The cultural and geographical areas covered by these essays are wide and divergent.

The novelty of the book lies in the fact that some of the information about the nature of the problems in peasant economy collected by anthropologists are quite helpful in economic studies. In recent years there has been much discussion as to the role of economists as policy prescribers to the government. Indeed, the economist may very well consult the anthropologist for the answer to many questions pertaining to peasant societies, which are normally beyond his range.

The editors have been remarkably successful in covering a wide field of investigation.

Ashok Kumar Verma

Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar. *By L. P. Vidyarthi. Pp. v + vii + 308, numerous plates, tables and map. Punthi Pustak, Calcutta-4. 1964. Rs. 22.00.*

The essays in the book present in bold relief the cultural contours of Tribal Bihar and throw light upon some of the important tribes of the State. The author has dealt with a wide variety of subjects like culture, linguistics, education, genetics, economics, religion, politics, fine arts, anthropology in administration, and all with equal mastery.

He has displayed an unflinching love for the tribes when rightly criticising some of the endeavours of the administration, and of other social and religious organizations. He has raised a strong voice against an overbearing paternalism in utter disregard of the values and sentiments of tribal people.

The collection of essays presents a decade's enthusiastic work of the learned author who has made a mark in the field of Indian anthropology ; and it is the hope of the reviewer that he would continue his wofk with the same zeal as is in evidence in the present book.

S. P. Sinha

Impact of Tea Industry on the Life of the Tribals of West Bengal. *By Amal Kumar Das & Hemendra Nath Banerjee. Tribal Welfare Department, Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta. 1964.*

Since 1962, the Cultural Research Institute of the Government of West Bengal has been publishing research works in its special series on the different groups of the people of West Bengal.

This study is of both an intensive and extensive nature, because it covers all the tea-gardens of West Bengal and gives a comparative picture of the impact of industrialization on the life of tribals as well as of non-tribals. The authors have tried to cover the major parts of life like economic, social, religious and psychological. But the depiction of impact on religious life seems to be more or less sketchy. Field-work seems to have been inadequate.

A. R. N. Srivastava

Indian Babu—A Study in Social Psychology. *By G. Ramanathan. 1965. Pp. 286, Sudha Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi-12. Rs. 9.50.*

It is extremely unfortunate that a book on the social psychology of the Indian office assistant should be disfigured by the nomenclature of the book. The word *Babu* has had a stamp of an inferiority complex in British days and it still persists to some extent. The Britishers were careful in making a distinction between officers of the same rank according to their European or Indian parentage, not to speak of the office assistant who were given the blanket term of *Babu*. It is not understood why the author and the publisher should have chosen this rather objectionable name for the book.

This is a painstaking research on the ways of living, ways of thinking and other ideological trends of the office assistants in India. The profile is based on careful investigation according to precise questionnaires. The questionnaires have been given in the Appendix. At places, however, there was scope for condensation. It would have been better to avoid expressions like 'to mouth' in place of 'to express' and 'to be emptied into the dust-bin' in place of 'to be rejected'. There are quite a few of such instances.

P. C. Roy Chaudhury

Origin and Development of the Rituals of Ancestor Worship in India. *By Dakshina Ranjan Shastri. Pp. 1-x-399. Bookland Private Limited, Calcutta-6. 1963. Rs. 35.*

This is a posthumous publication of an erudite scholar and reputed teacher of Indian culture and philosophy.

Ancestor worship has been a distinct feature of the culture of the Orient, particularly of India and China. Dr. Shastri has drawn comparisons from various parts of the world and has been able to assess the proper value and importance of the *Shraddha* ceremony from the historical and sociological points of view. The author takes us through divergent views as found in the Vedas, Grihya-sutras and Puranas, and by different propounders like Kamalakara (*Nirnayasindhu*), Hemadri, Madhava and Raghunandan. He is of opinion that even if the funerary ceremonies, as practised in India, may be of pre-Vedic origin, the *Shraddha* ceremony is

essentially Vedic. He has very clearly shown the various stages of its historical development.

