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SOME PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION*

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ONE of the features of post-war India has been the rapid overcrowding of her towns. This has partly been caused by increased chances of employment in towns and a corresponding decrease of small-scale industries in villages. The operation of two five-year plans has led to a greater degree of centralization than was anticipated. As a result, one of the aims of India's third five-year plan has been to give more employment (and full if possible) rather than merely try to produce the physical requirements of the population through the establishment of large-scale industries.

We are still in the early stages of the third plan; and nothing has yet happened to stay or reverse the town-ward migration of rural labourers.

In the meanwhile, this pressure on towns is seriously affecting their economy as well as living conditions. And it shall be our purpose in the present paper to draw attention to some of the sociological or human aspects of the total problem.

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Growth of Towns

Those who are acquainted with the history of ancient towns in India know that they came into being in several ways. In many parts of northern and western India towns grew up with a fort at its centre. Some of them indeed were walled towns originally; although in later times the outskirts came to be inhabited by the overflow population, which often consisted of comparatively poorer classes. In southern India, the nucleus was sometimes formed by a temple; and one may say that both in the north and in the south, a source of constant water supply or an open square used as a market place became often the nucleus round which a town slowly grew up.

It is also well known that many towns have grown up in a more or less unplanned way. When a village was suitably located from the point of view of changed economy, it would begin to attract more and more people. As a result, the size of the village in question would become so much enlarged that it would coalesce with another neighbouring settlement, until several of them would run into one another to form a town of a crowded, irregular form. Calcutta was originally constituted by the villages of Sutanati, Govindapur and Kalikata. But original villages like Bhowanipore, Garia or Behala are becoming slowly absorbed as the metropolis progressively increases in size. Towns like Gaya or Banaras began with an urban nucleus; but in course of time they attached to themselves villages which lay in their vicinity. Rauchi or Hazaribagh were not towns in comparison with either Banaras or Gaya even a hundred years ago. But with changing function they have been growing into metropolitan sizes at the expense of villages lying near by.

Caste or caste-like exclusiveness is one of the characteristic features of India's social organization. Village ties are also important; and villages are occasionally distinguishable from one another in a region like South Bihar by differences of ethnic composition. When it is so, village loyalties are further augmented by communal loyalties of one kind or another. These communal identifications may be on the

basis of language, religion, culture, and occasionally even on community of economic interest. Then the latter becomes 'class' in the Marxian sense.

Non-Integration

Those who have studied the structure of Indian towns from the sociologist's point of view have sometimes been distressed by the large measure of petty loyalties of Indian urban inhabitants which stand seriously in the way of development of a real, healthy urban integration. In the past, when migration was slow and in small numbers, new groups which came to live in a town became more neatly identified with the neighbouring population in language or culture than in modern times, which are characterized by rapid means of transport and communication. A Bengali family which settled in U. P. in the early 19th century, or a Gujarati trading caste which came to live in Madurai became more closely identified with their neighbours in both language and culture than inhabitants of Madras who come today to work for their living either in Delhi or in Calcutta. Former immigrants nearly lost their language and food-habits, but maintained their identity by restricting marriage to their own group. The fact that they came close to their neighbours in the daily affairs of life knocked off much of the sense of separateness, while in modern times, differences persist to a more marked extent.

The implication of this observation is not that, for the sake of the unity, all differences should be ironed out. Our purpose is to indicate that communal indentifications persist; and they become feeble under certain mechanical and social conditions or become pronounced under others. For instance, Bengalis in Assam, when driven to the defensive, will tend to over-estimate their points of difference with the Assamese people, and also undervalue the overwhelming number of cultural items which both share in common.

After the partition of India, when some of our towns have become appreciably crowded by immigrant Hindu or Sikh

populations, this sense of separateness is still further accentuated.

My object up to now has been to draw attention to the increasing drift towards towns from villages in India today, and also the persistence of ties of many kinds which do not yield easily to neighbourhood ties even when people live side by side in the same town for an appreciable length of time.

Lop-sided Growth

When a town thus becomes congested, one of the prevalent ways of dealing with the problem is to run a broad road in a straight line right through the crowded area. It is like sawing through one part of a town and then widening it on both sides. The sawdust which is thus produced, the dislocated, crowded human beings who are thus let loose have to shift for themselves as best they can. The actual result is that they crowd *round* the city, and make conditions of life worse in the suburbs. For they cannot leave the suburbs of the city which holds, at least, the promise of employment of one kind or another. Villages offer none, or few at a very low level of compensation.

The purpose here is to suggest that a plan which relieves congestion by a mechanical cut, can and should be improved in several ways. The Improvement Trust of Calcutta has, of late, started building many-storied apartments in order to accommodate the people dislocated from *bustees*, but the amount of relief thus given is not always enough. Sometimes, again, the apartments are situated too far away from work-places, or transport arrangements are either heavy in cost or in time, so that attractive apartments built by the Trust are occupied not by those who were displaced, but by a different class of people altogether; while the former are left more or less in a helpless condition to shift for themselves where they can.

The point is, that a plan, if it is to be an effective one, should keep in view not merely a limited number of problems but, at least, try to keep a co-ordinated point of view before itself. Life is unified; and when we deal with it piecemeal even with

the best of intentions, the life of citizens may receive an unhealthy shock because of that very operation.

Another weakness of our urban development in recent times has been that the citizens who are concerned do not have a hand at any stage in the *making* of that plan. Plans are drawn up by experts ; and experts are technicians who have specialized in one or another branch of technology. Of course, one can admit that this is a characteristic which the plans of our city-experts share in common with India's national plans. There, too, the only reason why plans are described as products of democracy is that certain representatives of the people either from the State Legislatures or Parliament are associated in a more or less advisory or observer's capacity with the planning organizations.

Gandhian Approach

Mahatma Gandhi had another kind of democracy in mind. Through the organization of the spinning wheel *and all that it signified*, his purpose was to build up a productive organization for relieving India's poverty from the roots. If we had no money to finance schools that rural India desperately needed, his advice was to build up a system of craft-centred education in which children would be able substantially to meet schooling expenses by means of their own labour. As a practical man, Gandhi did not envisage a time when the state would no longer be there. He felt happy if voluntary organizations were prepared to deal with most problems of social life, and the machinery of the state was used only when inevitable. That would be as close to the anarchistic ideal as we could practically realize. Gandhiji went so far as to experiment with a system of 'national' non-violent defence in which the state's army would become obsolete.

But that apart, one has to remember that the central point of Gandhi's constructive work was that both plan as well as execution were to depend to the largest extent possible upon people's own labour and organization.

Can we not weave in a little of this philosophy into the remaking of our towns and cities today ? Personally, I believe,

it is worth-while giving this method a trial. No harm would be done ; for our problems are of such magnitude that even if we do not succeed as much as we expect, or even if we *fail*, then these experiments in rebuilding from the roots will yield experience which may help us in opening up new ways, or at least, in avoiding pitfalls which should be avoided.

How to Achieve Integration ?

As we see things in India today, some of our leaders are impatient with differences. The model of America is before them ; and there the son of an immigrant from, say, Poland learns quickly in school to identify himself readily with his schoolmates rather than with his parents. The problem is quickly solved ; one or two generations of time are counted enough. Indonesia today has rapidly solved her problem of languages by admitting only one language at the school stage ; and this in a series of islands stretching from Sumatra to Celebes.

These are indeed tempting successes. And so are the successes of some of our newly planned towns like Bhubaneshwar or Chandigarh, where the street has become a more important feature in planning, and not so much the neighbourhood or the community.

In all these matters, when a difficult problem faces us in regard to either a town-plan or river-training, we tend to rely more readily upon methods which have succeeded in countries which have sometimes a smaller population to deal with, or have financial or technical resources far different from our own. Our problems are not often squarely faced, with the determination to learn by original thinking and original experiments. But this is the only way in which one can grow.

India rightly prides herself in the fact that, in this civilization, a consistent endeavour has been made in order to establish an inner unity in the midst of outward diversity.

If people from Madras or Gujarat live in Calcutta in one sector or another, if Bengalis live in Nagpur, is it necessary *for an imaginary kind of unity*, to iron out all differences until they look exactly like the majority who surround them ?

Supposing all the people in one particular part of India speak the same language, dress and eat in the same manner, does it indicate a greater sense of unity than if they differed? Our Prime Minister is rightly angry with 'casteism' which comes to the surface in Bihar whenever there is an election. Has similarity of dress or identity of language or of food cemented all the inhabitants of Bihar in the way in which the Prime Minister would like to see them?

The observation which we can make here as a social scientist is that unity is a thing of the mind. And if there is that unity, then it does not matter how much outward difference the community will maintain or do away with. The chief thing is to build up a sense of community by common adventure in living.

And this is what I will now venture to indicate to our city-fathers who are pressed by the twin problems of unplanned growth of cities, and a desperately poor growth of civic integration.

Let me begin with two statements.

(1) It appears highly desirable that in the improvement of, say, a congested part of a town, the citizens involved in the process should share actively in the making of the plan, and to some extent in its execution also.

(2) Every neighbourhood tie which is existent should be utilized for further strengthening the tie. Of course, only those ties will have to be taken into account which do not thrive *at the expense* of other communities.

With these principles in view it becomes comparatively easy to suggest what could be done in some of our congested towns where discrete communities live side by side.

One of the pioneers in the matter of town-planning came and worked in India about forty-five years ago. This was the celebrated biologist, Professor Patrick Geddes, who practically created a new school of sociological thinking through the publication of his book entitled *Cities in Evolution* in 1915. Professor Geddes was once connected with the University of Bombay, and his advice was eagerly sought by the rajahs of Balrampur, Indore, etc. for the reconstruction of their capital cities during the years 1915 to 1919.

Professor Geddes worked out a plan of city survey in which were recorded not only roads and blocks covered by buildings ; but he showed how the kind of building and form of land-use had also to be recorded in detail in order to help in what he termed 'conservative surgery'. One of his principal ideas was that, in India, it is unnecessary to iron out differences between communities. Thus if there is a predominance of, say, Muslims, the mosque itself could be made the centre of local civic life, and the help and co-operation of citizens evoked by the sociologically minded planner as he works in the neighbourhood, examines every suggested improvement, tries to overcome local difficulties, yet adds his wisdom to the wisdom of local people so that a plan is prepared and executed while the feeling is generated in the neighbourhood that everything has been done according to the locality's own plan.

The chief point in the Geddes approach is that in India a city is not to be looked upon as an abstraction to be improved by a geometrical or mechanical kind of surgery ; but it is a conglomerate of discrete neighbourhoods which have to work hard for raising the standard of their own living, and thus help in raising the standard of the city as a whole.

There is hardly any harm if different areas of the town are inhabited by different communities, when they learn not to destroy one another but enrich the common life of the city itself by supplementing one another's effort.

Each *para* (locality) or *muhalla* should be developed with a sense of pride in itself. And this has to be done irrespective of what kinds of people live together. Their commonnesses of civic interest must be made an overriding concern. Hindu or Muslim, Bengali or Bihari, Madrasi or Gujarati must join hands in order to raise the quality of their common life ; and demand and accept from the common pool of the municipality or the state aid in order to supplement their combined effort.

It is thus perhaps that democracy can be built up from a concern about civic problems which affect everyone's life. And if it succeeds, then decentralization will become a living thing, and serve as the foundation of true democracy.

THE INSTITUTION OF PANJI AMONG MAITHIL BRAHMANS

BAIDYANATH SARASWATI

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Introduction

KNOWLEDGE of pedigree is important for every Hindu for the regulation of marriage. And hence, we find the system of keeping genealogies widely prevalent over India. A certain caste or group of people is engaged in this profession. In north-western India, the Bhats are professional genealogists. In eastern India, Panjikars, Kulkarikas and Ghataks are the people who keep genealogical records of important lineages belonging to higher castes. In southern India, however, the system of keeping genealogical records does not seem to be equally well organized. Usually, family priests maintain the genealogies of their patrons. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to show how the institution of maintaining stemma weaves the network of the social system of Maithil Brahmans of northern Bihar.

Maithil Brahmans

Brahmans fall under two broad divisions, each of which is divided into five groups. The first division is called Pancha Gauriya or the five northern ones and the second Pancha Dravira or the five southern ones. The dividing line between the two is supposed to be the Narmada river. The five northern groups are Saraswata, Kanyakubja, Gaura, Maithil and Utkal. The Pancha Dravira are the Tailanga, Dravira, Karnata, Maharashtra and Gurjara.

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Maithil Brahmans take their name from Mithila and belong to this tract. Mithila is the country bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Ganga, on the east by the Kosi and on the west by the Gandak in the state of Bihar. This area is represented today by the districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran (north), Monghyr (north), Bhagalpur and parts of Purnea.

Maithil Brahmans are organized into various groups and sub-groups. These groups have socio-religious importance and are organized on the basis of Gotra or clan, Mul-gram, and Panji. The three main religious sects found among the Maithil Brahmans are Saiva, Sakta and Vaisnava.

Evolution of Panji

Among Maithil Brahmans it is a rule that a bride must be away more than fifth in descent on the mother's side and more than sixth on the father's side from the last common ancestor of her and the bridegroom. One cannot marry the daughter of his step-mother's brother. Nor can he marry a girl who is an offspring of his grandfather. Marriage with a wife's sister during her lifetime is also prohibited. Parties to a marriage should also not be of the same Gotra or Pravara. An infringement of these rules not only invalidates the marriage, but the latter is treated as a grievous sin. A girl who falls within the prohibited degree of relationship is called *s w a j a n a*. He who marries a *swajana* is considered to be a *C h a n d a l a* (impure and untouchable).

In ancient times, there were no written records of the pedigree of an individual. The only source of finding out relationship was from some pundits called *Pandhua* who could reproduce from memory the names of ancestors up to certain degrees. Some of the important families, both Brahman and *Kshatriya*, also used to maintain their own genealogical tables. Such genealogical records were called *s a m o o h - l e k h*. In course of time it was observed that most people did not maintain genealogical records properly. Under the circumstances, the danger of marriage within prohibited

degrees of relationship increased. It is said that, about the 18th century A. D., an unpleasant incident occurred which created a deep sensation in the whole of Mithila. The story is as follows.

Through oversight, Mahamahopadhyaya Pundit Harinath, a celebrated scholar of Mithila, contracted a marriage within the prohibited degree of relationship. This was not detected until an occasion arose when his wife was alleged to have had sexual connection with a Chandala (an untouchable). She had to face trial by ordeal to prove her innocence. Taking a fire-ball in her hand she said before the jury: '*Naham Chandala gamini*' (I have not had sexual intercourse with a Chandala). To her great horror and surprise she found her hands scorching—a contingency possible only in case she was sinful. Knowing that she was perfectly innocent, she consulted a learned woman named Lakshmia Thakurain and returned to solicit re-trial. She was tested again. This time she swore: '*Naham Patirikta Chandala gamini*' (I have had no sexual intercourse with any impure man other than my husband), and the fire did not burn her hand. It was then realized that her husband was a Chandala because he had married a woman who fell within the prohibited degree of relationship. Pundit Harinath felt the humiliation so much that he himself undertook to compose a genealogy of Maithil Brahmans which has, since his time, been kept with scrupulous care, fresh entries being made from time to time. Maharaja Harsinghdeo, a Karnatak Kshatriya who was then king of Mithila, became interested in the above genealogy. He ordered detailed genealogies to be recorded correctly, and made it obligatory for every person to get a certificate of non-relationship (a-s-w-a-j-a-n-a-p-a-t-r-a) between the two contracting parties from authorized genealogists. This system of keeping genealogies was called p a n j i and the persons entrusted with this work were called P a n j i k a r s or P a n j i a r s. A number of learned Maithil Brahmans were selected for this purpose; and in due course the office of Panjika became hereditary.

Evolution of Mul-gram

The term *M u l-g r a m* or *Mulgram* signifies the name of the village of origin. There is wide controversy regarding the origin of *Mulgram* and its relation to the *Panji* system. Some are of opinion that the *Mulgrams* are the earliest thing. But popular opinion is that the *Mulgram* was brought into being during the introduction of the *Panji* system, when the first genealogy of *Maithil Brahmins* came to be recorded. A family coming from village *Naraune* was recorded under *M u l N a r a u n e*. In course of time, when members of the family became scattered and settled in different villages, the name of the new village was added to the original one (*Mul*) of that family, e. g. the members of *Naraune Mul* who went and settled in village *Tripura* became known as the people of *Naraune-Tripura*. Thus, due to the migration of family members during the collection of genealogies, the names of new villages were added to the *Muls* (original villages) of the people of various *S a k h a s* (branches). Such new villages were called *D e r a* or *G r a m*. Thus, with each *Mul* several *Grams* were added to the genealogical records. Some *Mulgrams* are treated as good and honourable, while others are regarded as 'bad' or *d u s h n a*. Such distinction was made according to the status and prestige of the *B i j i P u r u s h* (original ancestor) of the *Mul*. Entries of the social status or otherwise, attached to each *Mul*, have also been made in the *Panji* literature.

Genealogists and Their Records

Panjikars or genealogists maintain genealogical records very carefully and guard them as their treasure. They do not allow laymen to have access to these records. Knowledge of recording and deciphering is transmitted from father to son. The son of a genealogist starts memorizing the *Panji* from the age of 12—13 and by the time he joins his profession he is supposed to know the whole *Panji* by heart.

Once a year or once in two years, a genealogist has to go on

a round of villages to make fresh entries in his record. He is accompanied by a servant who carries the huge bundle of records. On reaching the village, he is received by his rich J a j m a n, client or patron, and stays with him till the work is over. When leaving the village, the genealogist is given 2 to 5 rupees in cash, a pair of d h o t i s, a piece of sacred thread and betel-nuts by his client as a mark of respect, b i d a e e or parting present. The other clients with whom he does not stay, also present him with two rupees or so in cash.

The present genealogists have divided among themselves the responsibility of recording the genealogies of all important families of Maithil Brahmans. But each genealogist must possess a complete genealogy without which he cannot examine the relationship.

Genealogical records are checked and fresh entries are also made during the S a u r a t h S a b h a where people from all over Mithila and Maithils living in other parts of the country assemble and contact genealogists for obtaining a certificate of non-relationship.

Method of Writing

Paper : The oldest genealogies are written on leaves of b a j a r b a t t o o tree. Now-a-days, b h o j - p a t r a or b a s a l a - k a g a z is used for writing. Basala-kagaz is prepared very carefully. The paper is soaked in rice-gruel for a few minutes and then dried. Soon after drying, the paper is burnished with a conch shell. The paper prepared out of bajarbattoo leaves lasts longer than bhojpatra or basala paper. Bajarbattoo leaves are also washable. The usual size of the paper is $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The paper is carefully cut and punched in the centre of one end of the paper.

Ink : The oldest genealogies are written with the blood of buffaloes sacrificed to the deity Tara (Mahishamardini) of the village of Bangaon-Mahishi. Genealogists used to visit the

temple of Tara and collect the blood of buffaloes sacrificed to the deity. When such blood is used for writing on bajarbattoo leaves, it becomes indelible and is washable. Now-a-days, a special kind of ink is prepared from the juice of banana tree, p a k h a r a, k h a i r or catechu, s u h a g a or borax and soot.

Pen : The stem of a creeper is used as a pen for writing genealogies. Now-a-days pen-holders are also used.

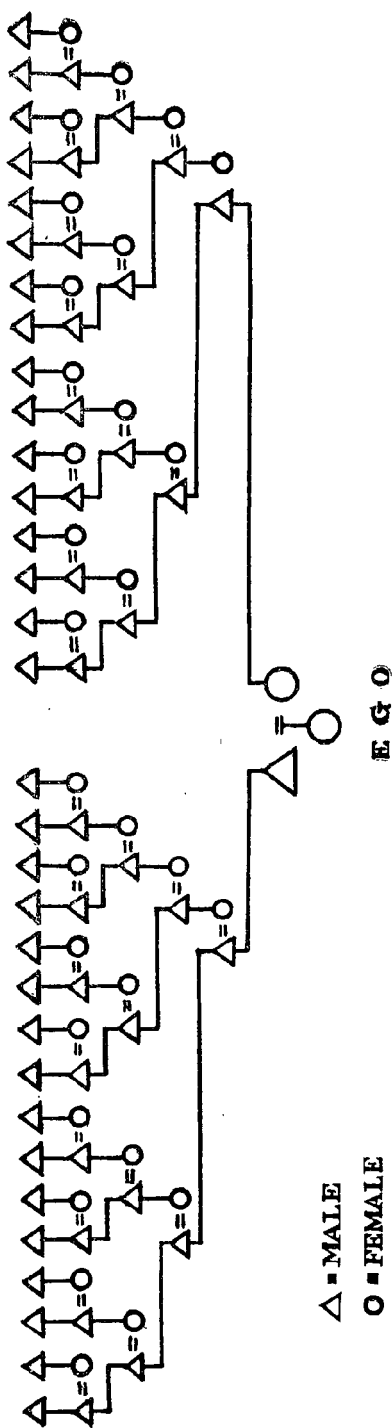
Script : All genealogies are written in the M i t a k s h a r a (a Maithili) script. Though this script has become obsolete, fresh entries in genealogies are still made in it.

Binding and preservation : Genealogical records called P a n j i p o t h i are preserved carefully and wrapped in deer-skin. Such bound records are kept in a wooden box called p e t a r a or s a n d o o k. Care is taken to protect them from white ants.

Method of recording : The genealogies are first recorded in the original record called M u l p o t h i in which the details of family, marriage alliances and social status are written down. One such book may contain all genealogies of one or more than one Mul. Genealogies are further transferred from the Mul pothi to U t e r h p o t h i. Uterh pothi is also arranged Mul-wisè, but recorded more briefly. In this pothi, only the names of the males occur. It is this pothi which genealogists consult during marriage negotiation (s a m b a n d h).

Method of tracing descent : For a socially permissible marriage it is essential that the bride and the bridegroom should not come within the prohibited degree of 63 blood relatives (32 on the father's side and 31 on the mother's side). These relatives are recorded in Uterh pothi. The 63 prohibited relations are shown in the following table.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE
SHOWING
THE PROHIBITED DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP
AMONG MAITHIL BRAHMANS



Block used through the courtesy of the Anthropological Survey of India.

Two Classes of Panji

There are two kinds of Panji, namely, *Mul Panji* and *Sakha Panji*. *Mul Panji* is confined to a single stock or *Mul* and records the names of sons as well as of daughters with their marriage alliances and their offspring. *Sakha Panji* starts with one family, the family of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and branches off into another family as soon as marriage occurs in it. It contains, therefore, the genealogies of all important families; because all important families are interconnected by marriage. In this, however, the names of women do not occur, and daughters are recorded not in the family of their birth but in that of their marriage.

The Panji and Social Stratification

The introduction of the Panji system brought about a remarkable change in the social organization of the Maithils. Before the promulgation of the Panji, there was no group stratification. Maharaja Harsinghdeo not only commanded that the Panji should be written down, but Maithil Brahmans should also be classified according to status. Such of the Maithil Brahmans as performed the *Agnihotra* sacrifices and devoted their time from sunrise to sunset in religious worship were given the first place and were called *Srotriya*. Next to *Srotriyas* were the *Jogyas* who were placed in the second class while *Jaibars* composed the third. This classification was made in hierarchical order and was incorporated in the marriage rules, while hypergamy was encouraged.

This gradation stirred the whole body of Maithil Brahmans. All the three groups mentioned above actually began to function as separate marital groups. Interdining and intermarriage were restricted to one's own group. If one married in a lower group he was excommunicated.

But the rigidity of the groups could not be maintained for a long time for various reasons. Originally, there were only thirteen families in the *Srotriya* group. So long as marriage could be arranged within these thirteen lineages all *Srotriyas* held equal social rank and their children were also

Avadatta (pure). But difficulty arose later on and increased gradually. The number of Srotriyas was very small. Marriageable persons became rarer. As a matter of necessity, a bride of the Jogya class had to be accepted with the special permission of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The children born of such marriage were called Srotriyas, but they lost the distinction of the Avadata. They were considered lower in position than their fathers. They were called Lokas or descendants of the Avadatas. The Laukiks, i.e. the caste qualification of their maternal grandparents became the measure of their social rank. A Laukik has, by custom, a tendency to deteriorate. A child will have the Laukik of his parents if both of them are of the same Laukik. But if they are of two different Laukiks, one inferior to the other, the child will be of the inferior Laukik and not of the superior. In course of time, a number of such Laukiks sprang up, with the result that at present, among the Srotriyas, seven sections and about forty Laukiks are graded according to rank. And the members of each section try to retain their place by marriage in sections higher than their own.

In course of time, two more groups emerged due to marriage alliances between the Jogya and Jaibar. These two groups, namely, the Panjibaddha and the Bansaj were treated as lower than Jogyas but higher than Jaibars. Thus, at present, there are five groups of Maithil Brahmans who are graded in hierarchical order as follows:—(1) Srotriya, (2) Jogya, (3) Panjibaddha, (4) Bansaj and (5) Jaibar. Several sub-groups have formed in each of the above groups, e.g. among the Srotriya there are 7 sub-groups, among the Jogya there are 15 sub-groups, the Panjibaddha have more than 153 sub-groups, and among the Bansaj and the Jaibar various groups have similarly been formed.

This system of social gradation was called Panji prabandh. Some people are of opinion that this system was introduced much later than the Panji system, because we do not find any evidence of such gradation in the early Panji literature. However, the institution of Panji stimulated

hierarchical notions among the Maithils and encouraged hypergamous marriages. Hypergamy was followed by Kulinism. Polygamy was resorted to on a very large scale. Matrimony became a new way of making a living, and the honour of marrying a girl to a Kulin became highly valued.

The Marriage Mart

It has been stated already that after introducing the Panji system, Maharaja Harsinghdeo made it obligatory on every bride and bridegroom to secure a certificate of non-relationship from genealogists. In course of time, genealogical records assumed gigantic proportions and it was arranged that professional genealogists should be available to the people at certain appointed places throughout Mithila. Periodical meetings (s a b h a) attended by authorized genealogists are therefore held during auspicious days (s u d d h a) at different centres, such as the villages of Saurath, Pratappur, Sajhuar, Bhakharail, Sahesaula, Bangaon and Gobindpur-Larlahi of the Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Purnea districts respectively.

The place where the Sabha is held is called S a b h a g a c h i . A Sabha-gachi of the village of Saurath, which is the oldest, is located in about the centre of Mithila. It is four miles away from Madhubani in the district of Darbhanga. In and about the village of Saurath are the residences of many genealogists. During auspicious days, hundreds of thousands of Maithil Brahmans assemble in Saurath in order to settle marriages. The residents of Saurath and neighbouring villages entertain the visitors and accommodate them in their homes. The Sabha usually lasts for six or seven days according to the m o o h o r t a . The prospective bridegroom sits with his relatives on a carpet. The bride's parents go about the d e r a s (camps where the bridegroom sits) for selection. When two parties are satisfied with the introduction, they consult genealogists. The genealogists make temporary booths in the Sabha-gachi and sit with all their records. After confirmation by a genealogist, the two parties return to their camp and finalize the amount of dowry and other details. Should they come to an agreement, they go back to the

genealogist again, in order to obtain the a-swajana-patra (certificate of non-relationship) from him. A-swajana-patra is written on palm leaf over the signature of the genealogist. He is paid by both parties. After obtaining the certificate, the bridegroom proceeds to the dwelling house of the bridal party and the marriage is performed there in accordance with the Shastras and Maithil customs.