The numerous rites in the ceremony of ancestor worship have been systematically arranged and discussed in detail ; and this gives us an opportunity of recognizing if we are following the correct rituals or not. Apart from other factors, this is of great value to those who conform strictly to Brahminical rituals.

The book has an exhaustive index and bibliography and a very informative preface. It would be of great assistance to students of Indology-and cultural history.

It is a model of high scholarship and critical acumen.

Surendra Prasad Sinha

Classical African Sculpture. *By Margaret Trowell. Pp. 104, 48 plates and two maps. Faber and Faber Ltd. London.*

The book is divided into four chapters : 'The Appreciation of African Art', 'The Function of the Craftsman and His Art', 'Geography, History and The Social Pattern' and 'A Brief Critique of African Sculpture'.

In course of her exposition, Margaret Trowell has analysed the 'changes in philosophy or social structure with resultant changes' in the African creative arts due to culture contacts. The imprints and the areas of cultural influences have also been identified by her.

B. B. Verma

Kin and Totem. *By Johannes Falkenberg. Pp. 272. George Allen and Unwin, London, and Oslo University Press, Norway. 35s net.*

The book under review is a study of the group relations of Australian aborigines in the Port Keats District. Dr. Falkenberg has already distinguished himself by his anthropological research on the Coast Lapps of northern Norway. His book on the North Australian aborigines is the result of field work carried out with a grant from the Carl Lumholtz Fund in 1950.

Besides a preface by the author and a valuable introduction by Prof. A. P. Elkin, the book contains eight chapters, viz., Tribes, Local Clans, Hordes, Sex Groups, Age-Grades, Moieties, Subsections and the Individual. It is based on the information furnished by the aborigines themselves.

Dr. Falkenberg's speciality lies in the study of a group of closely related tribes—the Murin' bata, Mari nar, Magati'ge Mari' djabin and Mari'jadi. As noted by Prof. Elkin, the field covered is a region in which Dr. W. E. H. Stanner made extensive studies in the years 1957-59. With that material, 'We should be in a position to make an adequate diachronic analysis of social organization and religion during a quarter of a century'. (*Introduction*, p. 6.) Dr. Falkenberg himself shows a historical awareness, but his approach is strictly synchronic. He does not merely present an itemised description of the life and culture of the tribes, but also correlates them with their *Weltanschaung*.

A well-documented and engaging treatment of the subject, the book will be of interest not only to anthropologists but also to folklorists and linguists.

Dineshwar Prasad

Under the Ivi Tree : Society and Economic Growth in Rural Fiji. *By Cyril S. Belshaw. Pp. IX-336. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 1964. 45s. net.*

This is the outcome of an anthropologist's intensive field work. The author was trained in economics, pursued the career of a colonial administrator and worked in a single cultural region of Fiji—Viti Levu. In part two of the book, twenty-three case studies and a number of tables furnish the reader with descriptive data. Part three is important for its theoretical discussions. According to the author, Fijians are conservative, but changes have been selective and adaptive. It would be unwise to criticize the Fijians for their limited economic growth under the present lack of a well-developed system of communication.

The land tenure, supply of credit and capital is unfortunately very defective. In places, Dr. Belshaw make some suggestions for the solution of some of the problems of Fijian economy. He thinks a flexible system of land registration and provisions of security and mobility would be very useful.

The book is free from theoretical sophistication, which has been substituted by simplicity and clarity of treatment.

Awadesh Coomar Sinha
Rashida Hussain

Inscriptions Du Cambodge, *éditées et traduites par G. Coedes. Paris : Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient. 1964. Pp. 204.*

We have here a carefully edited collection of texts, many discovered and deciphered in recent times. They were found on pillars and stone slabs in Cambodia and a few of them in Siam. The author gives first a brief description of the pillars and their present state of conservation ; and then gives the text and its translation. Many of these texts are in Sanskrit, others in Khmer ; often both found on the same pillars. F. E.

Bulletin De L'ecole Francaise D' Extreme-Orient. *Tome LII, Fasc. I, Paris 1964.*

The present issue of the Bulletin contains, among other learned articles, a study by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya on the Sanskrit vocabulary of the inscriptions on pillars found in Cambodia (dating from 5th to 14th cent. A. D.). It is not surprising that Sanskrit, as it travelled to Cambodia, should have undergone some changes. This is a common phenomenon in linguistics. However, it is no less surprising that the Sanskrit of these inscriptions has largely preserved the purity of the classical language.

I would single out also a short comparative study by Charlotte Vaudeville on the legend of Sundara, associated with the *Parinirvana* of Buddha. The story is found in various forms in ancient Indian literature ; hence it raises a problem for historians.

F. E.

Heirat Und Verwandtschaftssystem Bei Den Aranda in Zentralaustralien. *(Kritik des-sogenannten Aranda-Typs von Radcliffe-Brown.) Berlin —Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums fur Völkerkunde. Dresden. 1963.*

'Marriage and Kinship System among the Aranda in Central Australia' is a dissertatoin presented by Gunter Guhr at the Humboldt University of Berlin. It is a critical study of the so-called Aranda Type theory of Radcliffe-Brown ; and a re-appraisal of the pertinent material, leading to conclusions somewhat different from the commonly admitted theory. A book to be taken into account by specialists of the Central Australia Aborigenes culture.

F. E.

Archiv Orientalni. *Numbers 32/2, 3 & 4. Pp. 185 to 688.*

This quarterly is the Journal of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague. Each issue contains from six to eight articles of various lengths, on different, though predominantly linguistic subjects. To mention one or other in the latest numbers: 'Spoken Language of Tamilnad,' 'The Brahmi Hybrid Tamil Inscriptions,' 'Old Bengali, Old Kosali and Old Marvari Sentence Structure Compared'. However, recent issues have concerned themselves increasingly with problems of Chinese history and literature. In the latest three under review, not less than eight articles deal with matters Chinese; a sign of the growing influence of this ancient and large country. Each volume ends with an extensive Book Review section.

F. E.

Road Belong Cargo. *By Peter Lawrence. Pp. 291. The University of Manchester. 35s.*

This book is a study of the Madang district of New Guinea in its historical context. A vivid description of the Cargo Cult of New Guinea has been given here.

Salil K Roy Chowdhury

A Reconstruction of the Basic Jamez Pattern of Social Organization, with Comparisons to Other Tanoan Social Structures. *By Florence Hawley Ellis. Pp. 69. 1964. The University of New Mexico Press. $ 2.00.*

This is a study of the aboriginal elements in Jamez pueblo, New Mexico. An interesting book, applying archaeology and ethnology as well as a comparative study of modern social structures, legend and history to the work of historical recorstructions.

S. K. Roy Chowdhury

Honour, Family and Patronage. *By J. K. Campbell. Pp. 393. 1964. Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E. C. 4. 55s.*

This is an interesting monograph on the traditional community of Sarakatsani in the Greek mountains. This critical study of the small community will be very useful for an understanding of modern Greek society and politics, and as a guide to the study of other Mediterranean societies.

S. K. Roy Chowdhury

The Upanisads : Part 1. *Translated by F. Max Muller, pp. cii, 320,* **The Upanisads : Part II.** *Translated by F. Max Muller, pp. lii, 350 ; Dover Publications, Inc., New York. $ 2.00 each.*

The volumes under review form parts of the *Sacred Books of the East* series and were translated by the well-known Orientalist, the late Professor F. Max Muller. They had for a long time past been out of print. The publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out these volumes at a very cheap price.

The late Professor Max Muller was a sincere and devoted student of Hindu philosophy and culture, and his contribution to the understanding and appreciation of Hindu scriptures will remain immortal. The translation bears the spirit of the original and is also accurate. Max Muller penetrated deep into the spirit of the Hindu scriptures in choosing for instance the word 'self' in preference to such words as 'mind', 'spirit' and 'soul.' He seems to have struck at the real meaning of the word *Atman* of which the nearest equivalent in English can be no other word than 'self'.

It is hoped that the volumes will be well received by students, teachers and scholars of comparative philosophy and culture.