It is impossible for all Maithil Brahmans, who are several lacs in number, to get the services of genealogists who form a very small number. Therefore, in addition to genealogists, the Ghatak (a person who knows most of the genealogies), unofficially and informally helps the people.

The Sabha is attended only by members of the Panjibaddha, Bansaj and Jaibar among the five divisions of Maithil Brahmans. The Srotriya and the Jogya adopt a different method of marriage negotiation. A man wishing to give his daughter in marriage obtains from an unauthorized genealogist an *A d h i k a r m a l a*, i.e. a list of persons (with the names of their fathers and maternal grandfathers) with whom the intended bride has no relationship and with whom marriage is permissible. In this case, negotiation is made privately.

Observation

Observation at the marriage mart of the village of Saurath which was in session from June 6 to June 13, 1962, shows that nearly 1,500 marriages were settled in the Sabha-gachi during a week's time under the superintendence of Panjikars and Ghataks. The names of Panjikars, Ghataks and the approximate number of negotiations made by each are as follows :

Name of Panjekar	Approximate number of negotiations settled
Bishnu Dutt Misra	200
Chandra Kant Misra	155
Bodhkant Jha	150
Kirtu Jha	150
Modanand Jha (Representative of the late Panjekar Sri Nirshu Jha)	100
Shio Dutt Misra	75

Name of Panjekar	Approximate number of negotiations settled
Markhande Misra	75
Sukha Deo Misra	75
Chulhaie Misra	75
Abhiram Jha	75
Ram Chandra Jha	75
Panjekar from Jarel	175
Ghataks & other Panjekar	150
	1530

This year, the maximum gathering in the Saurath Sabha was estimated at 80,000 approximately on the 12th of June, 1962. The people are of opinion that many negotiations did not materialize on account of the high demand of dowry (v y a b a s t h a) made by the bridegroom's party. The maximum dowry which was provided for a bridegroom this year was Rs. 13,000 in cash. But such cases are exceptional. The Saurath Sabha of 1962 shows the following noticeable features.

Contempt for dowry :

The new Hindu marriage laws, declining condition of middle-class people, change in outlook of educated bridegrooms and the influence of social reformers are responsible for the feeling against high dowry. Education of the bride has proved to be the most important factor which determines the amount of dowry. Several cases were found in which the bridegroom refused to accept dowry from the parents of an educated bride. A bridegroom from the village of Siripur, who is a student of medicine, refused to accept the proposal in which he was offered a dowry of Rs. 14,000. He ultimately chose a bride from the village of Chanpura, with no dowry from the bride's parents. The bride in this case is a matriculate and a student of art. Such cases are frequent where the bride is educated. Attraction towards an educated bride has, in some cases, encouraged an educated bridegroom to go against the will of his parents.

Careful selection of bridegroom :

This year, brides' parents have shown great patience and care in selecting bridegrooms. A very significant point which appears to play an important part in lessening the anxiety of brides' parents is the change in the marriageable age of girls. The usual practice was formerly to give a girl in marriage before puberty. Now-a-days, the average marriageable age has risen from 10 to 14 years. This has helped the bride's parents in postponing marriage for another year or so, if they do not find a suitable match, or the match is beyond their means.

The most desirable qualifications of a bridegroom are : (1) a University degree, (2) contacts or relationship with officers of the Government, (3) wealth, (4) health, (5) Panji and other social considerations. So far as educational qualifications are concerned, a bridegroom with a degree in engineering or medicine is greatly valued. Relationship with some political leader in the Government is also an important qualification for a bridegroom.

Objection to polygyny :

The practice of polygyny has been completely stopped. Not a single case was reported in the Sabha in which a man had come to seek a second wife. The value of Kulin Brahmans has also gone down very much.

Conclusion

The institution of Maithil Panji is now over 600 years old, and it has been maintained properly up to this day. It is not only an institution which keeps the genealogical records of families, but also an important office which regulates marriage and transmits social traditions from generation to generation. Genealogists also record the status of an individual as determined by marriage alliance. The role of genealogists was apparently very important in days when Kulinism was in vogue all over Mithila. It is said that in those days many people belonging to lower groups bribed genealogists for including their names in higher groups,

for this would enable them to make a handsome income by marrying girls belonging to lower groups. Therefore, the authenticity of the Panji records of many families appears to me personally to be very doubtful. However, Maithil Brahmans still regard this institution with much respect and affection. Though, at present, under the impact of modern developments, the choice of a bridegroom has shifted from the Kulin class to the holder of a University degree, the office of the Panjekar has not been affected, for upon it lies the solidarity of Maithil society.

POPULATION OF INDIA ABOUT 320 B. C.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

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1. Alexander the Great invaded India in 327 B. C. Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander* (lxii), gives the force of the Nandas of Magadha as 80,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants. He was describing this force by way of explaining the armed opposition that Alexander was likely to meet if he had continued his campaign beyond the river Beas.

2. Chandragupta Maurya dethroned the Nandas, expelled the Greeks from the Punjab, repelled the invasion of Seleukos and annexed the provinces of the Paropanisadai, Aria, and Arachosia, the capitals of which were respectively Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar, and also Gedrosia or modern Baluchistan. For his conquests and the preservation of the large empire he required certainly a large well-organized, well-equipped army.

3. His empire extended over approximately 12,00,000 sq. miles; it was probably larger than the Persian empire of Darius I. It was the first of empires in historical India. And it was well organized. It survived his death intact for 66 years in spite of the policy of a h i m s a of Asoka; and his dynasty continued for a century more.

4. Vincent Smith says :

‘Chandragupta maintained the traditional “four-fold” army. His military organization does not betray any trace of Greek ideas. The force at the command of the last Nanda was formidable, being estimated at 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants. The Maurya raised the

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number of the infantry to 600,000, and of the elephants to 9,000. But his cavalry is said to have mustered only 30,000. The number of his chariots is not recorded. Assuming that he maintained them as in the time of his predecessor, that each chariot required at least three, and that each elephant carried at least four men, his total force must have amounted to not less than 690,000, or in round numbers 700,000 men. Megasthenes expressly states that the soldiers were paid and equipped by the state. They were not a mere militia of contingents. It is not surprising that an army so strong was able both to "overrun and subdue all India", as Plutarch asserts, and also to defeat the invasion of Seleukos' (Smith 1920, 82).

5. The same authority in his *Early History of India*, while describing the army of Porus at the battle of the Hydaspes (326 B.C.) says :

'Each chariot was drawn by four horses, and carried six men, of whom two were archers, stationed one on each side of the vehicle, two were shield-bearers, and two were charioteers, who in the stress of battle were wont to drop the reins and ply the enemy with darts (Q. Curtius viii, 14)' (Smith 1924, 70).

Jogesh Chandra Ray says :

'Each elephant had two goadsmen, two archers and two swordsmen' (Ray 1361 B. S., 7).

Vincent Smith, while describing the army of Chandragupta says :

'Each chariot, which might be drawn by either four or two horses, accommodated two fighting-men besides the driver ; and an elephant, in addition to the mahout or driver, carried three archers' (Smith 1924, 132).

If Chandragupta's chariots had the same number of men as Porus' the total would be $6,90,000 + 3 \times 8,000 = 7,14,000$ men. If his elephantry had the traditional number of men, then the above total has to be increased by $2 \times 9,000 = 18,000$ men, and the grand total comes up to 7,32,000 men.

We, however, stick to the smaller total of 7,00,000 men as stated by Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India*.

6. Kautilya classifies troops in the main into three cate-

gories, namely, hereditary troops, hired troops and soldiers belonging to corporations. The first were of prime importance. These constituted the standing army of the king ; and they are described as well paid. 'Horses and elephants were the property of the king and private ownership of these was not permitted . . . soldiers were paid their salaries in cash and not with land grants' (Thapar 1961, 120).

We do not take into account the other two categories of soldiers, namely, hired troops and troops belonging to corporations, in the subsequent discussion and calculation.

7. Romila Thapar also says :

'The administration of the armed forces is described in detail both by Kautilya and by Megasthenes. The former classifies troops in the main into three categories, hereditary troops, hired troops, and soldiers belonging to corporations. The first were of prime importance. These constituted the standing army of the king and were probably the troops referred to by Megasthenes in describing the fifth class, that of the soldiers. Since they formed the core of the fighting force they were given special treatment. Megasthenes speaks of them as being numerically the second largest group, smaller only than that of the peasants. The troops are described as being very well paid ; during periods of peace they are said to be lazy and seem to spend their time enjoying themselves. The statement that they are so well paid that they support others on their salary is not an exaggeration. According to the *Arthashastra* the trained soldier was to be paid 500 *panas*, which in the range of salaries was listed as a very comfortable income. The maintenance of the army was the concern of the commander-in-chief and the superintendent of the infantry. Other sections of the army, the cavalry, the elephant corps, and the armoury, were each under their respective officer' (ibid., 118-19).

The state artisans were given a salary of 120 *panas*. With this salary the artisan maintained himself and his family. So soldiers who were given 500 *panas*, could easily maintain domestic servants and grooms, as their salary was surely less than that of artisans. While on march, commissariat

arrangements had to be made for the 'servants of the regular troops, grooms, and other attendants' (ibid., 120).

8. This huge army, lavishly paid in cash and supplied with horses, elephants and arms, must have cost the state a large part of its annual revenue or income. Megasthenes states that the soldier was expected to return his arms to the magazine. The armoury has been described by Kautilya as an extensive establishment periodically inspected, suggesting that all arms were kept in one place.

9. Thapar says, 'Expenditure was largely on salaries and public works. The maintenance of the royal court and the royal family required the use of part of the national revenue in addition to the revenue from the crown lands. Salaries of the officials were also paid with the money that came into the royal treasury. *One-fourth* (italics ours) of the total revenue was kept for this purpose. Some of these salaries are listed. The minister, the *purohita* and the army commander received 48,000 *panas*. The chief collector and the treasurer were paid 24,000 *panas*. Members of the ministerial council received 12,000 *panas*. The staff of accountants and writers were paid 500 *panas*' (ibid., 99).

10. One-fourth of the total annual revenue was spent in the payment of salaries. Was it for payment of military salaries alone, or for both civil and military? In the *Sukraniti-sara* as it has come down to us—we cannot say how old it is, but Kautilya begins his book on *Arthasastra* after offering obeisance to Sukracharya and Vrihaspati,—we are told :

'The heads of the *gramas* are to receive one-twelfth of the income from the *grama*. The army is to be maintained by three (such parts), charity (to be done to the extent of) half (of such a part), the people are to be (entertained) with half (of such a part), the officers (are to be paid) with half (of such a part), personal expenditure (to be met) out of half (of such a part). And the treasury is to be served by the remainder. By dividing the income into six such divisions the king should yearly incur expenditure.

'This rule is meant for and should be observed by rulers like

Samanta and above, and not by inferiors' (Benoy Kumar Sarkar's translation, ch. I. para. 631-636).

'That ruler is called a *Samanta* in whose kingdom without oppressing the subjects, an annual revenue from one lakh up to three lakh *Karsas* is regularly realised.'

'The governor of 100 *Gramas* is also called a *Samanta*. The man who is appointed by a king over 100 *Gramas* is called a *Nri-Samanta*' (ibid., ch. I. para. 365-67 and 381-82).

The average number of villages in a district is about 1,500. The territory governed by a *Samanta* is over two or three modern thanas.

11. In the Bengali translation of Kautilya by Dr. Radha Govinda Basak, we find in 5.3 (91 sec.) that the king should spend one-fourth, even the whole revenue, according to circumstances, for the necessary purpose (i. e. army).

12. The late Dr. Jogesh Chandra Ray in his great little book *Dhanurveda* (Science of War) written in Bengali, says that in the *Agni Purana* and in the *Dhanurveda* of Vasistha, it is written that the king should spend a year's revenue or income in collecting flags and arms, i.e. military stores and munitions; and that he should spend one-fourth of the annual revenue on the army as prescribed by Sukra (i.e. in the *Sukraniti-sara*) (Ray, 1361 B.S., 8).

We do not know for certain whether the *Agni Purana*, the *Dhanurveda* of Vasistha and the *Sukraniti-sara* recorded the actual, usual practice of ancient Hindu kings, or only recommended such practice. If it is a record of practices, the practice must have been followed by Chandragupta, as Hindu India is largely traditionalist, especially in matters military, e.g. in regard to the 'four-fold' divisions of the army. If it is recommending such expenditure on the army, it is very likely to have been followed by Chandragupta as he established himself on the throne after uprooting the Nandas with the help of an army, and enlarged his kingdom by conquest.

13. We, therefore, think that most probably Chandragupta spent one-fourth of the annual revenue on the army. But the expenditure on the army does not mean the payment of salaries

to foot-soldiers, cavalrymen, elephantry-men and chariotry-men only, but also on the purchase of horses and elephants, bulls for commissariat wagons, construction of chariots and their maintenance, fodder and grain for horses, elephants and bulls; and on equipments for the army.

14. Chandragupta had 30,000 cavalry and 8,000 chariots. The number of horses was at least $30,000 + 2 \times 8,000 = 46,000$; if not $30,000 + 4 \times 8,000 = 62,000$ horses. Assuming that half the number of his chariots were drawn by 2 horses each; and the other half were drawn by 4 horses, the number of horses would be 54,000.

The working life of a horse for military purposes is 15 years. So every year he had to purchase 3,600 horses. The number of elephants was 9,000. The working life of an elephant is 30 years; so he had to purchase 300 elephants. Katyayana says that the value of a milch cow is 32 panas. Taking the value of a horse to be 5 times that of a cow, and that of an elephant to be 10 times that of a horse we may find out the cost of replacement.

3600 horses cost $3,600 \times 5 \times 32 = 5,76,000$ panas

300 elephants cost $300 \times 10 \times 5 \times 32 = 4,80,000$ panas

Total— 10,56,000 panas

The life of a chariot is 10 years; so he had to replace 800 chariots every year. Taking the cost of a chariot to be 4 times that of a horse, 800 chariots cost him $800 \times 5 \times 32 \times 4 = 5,12,000$ panas; the annual cost of replacement would be 16 lac panas in round numbers.

15. There were plenty of forests and pasture lands in those far-off days. Fodder and grain were cheap. As a rough estimate, we take the annual cost of feeding 9,000 elephants and 54,000 horses at 5 per cent of their total cost.

9,000 elephants cost $9000 \times 10 \times 5 \times 32 = 144,00,000$ panas

54,000 horses cost $54,000 \times 5 \times 32 = 86,40,000$ "

230,40,000 "

5 per cent of the total 230,40,000 panas is 11,52,000 panas.

16. The annual cost of replacement and of feeding is 27 lac panas in round numbers. The salary bill of 7,00,000 soldiers,

disregarding the higher salaries of officers and commanders, is at least $7 \text{ lac} \times 500 = 3,500 \text{ lac panas}$.

The proportionate cost of maintenance and replacement is less than one per cent of the salary bill. Even if the cost of maintenance and replacement be 10 times what we have supposed, it would be less than 7% of the total cost.

In our subsequent calculations we, therefore, assume that the entire one-fourth of the annual revenue was expended in footing the salary bill of the army.

17. The king's share of agricultural produce is called *bali*, and is assessed at different rates. Vasistha (I. 42) and Vishnu (III. 22, 23) fix it at the uniform rate of one-sixth. Gautama has three rates—one-sixth, one-eighth and one-tenth in accordance with the quality of the soil as good, middling and bad (X. 24). Manu mentions one-twelfth instead of one-tenth (V. 2, 130). The *Mahabharata*, however, fixes the *bali* generally at one-sixth (X. 2. 69.25; 71, 10; etc.) The majority of writers fix the share at one-sixth; and by the time of the *Mahabharata* (taking the great war to have taken place about 1500 B. C.) it is one-sixth; and it is most likely to have been followed and crystallized as a fixed constitutional custom by the time of Chandragupta.

18. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta, however, gives the king's share as one-fourth of the produce of the soil. Dr. Romila Thapar is of opinion 'that Megasthenes' statement of the assessment of revenue being one-quarter was based on the amount collected in the vicinity of the capital, which he assumed applied to the entire country' (*ibid.*, 67).

If the general rate of assessment was one-sixth and that round the capital one-fourth, it means that the metropolitan area paid an assessment 50 per cent higher. It is curious that the same phenomenon was observed round Calcutta in the early days of British rule. Grant, in his *Analysis* of 27th April, 1786, states that the general incidence of the raiyat's rent in Bengal, inclusive of *abwabs*, was about Re. 1 per bigha or Rs. 2 as. 3 per acre, one acre being equivalent to 2.18 bighas at the time. In the Company's *zemindari* round Calcutta the

rate had been raised by that time to Re. 1 as. 8 per bigha or Rs. 3 as. 5 per acre.

'The *Arthashastra* advises that in a period of emergency, the tax may be raised to one-third or one-quarter, or a system of double cropping may be adopted, but only in fertile areas irrigated by rain water' (Thapar 1961, 66).

We, therefore, take one-sixth to have been the general rate of assessment throughout the empire enhanced to one-fourth in fertile areas and reduced to one-eighth in 'bad' areas.

19. The fertile land in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges was first occupied by Aryan settlers. With increasing civilization and consequent growth of population, jungles were cleared and comparatively less fertile tracts away from perennial streams were occupied and cultivated. With settled government and further increase of both civilization and population and conversion of uncivilized people and tribes to more efficient modes of production, 'bad' lands were cultivated and occupied.

Assuming that half the cultivated land was of high quality, one-third of middling and the rest of low quality—an assumption roughly true in the case of Bengal in modern times (c. 1930)—the average assessment would be $\frac{1}{4}$ th of $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ th of $\frac{1}{3}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ th of $\frac{1}{6}$ = $\frac{39}{192}$ or 20.3 per cent of the produce of the entire country.

If we assume that the proportion of 'good' land was then greater, as by two thousand years of cultivation, some 'good' land has become middling, as is likely to be the case, and that the proportion of good : middling : low = $\frac{2}{3}$: $\frac{1}{4}$: $\frac{1}{12}$, then the assessment would be :

$\frac{1}{4}$ th of $\frac{2}{3}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ th of $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ th of $\frac{1}{12}$ = $\frac{21}{96}$ or 21.9 per cent.

We, therefore, take the average assessment on land to have been one-fifth of the produce. And we shall use this proportion in our subsequent calculations.

20. The king's share of the produce was one-fifth ; with the four-fifths left to the cultivator he maintained himself and his family.

The king spent one-fourth of one-fifth on the army. If

with the four-fifths of the produce of a given area of land *one* cultivating family can be maintained, then with one-twentieth, $\frac{4}{5} : \frac{1}{20} \text{ of } \frac{1}{5} :: 1 : x$, or $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a family could be maintained.

The soldiers appointed by Chandragupta were well paid; they not only maintained themselves and their families comfortably, but every one of them kept servants or grooms. These servants or grooms were not slaves, but had families of their own. These servants were not directly paid by the state or the king, but the salary of the soldier was so high that he could maintain a servant.

The ratio between the cultivating family and the soldier's family was 16 : 1. For our purpose, the soldier's family consisted of two families—that of himself and that of his servant or groom.

But it is not the cultivating families alone that maintained the army. Taxes or tolls levied from people engaged in trade swelled the revenue of the king; and most probably the burden of taxation on them was equal to that on the cultivator. So the ratio holds good for the entire population.

The number of families, who maintained the army, is therefore $16 \times (7 \text{ lac soldiers} + 7 \text{ lac servants}) = 224 \text{ lac families}$. To this, we must add 14 lac soldiers and their servants' families. The grand total is 238 lacs.

21. We shall now try to estimate the average number of persons per family. The average number per house during the census period 1881 to 1941 has decreased from 5.8 in 1881 to 5.1 in 1941. The all-India figures are :—

1881	—	1891	—	1901	—	1911	—	1921	—	1931	—	1941
5.8		5.4		5.2		4.9		4.9		5.0		5.1

The number per agricultural family is slightly larger than the average. With increasing urbanization, rapid migration from villages to towns, decay in joint-family system of living together, the average is decreasing.

Buchanan Hamilton in his *Survey of the District of Purnia* (in Bihar) has given certain data, from which we calculate the average per family to be 6.06. The survey was made in 1811-12. The Collector of Nadia (in Bengal) in making an estimate of the population of the area under his charge takes

6 to be the average number of persons per house. This was in 1802.

For all these reasons we take 6 to have been the average number of persons per family in those far-off times. This in our opinion is an underestimate; there are good reasons to think that the average was nearer 10. However, to be on safe side, we take 6 as the average.

22. The estimated population of Chandragupta's empire is thus :—

6×23.8 millions = 142.8 millions = 143 millions in round numbers.

But it did not cover all India, though it extended as far as the Hindu Kush and the Helmand beyond the Indus.

23. What was the extent of Chandragupta's empire? Drs. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Hem Chandra Raichaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta in *An Advanced History of India* say :

'Bindusara seems to have retained undiminished the empire of his father. Tradition credits him with the suppression of a revolt in Taxila. Whether he effected any new conquests is not known for certain. His empire must have embraced not only the greater part of northern India but also a considerable portion of the Deccan, probably as far south as the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. The kingdom of Kalinga, embracing the major part of Puri, Ganjam and some adjoining tracts, is known, however, to have been independent' (Majumdar *et al.* 1946, 102).

With the addition of Kalinga, Chandragupta's empire coincided with that of his grandson Asoka. Both in Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* (see p. 105) and in Collin Davies' *Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*, Asoka's empire is shown to have followed the 14°N. latitude in the south. Roughly, the newly formed states of Kerala, Madras and Mysore were beyond its southern boundaries.

Towards the north it included Afghanistan and some portions of Nepal. Assam and possibly the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions of East Bengal were outside it.

24. The populations of three several countries in 1961 as

given in the Statistical Papers Vol. XIV, No. 1 of the United Nations are

India, i.e. Bharat	= 434.8 millions
Pakistan (provisional)	= 93.8 ,,
Afghanistan (official estimate, not censused)	= 13.8 ,,
Nepal	= 9.4 ,,
Bhutan	= 0.6 ,,
Sikkim	= 0.2 ,,
Portuguese India	= 0.6 ,,
Total	= 553.2 millions

25. Excluding Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim the population of Greater India is 543 millions. The population of the States of

Kerala	= 16.9 millions
Madras	= 33.6 ,,
Mysore	= 23.5 ,,
Assam	= 11.9 ,,
Total	= 85.9 millions

The population of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions in 1931 was

Dacca Division	= 13.86 millions
Chittagong Division	= 6.83 ,,
Total	= 20.69 millions

out of India's total of 338.12 millions, or some 6.12 per cent. The estimated population of these two Divisions at the same percentage in 1961 is 32.35 millions.

Adding this estimate to the total of 4 States found above, the present population of the areas outside Asoka's empire is 118.2 millions ; and that of Asoka's empire is 425 millions.

26. The 1961-population of Kalinga is estimated to be as follows. Population of

Puri District	= 18.65 lacs
Ganjam „	= 18.73 „
Cuttack „	= 30.64 „
	68.02 lacs or
	6.8 millions.

Deducting this population, or 7 millions in round numbers, from that of Asoka's empire we get the population of Chandragupta's empire as $425 - 7 = 418$ millions.

The proportion of population between his empire to that outside it is 418 : 125.

Increasing the estimated population of Chandragupta's empire 143 millions in the proportion 125 : 418, we get

$$143 + \frac{125}{418} \times 143 = 143 + 42.8 \text{ millions} \\ = 186 \text{ millions.}$$

This is the population of Greater India ; from this we are to deduct that of Afghanistan in the proportion of 14 : 543, i.e. we should deduct $\frac{186 \times 14}{543} = 4.8$ million.

The population of India at the time of Chandragupta is thus 181 millions.

27. There is some support for thinking that the population was as large as we have estimated it to be. At the same rate, the population of Kalinga would be $\frac{181}{529} \times 6.8 = 2.33$ millions. One-eighth of the population are men of military age : this is the maximum possible ; one-twelfth is the normal proportion. One-eighth would be 2.9 lacs.

In the Kalinga War of Asoka, according to the Rock Edict at Kalsi (generally referred to as Major Rock Edict No. 13) :

‘A hundred and fifty thousand people were deported, a hundred thousand killed and many times the number perished.’

It seems that the entire manhood of Kalinga was destroyed by Asoka, and hence his subsequent remorse.

* 529 millions is the total population of India and Pakistan.

28. The population of India at the death of Akbar has been estimated to be 110 millions. Hence the above estimate two thousand years earlier may seem to be very high. But is it really very high? The area of India is 15,75,000 sq. miles; and the density of population is 116 per sq. mile or 45 per sq. km.

The density of population of the several areas noted below at the death of Augustus (14 A. D.) has been estimated by Beloch to be

Area	Persons per sq. km.
Itali	24
Province of Asia	44
Syria	55
Egypt	179
Cyrenaica	33

Ferishta, writing in the age of Akbar, says that the population of India at the beginning of the Muslim invasions (c. 1100 A. D.) was 600 millions. What are his reasons for giving such a high figure, we do not know. Assuming him to be correct, the rate of increase is 8.7 per cent per century. If it be 300 millions, half of what Ferishta says to be the population, the rate of increase would be 3.5 per cent per century.

Having regard to the fact that the growth of population in ancient times was very slow, the results are not inconsistent with the high estimate we have made.

We have estimated the population at the age of *Mahabharata* (c. 1500 B.C) to be of the order of 70 millions. The rate of increase is 8.4 per cent per century.

29. That we are not far wrong in our estimate of the population will appear from the following considerations.

In the *Sukraniti-sara* it is said that

‘A Grama is that piece of land whose area is a cros, and whose yield is 1,000 silver karsa. The half of a Grama is called Palli, the half of a Palli is Kumbha.

'A Cros, according to Prajapati (Brahma), is 5,000 cubits; according to Manu, it is 4,000 cubits'.

(Ch. I. lines 385-388. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's translation.)

The area of a Grama is $\frac{4,000}{80} \times \frac{4,000}{80}$ bighas of Bengal measure, or 826.4 acres. In the *Bengal Land Revenue Commission Report*, Vol. II, p. 76, it is stated that 'provincial yield of paddy has been worked out at 18.8 maunds per acre'. Two-thirds of this is rice, i.e. 12.53 maunds.

The yield from 826.4 acres is $826.4 \times 12.53 = 10,354.8$ maunds of rice.

The value of the produce is 1,000 silver karsas = 16,000 copper karsas or panas (Cunningham: *Ancient Coins of India*).

The price of a maund of rice is therefore,

$$16,000/10,355 = 1.54 \text{ panas.}$$

Chandragupta spent as salary on his army 500×7 lac = 3,500 lac panas. This was one-fourth of his income; so his income was 14,000 lac panas. This at one-fifth of the yield gives the total yield as 70,000 lac panas.

We have estimated the number of families to be 238 lacs. M. N. Gupta, in his *Land System of Bengal*, p. 31 ff. says:

'It is interesting to note here that the standard in Kautilya's Arthashastra was an average of 64 acres for five agriculturist families.'

The total produce of Chandragupta's empire is $238 \times \frac{64}{5} \times 18.8 \times \frac{2}{3}$ lac maunds of rice, i.e. 38,182 lac maunds.