P. B. Vidyarthy

The Texts of Taoism (Part I). *Translated by James Legge, pp. xxii and 396 ;* **The Texts of Taoism (Part II).** *Translated by James Legge ; pp. 336. Dover Publications, Inc., New York.* $ *2.00 each.*

Taoism, the mystical philosophy of China, parallel to the humanistic teachings of Confucius, was for the first time systematized by the great thinker Lao Tze, although its germinal ideas were in existence long before. There were in China hermits and sages, much like the seers of the Upanisads, who contemplated on the secrets of human existence in forests. Taoism was the result af such deep contemplation. The translation is eminently readable. The appendices at the end of Part II cover seventyseven pages and furnish valuable information for the understanding of the texts.

The volumes need to be studied side by side with the Upanisads for a sympathetic appreciation of Asian religions. They are a 'must' for students of comparative religion and philosophy.

P. B. Vidyarthy

Bernard Shaw's Philosophy of Life. *By R. N. Roy. Pp. vii + 165. 1964. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta-12. Rs. 14.*

Mr. Roy's book will be very welcome to degree-students of the Universities of India. He has given an analysis of nearly all the novels and plays of Shaw.

The source of Shaw's unconventional ideas on sex, marriage, and morality and socialism have been reasonably traced back to his childhood days. The author has also well displayed that the ideas of Shaw's unsuccessful novels were carried over to his successful plays ; thus showing that his novels were not well received because of the ideas and, in case, we conclude from the chapters at the beginning that Shaw was not a believer in God, Mr Roy has pointed out in chapter six that Shaw believed in a life force to which even errors could be attributed. He did not have faith in the Christian God who is almighty and omnipresent, but whose infallibiliy is invalidated when we come across evil in life.

A great drawback of the book, considering that it is an Indian publication and very reasonable in bulk, is its price, which is well beyond the means of the student community. I. R.

Kol Insurrection in Chotanagpur. *By J. C. Jha. Pp. 242, besides Bibliography, Glossary and Index. Thacker, Spink & Co. Private Ltd, 1964. Rs. 14.*

The theme of the book is an insurrection of several tribal communities in different parts of Chotanagpur between 1831 and 1833. The areas affected are now parts of the districts of Singhbhum, Ranchi and Palamau. The author emphasizes that the insurrection was a rise of the tribals against the non-tribals mainly, and not against the British administration.

According to him, the real tragedy of the tribal people of this area was that their chiefs, alienated by their conversion to Hinduism, and the English administrators, born and bred in the tradition of agricultural landlordism, had no sympathy with the tradition of tribal ownership of land or idea of peasant proprietorship. Against these the tribal people found no remedy except through unrest and violence.

It is, however, difficult to appreciate why the insurrection should be treated as merely economic and not political, both the circumstances being interwoven and inseparable. This matter is being

particularly referred to because the author, in his introduction, has paid a left-handed compliment to previous writers who, according to him, had 'invariably treated it as a political movement, and as a part of the general freedom struggle against the British.' It is also not quite correct to say, as the author has done, that none of the other authors had consulted original records. Some of the works mentioned by him in the footnote of page 4 show that the original records in the National Archives and elsewhere had already been consulted and quoted.

The book is extremely well referenced and there is hardly a single page where a number of references have not been given in the footnote. Dr. Jha has obviously done painstaking research in various archives in India as well as elsewhere. But any thesis on a tribal insurrection, at least when published in book form, should give us some idea of the social structure of the tribals when the insurrection took place. A theory that de-tribalization through hinduization and induction of administrative details struck at the very roots of the tribal organization cannot be appreciated unless there is a picture of the background.

The author appears to use the term *Kol* as a blanket term to cover the Mundas, Hos and Santals. The Oraons of Ranchi do not come strictly come under this term. It is certainly not correct to say that the Mundas and Oraons have *quite distinct* customs and habits, as stated by the author in p. 23. There is much overlap between the two, although languages may be different.