The price of a maund of rice is, therefore, $70,000/38,182 = 1.83$ panas.

The agreement between the two figures of price, namely, 1.54 and 1.83 panas is sufficiently close having regard to the nature of the data, and of the several assumptions made. The difference is 15.2%.

In estimating the price of rice from the data in the *Sukraniti-sara*, we have supposed that the entire area of the village was given to cultivation. But some land must be deducted for homesteads, tanks, temples and roads. In Bengal, it is some 10 per cent. Deducting this figure, the price is to be

raised by $\frac{1}{4}$ th. It will then be $1.54 + 0.17 = 1.71$ panas. But we think such close agreement is more accidental than real. The difference in the latter case is reduced from 15.8 per cent to 6.6 per cent.

Incidentally, we notice that rice was very cheap. A copper karsa or pana weighed 144 grains. A pice of the British Indian coinage weighed 100 grains. The value of a maund of rice in Chandragupta's time is 1.83×1.44 pice = 2.64 pice. A rupee therefore fetched 24.3 maunds of rice.

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LAND AND PEOPLE OF THE DHAULIGANGA VALLEY*

SARADINDU BOSE

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Introduction

THE Dhauliganga is the longest tributary of the Alaknanda. Though it rises from near the Niti Pass yet it receives water mainly from East Kamet and Raikana glaciers, via the Raikana nullah. After a flow of about 65 miles, at first in a southerly and then in a westerly direction, through narrow gorges it joins the Alaknanda near Vishnu-prayag, 2 miles north-east of Joshimath.

The Dhauliganga lies wholly north of the Great Himalayan Range which, in this region, contains the Kedarnath-Chaukhamba group of peaks and Trisul-Nandadevi massif. This forms a mighty barrier against the spread of the monsoon. Naturally, the strength of the monsoon is very much weakened in the Dhauliganga Valley in comparison with the southern side of the Great Himalayan Range. The monsoon clouds enter the valley through near Joshimath via the Alaknanda. It becomes feebler and feebler as it approaches the Kamet glacier in the Zaskar Mountain. Though precipitation varies within the valley itself, yet the average annual is only 20". The duration of monsoon in the upper valley only extends to a few weeks.

The Dhauliganga Valley may be divided into three distinct units based on physiography and climate. (1) The lower valley stretches from the confluence of the Dhau-

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* This Survey was carried out during the author's journey with the Mana Expedition (1961) as Officer-in-charge of field research. The author is indebted to Sri Asoke Kumar Sircar, Editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, for his invaluable help throughout the expedition.

Alaknanda (Vishnuprayag) to the confluence of Dhauli-Rishiganga (Reni). The altitude of the valley bottom varies from 5,500 ft. to 6,500 ft. The length of the stretch is about 12 miles. The gradient of the river is gentle and the average is 1 ft. rise for every 63 ft. of horizontal distance. The valley is also gentle and wide with conspicuous development of flood plains. This area receives comparatively more rainfall, and this goes up to 40". The diurnal as well as annual range of temperature is between 25° and 30° F. and 35° and 40° F. respectively. The average frost-free period in a year is about 10 months.

(2) From Reni to Malari, a distance of about 23 miles, is the middle stretch of the valley. The altitude of the valley bottom varies from 6,500 ft. to 9,000 ft. The gradient of the river on an average is 1 ft. rise in very 48 ft. of horizontal distance. Occasionally, the river has widened out to give rise to a broad plain in which the stream is braided. A lake, about a mile in length, has been formed at the confluence of the Dhauli and the Dunagiri nullahs. The lake is believed by local people to have originated from a depression caused by a recent earthquake. A number of old pine trees are visible even now in the middle of the river bed or in the lake. The valley profile of this stretch can be conveniently broken up into three parts, namely, (a) the lowermost section with steep gradient corresponding to the present action of the river, (b) the middle section with gentle gradient corresponding to the formerly glaciated U-shaped valley, (c) the uppermost part, more or less, flat, the former neve zone of the tributary glaciers.

The annual precipitation of this region is about 20". The frost-free period in a year is about 8 months in the lower region and 7 months in the upper region.

(3) The upper valley is from Malari onwards. The height of this valley bottom is 9,000 ft. and above. Unlike the first two stretches, the river here takes a meandering course and passes alternately through wide and narrow valley profiles. The valley from Malari onwards is wide and is particularly so near Reolcho, where the stream is braided. The river has widened out in three regions: (a) from Malari to Margaon, (b) from

one mile below Reolcho to Gamsali, and (c) from Gotting to the confluence of the Raikana and the Dhauli.

The gorge between the second and third sections is deep and runs for several miles. The valley is typically U-shaped with snow-clad peaks and corrie glaciers on the heights by its side. There are several hanging valleys on both sides. In winter the seasonal glaciers come down to the valley bottom and avalanches are also frequent.

Rainfall is very scanty, and of the order of 10". The frost-free period in a year is about 5 months. Almost barren topography in consequence of low temperature and low rainfall and enormously heaped up boulders form the typical scene of this area.

Settlement

Niti, the last village in this valley, is at a height of 11,200 ft. above sea level. The village site is roughly 200 ft. above the river bed and well protected from avalanches by ranges and spurs on all sides. It is said by villagers that long ago the village site was near Temarsam, one mile downstream. But once devastating avalanches rolled down upon the village when there was a heavy loss of life and property. The settlement was then shifted to a safer position.

Selection of village sites is governed by topography. In the upper stretch from Malari onwards, villages are not located at a very high level from the river bed (roughly 200'), and there are even some villages like Reolcho situated on the river bank. This is particularly true where the flood plain is sufficiently wide and the situation safe.

In the middle and lower stretches from Malari down to Joshimath, village sites in general are in a higher position from the river bed. The reason behind the usual location at the junction of U- and V-shaped valley profiles is that from such a point they can look after agricultural fields in front and on pasture grounds in the rear.

Due to severe and extreme type of climate, a compact type of settlement has been developed throughout the valley

irrespective of altitude, e.g. in Niti, Malari, Bampa. But where there is not enough space, an elongated compact type has become developed.

House-type

Though the compact type is the prevailing pattern, yet house-types of all villages are not similar. They depend upon the available building material and climate. In the lower stretch below Reni, where rainfall is heavy in comparison with other higher villages, the roof is more steeply inclined ; but it gradually becomes less in higher regions. Walls are made of rock, cemented with mud. This is universal. But the roofing material varies locally. Up to Jummagwar, lying in the middle of the central stretch, roofs are made of tiles of slate. From Jummagwar to Gamsali roofs are of wooden tiles, made from local pines. The absence of slate and enough pine-wood brings about this modification. Tiles are made from pine plank having a size of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. \times 2ft. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. These wooden tiles are set side by side and, at the junction of two tiles, another small tile of the same length and thickness but half in breadth is fixed to prevent the percolation of rain-water. Above Gamsali, Niti is the last village. In this stretch, Niti is the only exception where rock slabs are used for roofing as pines are stunted and scarce on account of high altitude.

Two-storied buildings are common all over the valley. The ground floor is generally used for animals and as a godown. But in some cases, it is also occupied by men. The first floor is exclusively used for dwelling. Floors are made of wooden planks. In the upper region, a balcony is constructed within the house for a common passage. There are villages like Kosa where even four-storied buildings are found. Windows, though small, are common.

Dress etc.

The whole of the Dhauliganga Valley is inhabited by several classes of people, namely, (1) in the lower stretch up to Reni, by a mixed type of Garhwali, Gongari, etc., (2) in the middle

stretch up to Malari by Tolchas, and (3) in the upper stretch from Malari onwards by Marchas.

There is a wide difference between the Marcha and the Tolcha so far as dress and culture is concerned. Though they live in the same valley, yet due to difference in origin and tradition and also environment, differences in customs and manners are very great.

The Tolcha people originally came from lower Garhwal where Rajput influence is strong. Rajput influence is also noted throughout the present area in dress, culture and also in festivals. For example, shoes used by both Tolcha and Marcha people are of Rajput style (*nāgrā*). Janmastami festival, common all over India, is celebrated by the people of the lower region and even by the Marcha of the upper region.

The Marcha were originally Tibetan. Even now, they are commonly called Bhots. But today the scene is gradually changing. Local Garhwali dress is predominant among women in the lower valley. But Marcha women have a distinctive dress of their own, which has some similarity with Tibetan dress. *G h a u r i* which is like the *g h a g r a* of Rajasthan is used as an underwear. Over it, Marcha women wear *p a i k h i*, a loose woollen skirt which is manufactured in their own village. *A n g r i* is a type of woollen blouse, also manufactured locally. These dresses have some similarity with the dress of Tibetan women. *G h o o t i*, a cap with ornamental design in the forehead with a long strip of cloth, about 3 ft. in length attached to the back, is a common item of their dress. A roll of woollen cloth is often wrapped round the waist by Marcha women as in Tibet. Shoes were originally of Tibetan design, that is, up to the knee, but cloth shoes and *nāgrā* are taking the place of Tibetan shoes, as these are cheaper. Ornaments are used extensively by married women. Anyone can recognize a married woman whose husband is still living by means of her nose-ring.

But there is little diversity in the dresses of men in the

Dhauliganga Valley. Their costumes are similar to local Garhwali costume.

More or less, all the villages of the Dhauliganga Valley are inhabited by Hindus. But the village of Reolcho, at some distance above Malari, is a Tibetan Khampa village. Though they were originally Buddhist, their culture and festivals are now being influenced by the surrounding Hindu practices.

Marriage

The position of woman is comparatively high as in other upper Himalayan villages. Women here do the cooking and other household work and also cultivate the field, harvest the crop, and manufacture woollen goods like blanket, carpet, d h a n (small-sized carpet), t h u l m a (thick blanket), etc. during winter. In fact, women here control the economy of the family and thus the economy of society. Man's work is limited here, and consists of once or twice tilling the field before sowing, pasturing (not everyone) and trade.

During marriage, a bridegroom has to pay a dowry up to a thousand rupees. A person with several daughters remains complacent with his position; and the case is reverse for a person with a number of sons.

Marriage is usually limited to the tribe, though marriage with other tribes takes places in certain cases under certain restrictions. A Marcha boy can marry a Tolcha girl, but a Marcha girl cannot marry a Tolcha boy. Both tribes claim superiority over one another. The Marcha and Tolcha do not dine together and do not also accept food from one another. But today this practice is gradually disappearing and one can take tea but not food from the hands of the other.

Language

A wide diversity is also noted in the languages of the Marcha and the Tolcha. In the lower valley, local Garhwali with typical local accent is in vogue. Hindi is also spoken by everybody.

In the upper valley, though Marchas can follow and speak Hindi, yet they have their own dialect, somewhat different from Garhwali. Marcha dialect is a mixture of Garhwali and Tibetan. There are numerous words in the Marcha language similar to Tibetan words. Some examples are given below as evidence of the influence of Garhwali or Hindi and Tibetan over the Marcha language.

English	Garhwali	Marcha	Tibetan
Father	Baba (Buwa)	Appa	Appa
Wood	Lakri (kath)	Shing	Shing
Man	Adim	Mea	Mea
Meat	Shikar	Sha	Sha
Mother	Ma (Bai)	Amma	Amma
Salt	Luna	Cha	Cha
Tea	Cha	Ja	Ja
Fire	Aag	Mai	Mai
Medicine	Dawai	Mān	Mān
Eye	Ankhi	Mig	Mig
Uncle	Chacha	Aku	Ugu
Sheep	Dhebra	Ma	Mamu
Tree	Dalo	Che	Cha
Wool	Woon	Cham	Bao
Shoe	Jutai	Joara	Kapsa
Horse	Ghora	Ghore	Tā
Boy	Nainoo	Sheru	Tugu
Girl	Nainee	Keti	Ani
Old man	Buddha	Buddha	Ma
Rice	Chawl	Chawl	Chalma
Rock	Dung	Ung	Dua
Water	Pani	Ti	Chu
Wine	Daru	Daru	Arag
River	Gad	Gadhera	Boob
Night	Rāt	Monang	Chan
Day	Din	Nir	Nima
Moon	June (Chandrama)	June	Dakar
Star	Gairon	Tara	Karma
Sun	Surja	Ne	Nima
Hand	Hath	Lag	Lakpa
Leg	Tung, Tungro	Khuti	Kangba
Knee	Ghundo	Goono	Pimo
Finger	Anguli	Bancha	Jugu
Ear	Kondur	Kanor	Amchok
Country	Muluk	Desh	Lungba

Marcha is spoken in the village of Mana in the Alaknanda Valley which has hardly any connection with the Dhauliganga Valley. It indicates the probable penetration of the Bhot people from Tibet.

Economy

The economic activities of the valley have taken three characteristic patterns closely related to the fundamental divisions of the valley, the upper, the middle and the lower. In the middle valley, a mixed economy consisting of agriculture and pasturing has been developed. In the upper valley, pasturing, trade and industry on a cottage scale, are correspondingly important, while agriculture becomes unimportant. Moderate temperature and rainfall in the lower half of the valley helps agriculture. On the other hand, low temperature and rainfall in the upper half restrict agriculture and people have to depend on pasturage and trade. Instead of treating these economic units separately, agriculture, pasturing, trade and industry will be discussed separately.

(a) **Agriculture** : Though agriculture is less important in the upper valley, yet it controls the overall economy of the valley. In the lower valley, moderate rainfall, temperature, good soil, all are favourable for agriculture. Cultivation is practised all the year round. The following are the agricultural products of this region.