It is curious that the author does not mention Father Hoffmann's 13 volumes of *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*, a monumental work which could have also been used as a source material, for some obvious mis-statements could have thus been easily avoided. Nor does he appear to have used the revised District Gazetteers of Palamau, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh, all published before 1964. He is apparently not aware that, in spite of very great difficulties, a number of maps had already been prepared after painstaking surveys much earlier than 1831. The survey in Ramgarh was undertaken by Cameron in 1767 and on the suggestion of Camac, who was in command of the South-West Frontier, Carter did a certain amount of survey work. In 1778, Rennell completed the survey of the southern jungles of Chotanagpur. Rennell had submitted some maps in 1774 and had paid great compliment

to Camac. This work was continued by various other surveyors, and a number of maps earlier than 1831 are preserved in the National Archives of India. On page 241, the author mentions, 'There was no map worth the name, no clear idea about the lay-out or the potentialities of the hill and jungle.' This statement is obviously one-sided. Even in 1781, Captain Crawford had given a general report on Chotanagpur and on some of its potentials. His 'Consultations' are preserved in the National Archives in New Delhi. Crawford was followed by several other administrators in this work prior to the insurrection in 1831. The hazards of an unknown country have to be remembered, and a balanced view should have been taken of the work of pioneers who did try to know the country and discuss the potentials as well.

Dr. Jha states that Phani Mukut Roy was chosen as chief *Manki* or Raja at some time between the 6th and 10th centuries A.D. The geneology of the Chotanagpur Maharajas and later researches indicate that Phani Mukut Roy became the Raja in 64 A.D. Even when land reforms were introduced and zemindari was abolished, a memorandum on behalf of the Chotanagpur Raj was prepared which gives us various useful facts. It is also incorrect to hold with Dr. Jha that 'by the end of the 17th century it is clear that the dynasty had been Hinduised' (page 30). From Phani Mukut onwards, every Maharaja of Chotanagpur married a Rajput girl, and they also imported a large number of Oriya Brahmans from Sambalpur and its neighbourhood and distributed them all over the district to do priestly services and to worship at the temples. Some inscriptions and quite a few Hindu temples do exist which are much earlier than the 17th century. Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu passed through Bundu and Tamar on his way to Orissa, and Orissa gave the Jagannath cult and the Vaishnava creed to Chotanagpur, particulary in the Bundu-Tamar area. The Vaishnava cult had so much permeated Munda culture that there are various Munda songs carried from generation to generation depicting the love of Radha and Krishna.

Since not much work has been done in the tribal history of India, it is expected that the writer on the subject will not strictly confine himself to graphic descriptions of military movements only, but try to interpret the facts with reference to the personality of the district, its geography, anthropology and sociology.

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society. *By Max Gluckman, Pp. 339. 1965. Blackwell, Oxford. 47s. 6d.*

The canvas of Professor Gluckman is very wide and the book should prove priceless for students of social sciences, political scientists and lawyers. It will be a mistake to think that it is of interest to anthropologists only. The chapters are Data and Theory, Property Rights and Economic Activity, Stateless Societies and the Maintenance of Order, the State and Strife, Dispute and Settlement, Mystical Disturbances and Mutual Adjustments and Customs for Stability and Change. There are 24 plates, four maps, an exhaustive bibliography running to 10 pages and a very carefully prepared index running to 15 pages.

The book is a landmark in the literature of social sciences and should find a place in every library worth its name.

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu. *By M. G. Swift. 1965. London School of Economics. 30 s.*

A series of monographs on social anthropology is being published by the London School of Economics on various subjects studied assiduously in different parts of the world. The present book is a laborious and intelligent study of the Malay peasant-society in Jelebu, an administrative district of the Malayan State of Negri Sembilan. The inhabitants have a matrilineal organization split into clans and sub-clans, and the indigenous agricultural economy has been undergoing a certain amount of change by the cultivation of cash crops, particularly rubber. The moorings of the traditional society and the social stratifications are consequently undergoing change. Previous concepts of prestige and position are in the melting pot. Recent political elections and administrative changes have also had their impact. The *Kadi* is still the highest religious dignitary, and the role played by religion in the organization of the community is very important. The belief in magic gives importance to the professional *Pawang* and the *Dukun* who carry out cures. Kinship organization is in decline, although *adat* or the matrilineal custom still runs strongly.