Local name of crop	Sowing time	Harvesting time	Yield in md. per nali*
Chua or Ramdana or Marsha	Asadha	Kartika	2½
Mandua or Phaper or Kudu	Phalgun	Asvina	1½
Kauni	Jyaistha	Asvina	1½
Kud	Vaisakha	Kartika	1½
(Wheat) Gahun	Asvina	Jyaistha	¾
Oogal	Asadha	Asvina	½
Ooa	Jyaistha	Asvina	1½
(Paddy) Dhan	Phalguna, Vaisakha	Bhadra	
Job (Barley)	Kartika	Jyaistha	
Chena	Jyaistha	Asvina	

* 20 nali = 1 acre.

Of these, the summer crops consist of chua, kauni, chena, phaper, etc., and winter crops consist of buckwheat, barley, etc. In summer, more than one crop such as chena, kauni, phaper, chua etc. are cultivated in the same field. The sowing and harvesting season as given in the table above are with reference to the lower valley. But they vary considerably with the whole valley in accordance with altitude. The same crop such a phaper, chena, etc. which is generally harvested in early Asvina in the lower valley, is harvested in early Kartika in Malari. The people of the lower valley are sedentary dwellers, but the people of the middle and upper valleys migrate downwards in winter. Before migration, the people of the middle valley sow seeds of winter crops in the same fields where kauni or phaper has been harvested in summer, and they harvest the winter crop on return in spring. Beyond Malari, winter cultivation is not possible. Winter crops of the lower valley, mainly barley, are cultivated in summer in the high village of Niti.

Women do the major work in agriculture. Men's work is only to till the field with the help of a plough. Except ploughing, the rest is done by women. They break the hard clumps of earth to powder with a kind of iron implement called *kutti*. Seeds are sown, and after germination a small *kutti* is used for the final preparation of soil. Fields are then weeded. These two kinds of *kutti* consist of wooden handle and light iron blade, one 8" and another 4" in length. *Darandi*, almost similar to the sickle of Bengal, is used for harvesting.

The method followed in the upper valley for the final separation of cereals is different from that followed in Bengal. For this an open circular area is cleaned in the field and besmeared with cowdung. Then a big circular cloth is spread over it. Then by constant beating on each bundle of crop with a wooden stick the cereals are separated and gathered on the cloth. Sheaves are held by one hand and beaten by the other. Finally, the grains are separated with the help of a winnowing basket.

The lower valley is self-sufficient in food but the middle

and upper valleys are deficient. They meet their shortage by other means, such as pasturing and trade. Again, the middle valley is not so much deficient in food as the upper valley, as cultivation, though with some restriction, is possible here during the whole year and the shortage of food is made up by pasturing.

(b) **Pasturing** : Pasturing is of secondary importance as a source of income in the lower valley ; but in the middle valley it is as important as agriculture, and in the upper valley it is the chief stay. Pasturing is closely related with the trade and industrial activities of the people, especially those of the upper valley. In the lower and middle valleys, people have to climb upwards from the valley bottom and stay there for a couple of months on the *bugial* or grassland of the high ranges which were the former neve zone of the glaciers. They come down with the flock of sheep during harvest in autumn.

In the upper valley, pasturing is carried on over the *kharak* or grassland of the glaciated area and on the old moraines even up to a height of 16,000 ft. near Kamet glacier during summer ; and they gradually descend downwards as winter approaches.

Snow retreats to its maximum in September. After the melting of snow from April-May, the seasonally snow-covered meadows and moraines are exposed and grass flourishes there. During these months, specially in August and September, pasturing is practised even over 16,000 ft. in East Kamet and Raikana glaciers which I have marked with great interest. People construct temporary rock huts for shelter in this high-land pasture. Gotting, Semu Kharak, Sepuk Kharak, Dhaman, Basudhara Tal, etc. are places noted for good pasturage in summer.

In the middle valley, people build similar temporary huts, situated sufficiently high above the village site for summer pasturing. This vertical movement of the people in summer is mainly due to the limited pasturage in the upper valley where grazing grounds are already occupied by the Marcha people. On the contrary, easy availability of pasturage

some thousand feet higher in a vertical direction avoids conflict.

(c) **Industry** : Industry is mainly related to pasturing. Wool is collected from the sheep as well as imported from Tibet. Manufacturing of woollen goods during off time is another source of income. Blanket, dhan (small carpet), thulma (thick blanket) etc. are manufactured by women, specially during winter. One dhan measuring 4 ft. × 3 ft. is sold for about Rs. 50, one thulma of a single blanket size is sold at Rs. 80. Designs and colours enhance the quality and price of these woollen goods. Besides these, woollen dresses are also made for their own requirements. Women are the principal workers and men only assist them by spinning woollen yarn.

Even now trade is going on almost smoothly along this route, of course with some restriction on export of a few specific goods like rice, wheat, sugar and cloth. Local Marcha people export certain foodstuffs such as phaper, barley, ooa, etc., oil and other articles of minor importance. Sheep, wool and salt are the most important items of import from Tibet. There is some taxation in Tibet on export as reported by local traders. The tax is about Rs. 3.00 per maund of wool, Re. 0.50 nP. per sheep. The average price of a goat or sheep in Tibet is now about Rs. 30. Exchange is made either in Indian or in Tibetan coin, but Indian coin is preferred. The Tibetan sikku is exchanged for two Indian rupees ; but barter seems to be favoured. Wool of one sheep, which roughly comes to 2 pounds, is exchanged for 4 or even 5 battis of ooa or barley. One batti of salt is exchanged for one batti of barley. A batti is nearly 4 pounds.

Transportation is by yak or sheep and goats or ponies. There are some traders in Tibet who hire out pack-animals to those who have no pack-animals of their own. One yak can easily carry 2 maunds and the hire of the animal per day is Rs. 2 if it is for a long period.

Though rice, wheat and sugar cannot be exported, yet Indian traders are allowed to take with them 12 ounces of either rice or wheat per day as ration during their estimated journey to Tibet.

Seasonal Migration

In this valley of the Dhauliganga, settlement, except in the lower region, is not permanent. Though seasonal migration is practised in the middle and upper valleys, yet there are variations among the seasons and the type of seasonal migration which is influenced by altitude and climate.

Below Reni, that is in the lower valley, settlements are more or less permanent due to the moderate climate and altitude. But above Reni up to Malari, that is in the middle valley, there are some peculiarities in the seasonal movement of the people. In the lower region of the middle valley, for example, in Lata village, a vertical movement is practised during the winter migration. As the place is nearer to moderate climate and altitude, villagers migrate in winter to the base of the valley from the top, which is their summer residence.

Beyond Lata there are villages like Markara, where migration is practised three times in a year in three different places, instead of twice as in other places. In winter, people migrate to the Alaknanda Valley and in summer they again proceed to the upper region; but to the valley bottom where they harvest the winter crop. After sowing, in the month of Jyaistha, on the same field where they harvest winter crop, they again move to the top of the village site, which may be roughly 4,000 ft. higher than the village, for a couple of months for pasturing in the bugials. Again, they migrate to the village site at the bottom of the valley in the month of Asvina and harvest the summer crop. Sowing of winter crop is done on the same field. Winter migration towards the Alaknanda Valley starts in the month of Agrahayana.

The upper Dhauliganga Valley experiences another type of migration. As the altitude is higher and climate is extreme, winter predominates over summer. So, early migration to Alaknanda Valley and late return to the upper region is practised in this cold and bleak country.

Migration starts in early Kartika and the people return here in late Jyaistha. But in the middle valley, people

return to the village in the month of Vaisakha and migrate in the month of Agrahayana. It means that a 7-months' stay instead of 5 months in the upper valley, is usual in the middle valley. This change of time for seasonal migration in the Dhauliganga Valley, for a period of from 5 months to 7 months, is a gradual process in relation to the change of altitude along this valley.

So we find that migration in this valley is mainly controlled by environment which plays the main role in the economic activities of this region.

SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJEE ON CASTE

Editor's Note :—Babu Satish Chandra Mukherjee was one of the intellectual and spiritual leaders of Bengal, whose influence was felt deeply during the first quarter of the present century. He started a society called 'The Dawn Society', which also ran a magazine named *The Dawn* from 1897 to 1913.

Satish Babu had much to do with the growth of nationalism in Bengal ; and it is natural that the question of India's social organization and its relation to the growth of Indian nationalism was taken up by various writers who contributed to the magazine.

Sister Nivedita was one such contributor ; and her articles on caste contributed originally in 1902 in *The Dawn* were printed later on in her book, *The Web of Indian Life*. Satish Babu himself also wrote a few articles on the same subject. As these appear to be of some importance, it has been decided to reprint them in their original form.

I. The Question of Caste : Some Sort of An Analysis*

I do not wish to dogmatise ; but in all humility desire to point out certain general considerations which should be of use to all in their attempt to estimate the uses and evils of the Indian caste system. If you ask me to define first what this caste system exactly is as it is today, I shall find myself very much in difficulty. There are so many things which we know or which we believe we know and about which we seem to be agreed to begin with, that it would be a useless or even a mischievous diversion of energy if we began with discussing the subject from original principles, i.e. from *a priori* considerations. In other words, the use of the deductive method beginning with certain accepted principles or propositions and then logically following out all possible consequences is out of place here, for the principles from which we are to start in a case like the present shall always be in the nature of certain beliefs or states of the mind, and all the evils of *a priori* reasoning will apply in the case. Let us rather begin with the certain facts which are open to our eyes on the present state of the Indian caste system—facts which are visible

*From *The Dawn*, August 1903.

to us on every side ; and starting from those known facts, let us try to apply the inductive method and to arrive at wider generalisations, if indeed that becomes possible in this case.

Why is Indian caste condemned ? Because it is, to take only one of its aspects, hereditary. But suppose that the Indian caste system were *otherwise* a very good thing ; then would the hereditary character of a good thing take away from its value, or would it increase and perpetuate that value ? Should we object to a certain law as to property descending from father to son, in lineal succession, assuming that the possession of such property were a very desirable thing in itself ? I am trying to analyse the thing as far as I am able, but I do not for a moment suppose that some sort of a fallacy might not have crept into the argument which it would be the business of the reader of this journal to detect and notify to us as soon as possible with a view to a closer consideration of the subject. And, subject to future correction, I may say that, if it were possible a good thing deserves to be perpetuated, and the only question is whether the Indian caste system is such a thing. If it is a bad thing, the sooner the hereditary character of the thing is removed the better. I am arguing that the uses or the evils of any hereditary system all depend upon the character of the system itself. *Sometimes* I am inclined to think that the continuous possession of wealth is not such a good thing that possession of it should be by law sought to be perpetuated in an unqualified fashion as it is done by the law of all lands. But here it would be seen that the objection is not to the hereditary character of the thing but to the thing itself judged from all its aspects. But this is by way of illustration and represents some possible views on the subject of the hereditary descent of property.

Now let us view the Indian caste system apart from its hereditary aspect. The Indian caste system, it is said, creates a distinction for which there is no warrant. It is conceded that in all ages and by virtue of a law of nature, there shall be inequalities and distinctions between man and man, and the objection is not so much to the fact of an existing inequality as to the wrong classification of men. It is conceded that so

long as there are inequalities it is desirable that instead of there being one hodge-podge of a whole community, one heterogeneous herd of people—in the interests of a Society, it is desirable and indeed imperative that it should be broken up into homogeneous classes—with a separate system of duties and obligations for each class—and a common system of duties and obligations among the different independent classes. ‘We do not object’, say the critics, ‘to your making classification of us. But supposing you put me in a group to which I do not really belong and if you attach to me duties and obligations which you affix to that group, then clearly, you are not helping my progress but you are hindering it. And further we say that even if you made the right classification of us, certainly you should also so arrange that there might be an easy transition from one grade of duties to another. Thus, supposing you rightly put me in a particular class where it is to my interest that I should for a time devote myself very closely to the duties of my class, is it right that after I have gone through my own class duties and fairly mastered them, I should never have opportunities of doing another set of duties which are *now* i.e. after the previous period of preparation—become more appropriate to me? Is it consistent with my progress—my real well-being that I should even when I have outgrown the stage of my initial duties, be compelled to stagnate and even deteriorate?

I need hardly say that I am in complete sympathy with the supposed critics in regard to the two-fold objection they urge. First, they say that it should be made clear that the right classification of men has been made—or, in other words, we should be certain that nobody has been put in a class for whose duties he is not fitted or to those duties he is superior. Secondly, where the right classification of men according to duties has been made, the necessary arrangements or provision should have to be made whereby it may be possible for men to be transferred from one class of their duties to another, i.e., to more appropriate ones. And it is argued that as man is a progressive being, no particular stage of life is good for him for all time, and therefore even if no other objection existed,

the making of a particular stage to which he might initially belong permanent through life, (as is the case under the Indian caste system) would be fatal to the best interests of man.

But all this necessarily presupposes that society must not be left to take its own course; that a community of free human beings conscious of themselves should make an effort to express their will upon their collective destiny and so consciously help on the course of social evolution along right lines. If the present system of classification is a wrong one, does the remedy lie in obliterating the very principle of classification of human beings, for purposes of conscious training and discipline, and so in deliberately placing ourselves under the law of unconscious evolution to which the lower animal and the lower organic world are subject in the wisdom of the Divine Dispensation? And secondly, if the principle of classification is once accepted, is the path of progress to lie through ignoring all existing landmarks and going to work as if we had before us a *clean slate* on which we could impress a most perfect design according to our unimpeded desires? In other words, is the present social structure to be entirely ignored and are we to make an altogether new foundation? Is our past to be treated as a dead hand and is it to be supposed that the ideas and beliefs which it has wrought into our fibres could be rooted out in a day? And if not—the question arises—how are we to go to work? We cannot eliminate the principle of classification; for, as I have said, if we did we should be deliberately placing ourselves under the law of unconscious evolution fit only for creatures in a lower stage of evolutionary progress. We cannot also treat the present as having no connexion with the past and so ignore the existing classification of men in Hindu society. And lastly, those who accept the present classification as fairly correct will have yet to exercise their foresight in making one provision that the purity of each class is being maintained that, in other words, the duties and obligations proper to each class are being properly discharged. For, is it not clear, that the very foundation of the principle of classification of human units in the interests of human progress is in the right performance of

duties and the discharge of obligations such as the aforesaid principle necessarily involves? I do not think the analysis of the question is complete. I am conscious that much is being left out, but if the public should be so good as to suggest their own points of view, we should in course of time have succeeded in making a fair estimate of the question in some of its most important aspects and placed ourselves in essential agreement with one another in many very important particulars.