A searching enquiry has been made and presented in chapters on (1) Family and Domestic Groups, (2) The Village, Status and Social Stratification and (3) Economy and Society. Dr. Swift, who is a Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of Sydney, has to be congratulated for his commendable work.

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement. *By Dilbert C. Miller. Pp. xvi+332. 1964. David McKay Company. Inc. New York.*

This book is a collection of articles, reports, scales, and excerpts from sociological works. It is divided into four chapter : (I) Research Design and Sampling, (II) Statistical Analysis, (III) Selection of Sociometric Scales or Indexes, (IV) Research Costing and Reporting. Among the chapters, the most useful is the third one which alone covers more than two-thirds of the book and provides exhaustive descriptions of most of the scales which have been used in sociological and psychological research ; although reliability and validity of some of them are either unknown or not very assuring. The chapter also reports all the measures utilized in studies published in the *American Sociological Review* during the period 1951-60. Although caution should be maintained in indiscriminate use of the scales due to their limited applicability to an alien culture, the book provides a repertoire which will attract attention of any researcher looking for an appropriate scale.

Chapter I introduces design and measurement problems. To a professional, the expositions may look naive, but to a freshman in research, the chapter provides an excellent introduction to (a) the relatedeness of research to theory (Merton), (b) need of explicitly stated hypotheses (Goode & Hall), (c) experimental designs (Stouffer), and (d) stages of research (Miller).

The discussion of statistical analysis in Chapter II is very brief and sketchy. More attention should have been given to this one of the most neglected and indispensable parts of research. Although in the light of the fact that up till now the use of sophisticated statistical techniques in sociological research has been almost nil, the hesitation of the author to allot more space to this topic is understandable ; some more information should have beeen provided

about statistical assumptions and techniques, such as, factor analysis, of variance, multivariate analysis, etc. A few more articles should have been incorporated, analysing the problems of reliability and validity. It is sad to note that descriptions of correlational techniques and tests of significance are too sketchy when valuable space has been wasted over the lengthy article by Barton. The article by Gould, although not rightly belonging to a book on research design, is informative and useful in inviting sociologists to review their strategy of research which has been mainly qualitative in the past. The only serious criticism of the book—briefness of the exposition—has been remedied to the great extent by the foot-notes and bibliography for further study and references.

Jai B. P. Sinha

A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. *Edited by Julius Gould and William L. Kolb. Compiled under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Tavistock Publication. Pp. XVI+761. 11 New Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4, 1964. £6 6s.*

We have recently received a very fascinating book which discusses more than a thousand terms and concepts used in the Social Sciences. Though this book does not provide an ordered body of knowledge or a detailed discussion of any special subject, yet it extensively covers several disciplines. These disciplines are Sociology, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Social Psychology, Political Science and Economics. After glancing through the entire book one gets an impression that there is slightly more emphasis on Political Science.

The dictionary not only provides definitions but also gives the historical background of each topic. In most cases, we find a brief description of the ideas of various early contributors belonging to the same or allied disciplines. The authors are eminent top-ranking specialists of U. K. and U. S. A. and their number is about 270. American authors outnumber the British. The absence of contributions from other authorities of the world (other than U. K. & U. S. A.) does not at all lessen the usefulness and richness of the book, as the essays also refer to published works of other authors.

B. N. Sahay

The Essence of Trade Unionism, *By Victor Feather. Pages 127. National Academy, Delhi-6. Rs. 2.*

The publishers have done a good service by giving us a cheap edition of this authoritative book which really gives the essence of trade unionism in simple language and within a short compass. Indian trade unionism in India has found about two pages in the last chapter.

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Notice

MAN IN INDIA invites articles, notes and communications from those who are interested in anthropology, archaeology, linguistics and folk-culture. Manuscripts sent for publication must be typewritten (double-spaced) on one side of the paper with a covering letter specifying the number of reprints required, 25 copies of which are supplied free to contributors.

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Editor : Nirmal Kumar Bose, M. Sc., F. N. I

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