II. An Anglo-Indian View of Caste : The Penalty of Preservation*

'The Caste System is based on the grossest selfishness and the most stupid superstition which the world has ever seen or heard of.' 'The Brahman caste system has kept all the other castes in the greatest ignorance and poverty and held them in the cruellest bondage in all ages.' These and similar violent expressions are to be found in magazine articles representing the views of the majority of Anglo-Indians. For over a century the caste system in India has been exposed to the attacks of all the civilising influences which have entered the country with British rule. Not only have British civilians and missionaries denounced it, but the system has excited the indignation of a very Indian prince, the Gaekwar of Baroda, (who?) made a very striking speech at Lahore to a little band of native reformers. In the course of it he said : 'No institution has wrought so much mischief and done such incalculable harm to our country as the stupid, ignorant system of caste. There must be no rights attaching to mere birth. Equality of opportunities must be enjoyed by all classes of people. Social position must not be determined by the insuperable accident

*From *The Dawn*, November 1903, Vol. VII.

N.B.—This appeared as an Editorial in the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta, under date Oct. 14, 1903; the next article 'Caste or Corporation' which is from the pen of the Editor of this journal and which originally appeared as a letter in the *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta is intended not as a reply, but only as a side-criticism of one or two of the leading positions taken up by the writer—Ed. *Dawn*.

of birth. Lower and poorer classes, lower and poorer not in the religious and social scale, but in the scale of materialism, should not be debarred from their rights as human beings. It is shameful and disgraceful that they have fallen on account of the selfishness of our ancestors.' The Gaekwar then went on to remark on the extraordinary fact that Indians complain on the special legislation in South Africa which compels them to live in special locations and which prevents them from enjoying the same advantages as white men. 'But', added His Highness, 'if you feel that your countrymen in South Africa have certain genuine grievances, you must also feel that you are utterly devoid of sympathy and benevolence in treating the so-called lower classes with so much contempt. If I were possessed of power and capacity I would take the first opportunity of revolting against such atrocious thralldom of the so-called higher classes.' The majority of Europeans will not consider any of the adjectives the Gaekwar has used as too strong. The speech has already been hailed by Indian social reformers. The point of view is exactly what one would expect from any cultured and thinking Indian, who has had the advantage of a European education.

In the face of the frontal attack of reformers and the more insidious movements of a growing civilization there is every indication that the caste system is giving way. Within the last hundred years the system has been vastly transformed, and there is little doubt that it is finally doomed to disappear. On the other hand, one cannot overlook the fact that the system still finds its champions amongst a very large class of Indians who in many respects have the right to term themselves educated. Some of the keenest intellects amongst the Indians are devoting all their energies to keeping alive caste in every respect. A Brahman naturally resents any attack on his privileges, but those Europeans who can look on at the struggle from a detached point of view very often find evidence that the higher castes are in reality acting in good faith. The latter are defending not privileges but what they consider to be principles. Having both intelligence and influence, they have to a large extent succeeded, if not in quite arresting the

movement towards disintegration, in checking it. Caste would be disappearing far more rapidly, but for the active and concerted antagonism of a few hundred men of capacity. We are not here speaking of the stupid opposition of the ignorant purohit and teacher of Sanskrit, but of the campaign carried on in the press and on the platform by English-speaking Indians, men who have risen to high positions in public life by virtue of their education. Certainly on the surface, the attempt to keep alive the spirit of caste seems to be due to the blind hatred of all things British which animates so many English-speaking natives. Caste, they may argue, may or may not be a bad thing but the average Englishman has a dislike of it. Let us, therefore, support it, if only because it annoys the ruling race. But there may be a deeper and far more honest reason for an attitude we think so strange and unreasonable. One can generally find an explanation for the persistence of an institution which has stood the test of centuries. The European terms the caste system degrading and abominable. He says it stands in the way of progressive evolution, and is mainly responsible for the poverty and misery of the multitudes in this country. But it is not since the British came into India that the caste system has evolved. If it is bad for the people today, it must have been bad for the people all along. Yet it has existed ever since the days of Manu, a personage so remote as to be almost a myth.

May it not be possible that these reactionary leaders of the Indian peoples realise in some subtle, unconscious way that the caste system is necessary for the preservation of the race? How it can be necessary is not quite to the point. The mere fact that the system, so atrocious to the European eye, has persisted through all these centuries of conquest after conquest shows that there is something necessary in it. The larger evolution of tribes and nations has not yet become so exact a science as that of individual biology, and it is not possible at present to find all the reasons for the existence of institutions which have contributed to the growth and progression of mankind. If it be granted that the caste system has had some protective value, one may be permitted to argue that it has

some protective value still. The system may be responsible for the fact that the peoples of India have not been assimilated by their conquerors. Although, as we have said, Indian institutions are decaying before the influence of the West, yet at the present, the mass of the people remain in education and intelligence exactly what they were many centuries ago. Their religion and their customs have not yet given way. In other words, by adhering to caste the multitude has managed to preserve the other institutions of Ancient India. The vast gulf that separates the Asiatic from the European has not been bridged over. The Indian still retains his typical individuality. A renunciation of caste is for the majority of natives a renunciation of nationality. A really Anglicised Indian is not an Indian but a European in all his methods. Caste then, may be the great agent which acts for the preservation of the racial type in India. Yet let those who are engaged in the task of resisting Western civilization consider at what cost they are preserving caste. There is a penalty attached to a preservation of this kind. If caste has kept the people of India distinct from their conquerors, of whatever race, it has also kept the people of India in a state of degradation. It has prevented them reaching that stage of material prosperity to which their intelligence entitles them. So long as it persists, so long will the masses be deprived of the essentials of freedom. The price is too hard to pay. The sentimentalist may regret the disappearance of the old customs and the ancient types, but if the people of India have any self-respect, have any desire for progress, they will rise up and destroy caste.

III. Caste or Corporation*

I have read a leader on 'Penalty of Preservation' in the *Englishman* newspaper of Oct. 14. The main points of which may be thus summarised :—

- (a) 'The mere fact that the system so atrocious to the European eye, has persisted through all these centuries of conquest after conquest shows that there is something necessary in it.'

* By the Editor of *The Dawn*,

- (b) 'If it be granted that the caste system has had some protective value, one may be permitted to argue that it has some protective value still.'
- (c) 'The system may be responsible for the fact that the peoples of India have not been assimilated by their conquerors.'
- (d) 'By adhering to caste, the multitude has managed to preserve the other institutions of Ancient India.'
- (e) 'A renunciation of caste is for the majority of natives a renunciation of nationality.'
- (f) 'A really Anglicised Indian is not an Indian but a European in all his methods.'
- (g) 'Caste, then may be a great agent for the preservation of the racial type in India. Yet let those who are engaged in the task of resisting Western civilisation consider at what cost they are preserving caste. There is a penalty attached to a perservation of this kind. If caste has kept the people of India distinct from their conquerors, of whatever race, it has also kept the people of India in a state of degradation.'
- (h) 'The sentimentalist may regret the disappearance of the old customs and the ancient types, but if the peoples of India have any self-respect, have any desire for progress, they will rise up and destroy caste.'

Sir, I am not here going either for or against caste, but the leader suggests some questions which it were well should be cleared up. It is granted that caste has a protective value—that it has preserved the racial type, that it is because of caste that the peoples of India have not yet been assimilated by their conquerors, that in fact for the majority of natives a renunciation of caste is a renunciation of nationality. But it is objected that it works degradation. Therefore it ought to be destroyed. I want to confine my remarks to the issue raised and should you or any of your many distinguished readers be so good as to join in a discussion of the subject I would beg that it may be confined within the limits aforesaid. I need

hardly say that a discussion of the kind I propose if conducted in the proper spirit has a great educative value.

If caste has, as is stated, preserved the racial type and has prevented assimilation by the conquerors—destruction of caste would mean the destruction of the racial type and assimilation by the conquerors. Let us view the question properly. Mr. Seeley writes in his *Introduction to Political Science*—the extract is rather long but being essential to my argument, I would give it with your permission—

‘Human beings like other animals are united together in families ; and we might be prepared to find the family-tie stronger and the family-organisation somewhat more developed in them than in inferior animals. But we also observe something more, we find that men have another bond of union beyond that of the family and another higher organisation.....Almost in any place, in any circumstances where a human being might be found, if you questioned him, you would find that he considered himself to belong to some *large corporation*, which imposed duties and conferred rights on him.....When I say “I am an Englishman”, what do I mean? Does it refer to my parentage or family? Well, I cannot absolutely say that I do not regard myself as being in some sort of kin to other Englishmen, as though we were all alike descended from some primitive Angles. I feel this very strongly in the presence of foreigners, for I find that they speak a different language and seem both mentally and bodily of a somewhat different type. But whether it really is so is after all of no practical importance. I am an *Englishman* and should be so just as much if my ancestors were Frenchmen. And yet that I am an Englishman and not a Frenchman is all important to me.’

Again in another place the same authority says—

‘Almost everywhere men conceive themselves as belonging to some large corporation. Sometimes it would be better called a tribe or class, sometimes a church or religion, but whatever we call it, the phenomenon is

universal. Everywhere men conceive themselves as belonging to that large corporation for life and death; they conceive that in case of need this corporation may make unlimited demands upon them; they conceive that they are bound, if called upon, to die for it.'

I argue then with Mr. Seeley that a *caste* constitutes a 'corporation' to which the members belong for life and death—corporation distinct from, and larger than the mere natural human family.

If, then, caste is a corporation, large or small, based, as is stated, on the racial type, i.e. the principle of community of *race*, the question arises,—would the destruction of the caste-corporation reduce the Indians to smaller aggregates—'the mere natural human family' as Mr. Seeley puts it, mere fragmentary units, extinct as a race with no living sense of their past and completely under the servile domination of their conquerors and living the life, it may be, of mere coolies? Or would it lead to their 'assimilation by the conquerors' and incorporation into a larger whole? Clearly there is no gain in destroying all existing corporations however small, with all their drawbacks, for bodies smaller still, over whom an organised, dominant and a far larger corporation (like that of European nation) might have unrestricted opportunities of exercising sway. There would be gain no doubt if the smaller caste-corporations, instead of being further reduced to smaller units still could be made to grow into or be replaced by a larger corporation. The writer of the *Englishman's* leader seems to think the destruction of caste-corporations would inevitably lead to the second alternative—i.e. the assimilation of the Indian peoples by their conquerors—in other words, their assimilation into a larger corporate existence, that of their conquerors. Some of us may be inclined to think that having regard to observable facts, no such development in the status of the Indian peoples would take place on the destruction of their existing caste-corporations. At any rate, it would require some proof to show that the assimilation of the peoples into the larger corporate life of their conquerors would be a so certain

event. In this connexion, I would draw your attention to the following statement made by a retired Anglo-Indian member of the Indian Civil Service who rose to the position of a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Robert Needham Cust L. L. D.

'Of course, in one sense caste has the nature of religion in its original sense, as *something that binds fast*. A Hindu becomes a Roman Catholic with the slightest effort, and passes from one empty ritual into another without any strain of conscience. Whatever did survive of the religious element was the desire so to conform to the custom of his friends and relations, as to be able to eat with them, smoke with them and get a wife from their families. This he would call his caste or Dharm. So among wordly men in Europe, honesty or honour takes the place of the religious element. They neither enter a church nor repeat a prayer nor care for a future state, but they wish to be treated conventionally as Christians, and not to be excluded from the good fellowship of their brethren. This is their religion, at least all that has survived of it. It ill becomes an English Missionary to press the subject too closely, as he would naturally object, to taking his meals with the converted sweeper, and would shrink from giving his daughter, brought up carefully in England in marriage to the pious and trusted native pastor whom he loves as his friend. He insensibly and rightly and naturally recognises that there is an *indelible distinction of race* not that one *race* is intrinsically better than the other, when both are equally educated and virtuous ; *but that they are different* and not intended to intermix without leading to inconveniences. This quite justifies him in setting his face against caste-pride offensively exhibited in the school, the church or, in public life ; but in the privacy of his home the neo-Christian has a right, in which the law will protect him to marry into such families only as appear to him proper and to decline to sit down to meals with men of different culture, habits and ideas of personal cleanliness.'

I propose to carry on the discussion in another letter. In the meantime, let me hope the points which the *Englishman's*

leader has raised are sufficiently important and suggestive to engage the attention of every thoughtful Indian

IV. An Anglo-Indian View of Caste, II* The Consequence of Caste

The decline in the attention paid to those ceremonial religious observances which were at one time so prominent a feature of Indian life has attracted the attention of the most superficial observers in this country. The festivals that still linger are celebrated, particularly in the larger towns, in a manner that recalls nothing of the ideas they are meant to keep alive. In Calcutta for instance, the features of the Durga Pujas that are most prominent are based on Western methods at Christmas time. The native theatres open with new dramatic representations, side-shows are seen in the streets, there is an interchange of presents between the members of a family, women come out in new costumes based on European models, and there is general rejoicing and festivity in which the religious idea is for the most part absent. The Dewali festival is just over in Calcutta. Ten years ago the whole city would have been ablaze with lights, even in the European quarter, for it was the custom of darwans to illuminate their master's house. But on Dewali night the lights were few and straggling, only the residences of a few Indian notables being lit up in the usual way. The day, however, being a general holiday was made use of by shopkeepers and others to hold fairs in various parts of the town. As an instance of the mixing up of creeds and beliefs that is going on, it is to be noted that bands of youths were to be seen twirling the banathi, a stick lighted at both ends, which is connected exclusively with the Mahomedan observance of Mohurram. Crackers and rockets were fired off by all classes of people, taking advantage of the fact that the supply of such explosives was very plentiful. In fact the observer was reminded rather of Guy Fawkes' Day or a Fourth of July Celebration than

*From *The Dawn*, December 1903, Vol. VII.

By the Editor of *The Englishman*. From the *Englishman* of 22nd Oct. 1903. For a criticism of this see article that follows.—Ed. *Dawn*.

of a partly solemn occasion, probably originally meant to signalise the triumph of the powers of light over those of darkness. So far has the attempt to imitate European methods gone that even the sweets fashioned in figures of men and animals, that are only made by halwais for this occasion, were modelled in large numbers in Western styles. Even those orthodox people, who insisted on carrying images to the river, lit up the carrying platforms with glass chandeliers and acetylene instead of the chirag which ought to have for all Hindus a peculiar religious significance. In fact the Dewali appears to have become a holiday and nothing more.

The festivals of the people are intimately associated with their religion. A decay in the one means a corresponding decay in the other. In fact, it is far easier to show that the religion and the castes of the people of India are undergoing a rapid and extraordinary transformation than to prove that the festivals are altering in their forms. The matter is one of no mere academic interest. It demands the attention of others besides philosophic students of religion and folklore. The system of government which has been built up in India is at bottom based on the idea that the Indian social system will endure for ever. Apart from questions of administration, the fabric of commerce, as it at present exists in this country, is the growth of centuries round an organisation believed to be undying. The thousand factors which act and interact upon each other to produce what might be termed the spirit or soul of the people, all those subtle influences which have gone to mould the character of the nations of Hindustan have had their origin and owe their strength to a deep-seated belief in the necessity of caste and of religion. But how if castes dissolve and the religions of this country are transformed? An entirely novel situation is created and the way is set for the creation of new problems of immense magnitude, on the proper solution of which will depend the happiness and prosperity of over three hundred million lives. Indeed, the future of the Empire is so bound up in the future of India that it is no exaggeration to say that the question of the breaking-up of caste demands the most serious attention of every British statesman. So

far, whether consciously or not, administrators in India have worked towards preventing the break-up to which we refer. Difficulties have been put in the way of natives learning the English language and we have had the Viceroy time and again exhorting natives to cling to their old customs. Even the attempt to revive indigenous industries may be the outcome of a dimly realised fear that Western manufactures have been as much responsible as Western education in bringing about a dissolution. It is easy enough to understand the unwillingness of all officials to help in creating new problems for themselves. That mere instinct of self-defence which prompts the avoidance of obstacles would in some silent, subtle way influence the policy of every officer connected with the administration of British rule in this country.

But we cannot bring ourselves to believe that any action on the part of the government can have any effect on the flood-tide of change that is now setting in. Even were the whole of the education-grant withdrawn, the people would still learn English by a hundred means unknown before. The more (mere ?) contact with English-speaking folk would teach others and that contact means something more than a mere learning of another tongue. Curiously enough, the administrators who would keep things as they are, have found an ally in the very class which is most antagonistic to British rule. But what is known as the *Swadeshi* movement and this or that "national" revival cannot put back the hands of the clock. Certainly it must be said that something has been done in the direction of keeping alive Bengali indigenous literature but even that is more or less based on Western models. We quite agree that the national life of the country is bound up with its caste and religion. We are even willing to confess that there is an aspect of patriotism, as the word is understood in the West, in the attempt of some leaders of the Indian people to fan the dying embers of orthodoxy. But, as we pointed out the other day, though caste is preservative, it is also a cell. Those who remain in it condemn themselves to an imprisonment. It limits the freedom of an individual to an extent no European would tolerate. It holds a man in its grip all his

life and pursues him in his death. Though it does not cramp thought—even the most orthodox Hindus are allowed to believe what they like—it cramps action. The people of India will never be a free people till they are free of caste. At the same time by throwing aside caste and religion they are throwing aside everything that differentiates them from the European. That from a British point of view may not be a very large sacrifice to make, but it may be from an Indian point of view. We can appreciate the tortured feeling with which many Indians of the old school are watching the old traditions slipping away and the old gods forgotten. But the thing is inevitable. A fresh process of evolution has begun. Whither it will lead no man can say, but if directed—provided such movements can be directed by any human wisdom—into the right paths, we may yet see a very great and glorious India. After all, the real resources of a country consist in its men, and so far the millions of Hindustan have been so sunk in apathy and ignorance that we know not what capacities they possess.

V. Caste or Corporation ?*

Since writing my first article on the *Englishman* newspaper's views on the system of caste (contained in its leader entitled, 'The Penalty of Preservation', vide *Englishman*, October 14, and the November, 1903 issue of this journal), I have noticed with pleasure that in its issue of October 22, it has returned to a discussion of the subject in another leader entitled 'The Consequence of Caste'. In my first letter I enumerated seven of the *Englishman's* main positions put forward in its first leader. In its second, it has made certain further statements and repeated some old ones, the most important of which I give below :—

(a) 'The peoples of India will never be a free people till they are free of caste.'

(b) 'Though caste is a preservative, it is also a cell. Those who remain in it condemn themselves to an imprisonment. It

* This originally appeared as a letter in *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta in reply to the *Englishman's* articles.—Ed. *Dawn*.

limits the freedom of an individual to an extent no European would tolerate. It holds a man in its grip and pursues him in his death. Though it does not cramp *thought*—even the most orthodox Hindus are allowed to believe what they like—it cramps action.'

(c) 'We quite agree that the national life of the country is bound up with its caste and religion.'

(d) 'By throwing aside caste and religion, the Indian people are throwing aside everything that differentiates them from the European.'

(e) 'The attempt to revive indigenous industries may be the outcome of a dimly realized fear that Western manufactures have been as much responsible as Western education in bringing about a "dissolution".....but what is known as *Swadeshi* movement and this or that "national revival" cannot put back the hands of the clock ;.....the thing is inevitable.....We are quite willing to confess there is an aspect of patriotism as the word is understood in the West, in the attempt of some leaders of the Indian people to fan the *dying* embers of orthodoxy.'

(f) 'The thousand factors which act and react upon each other to produce what might be termed as the spirit or soul of the people—all those influences which have gone to mould the character of the nations of Hindustan have had their origin and owe their strength to a deep-seated belief in the *necessity of caste and of religion*.'

(g) 'But how if caste dissolves and the religions of the country are transformed? An entirely novel situation is created and the way is set for the creation of new problems of immense magnitude, on the proper solution of which will depend the happiness and prosperity of over three hundred million lives.'

(h) 'A fresh process of evolution has begun. Whither it will lead no man can say ; but if directed—provided such movements can be directed by any human wisdom—into the right paths, we may yet see a very great and glorious India.'

II

I beg to express my thankfulness to the writer of the *Englishman's* two articles for having drawn public attention so forcibly to some of salient features of the present situation ; to some of the root-facts of our national life, so far as they have turned through the length of centuries on the system of caste and of religions as they have been in India. The *Englishman* points out that the old order is changing, visibly changing ; that a fresh process of evolution has begun by 'the religion and the castes of the people of India undergoing a *rapid and extraordinary transformation*'. It observes with some truth that so far has the attempt to imitate European methods gone, that 'even the sweets fashioned in figures of men and animals that are only made by *halwais* for the Dewali festival occasion are modelled in large numbers on 'Western' models.' It goes so far as to suggest that even the attempt to revive indigenous industries is the outcome of a fear that the process of Europeanization through a taste for Western manufactures has already gone too far ; and that unless something is done to arrest the progress of the process, the break-up of the old system is inevitable—a system based upon caste and an ancient religion.

Before proceeding with the constructive part of my argument I would just point out to the *Englishman* something which looks very like a confusion of ideas in his mind. I need hardly say that discussion is wrongly directed and degenerates into petty wrangling if such confusion is allowed to warp our judgment. Thus, in his second article, the *Englishman* declares that—'the religion and the castes of India are undergoing a rapid and extraordinary transformation. The matter is one of no mere academic interest. Indeed the future of the 'Empire' is so bound up in the future of *India* that it is no exaggeration to say that the question of the breaking-up of caste demands the most serious attention of every British statesman.' Here is a picture drawn of the 'religion and castes of India undergoing a rapid and extraordinary transformation,' and the consequences and

dangers from the politico-imperial standpoint of such transformation vividly realised. Contrast this with the other picture which the *Englishman* draws in his first article :—‘The mass of the people remain in education and intelligence exactly what they were many centuries ago. Their religion and their customs have not yet given way. In other words, by adhering to caste the multitude has managed to preserve the other institutions of Ancient India. The *vast* gulf that separates the Asiatic from the European has not been bridged over. *The Indian still retains his typical individuality.*’ In the earlier article, the point sought to be emphasised is that caste has been an intensely preservative force, keeping intact ‘the racial type and the other institutions of Ancient India’. In the later article, the point sought to be brought home is that the process of Europeanization is in full swing ; that ‘a fresh process of evolution has begun and the attempt for some leaders of the Indian people to fan the *dying* embers of orthodoxy—even what is known as the ‘Swadeshi’ movement and this or that national revival cannot put back the hands of the clock,... .. the thing is inevitable.’ Again,—‘so far, whether consciously or unconsciously, administrators in India... .. have worked towards preventing the break-up and we have had the Viceroy time and again exhorting natives to cling to their old customs.’ The *Englishman’s* view of the situation as declared in the second article is thus clear and unequivocal. But equally unambiguous although opposite views are given to us in the first article. ‘*The Indian still retains his typical individuality.* Their religion and their customs have not given way. The multitude has managed to preserve the other institutions of Ancient India (by adhering to caste).’

The question, therefore, for us is to discover how the opposing views of the *Englishman* on one and the same situation could be reconciled. As far as I am able to judge, the *Englishman’s* theory of the Indian still retaining his individuality and of the rapid and extraordinary transformation of an impending break-up or a dissolution may be reconciled somewhat as follows :—

‘The typical individuality which the Indian still retains’

and has retained across the centuries may be taken as representing an ultimate fact, a fundamental principle, a permanent expression of the racial consciousness in the people ; something racial in origin. 'There is no truth but race', said Disraeli—and many otherwise obscure and puzzling problems may be successfully grappled with if we trace questions of 'typical individuality', persisting in a people to their ultimate source of their race-peculiarities. In my first letter, I quoted Mr. Seeley in reference to this particular line of cleavage between people and people—the cleavage of race-consciousness—the consciousness of kinship—race-kinship and community among a people. 'I regard myself', says Mr. Seeley, 'as being in some sort of kin to other Englishmen, as though we were all alike descended from some Primitive Angles ! I feel this very strongly in the presence of foreigners.' Dr. Needham Cust L.L.D., formerly of the Indian Civil Service and sometime Member of the Imperial Legislative Council was also cited as giving the same evidence about '*the indelible distinction of race,*' not that one race is intrinsically better than the other, when both were equally educated and virtuous, but that they are different, and intended to intermix without leading to inconvenience. 'The typical individuality of the Indian people' across the vast stretch of centuries may be traced to the same *indelible distinction of race.* So also in the case of the English people ; for much of their typical individuality may be traced to the same ultimate fact of race. Says Mr. (now Hon'ble Mr.) Theodore Morison of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and Member, Imperial Legislative Council, in his recent work, *Imperial Rule in India* :—'In those portions of the Empire which are mainly peopled by the British race and which Seeley aptly called Greater Britain, Imperialism is but the recognition of the unity of that great people, whatever lands are its home, and of their determination to keep undivided the magnificent inheritance which their ancestors carved out of the new world, is a large patriotism founded upon *pride of race,* and as long as it is confined to Greater Britain, it is as unequivocal a good, as patriotism has always been recognised to be. But in countries such as India or Egypt

in which the bulk of the inhabitants is not English and in which Englishmen are only administrators and governors, it is not desirable that this *pride of race* should be publicly expressed. In such countries it becomes instead of patriotism merely an expression of the conqueror's arrogance and of the humiliation of the native population.' Again on another page, the same writer declares, 'The basis both in theory and practice, of our Empire is *the supremacy of the British race*, and this is an idea for which nobody but ourselves can feel any enthusiasm. The fact that our Indian Empire is founded upon the domination of the English race is so obvious as to need no demonstration ; it is in all men's mouths, in all the papers, and it is the only principle upon which we act consistently. In India itself there is no likelihood of any one forgetting the ascendancy of the English race.'

It is clear then, that racial consciousness being an ultimate fact, we must never lose sight of it and when we speak of the decay or destruction of castes or caste-corporations, as I have termed them, we must not include in the category, that primary caste, the caste of Race-Blood, essentially hereditary in nature, separating peoples on the one basis of blood and accounting for much of the 'typical individuality', of the English as well as of the Indian peoples. The Caste of Race-Blood is at once a principle of antagonism and a principle of association ; a principle of association among the multitudinous subordinate castes and sub-castes amongst a people ; also a principle of antagonism between different Races—founded upon the one great hereditary caste, the Caste of Race-Blood ; and which is well illustrated in the well-known saying :—*blood is thicker than water*. When therefore, the *Englishman* speaks of the 'breaking-up' or 'dissolution' of castes in India—'their rapid and extraordinary transformation' as he says, he does not surely mean any rapid or extraordinary transformation of the caste that is founded upon *race-blood*. Nor does he, when he urges us to 'rise up and destroy caste' ask us to do that which he as an Englishman can never do, namely destroy *his* caste—the caste of Anglo-Saxon blood—the supremacy, ascendancy or the domination of his *race*, which according to

so acute an observer of social and political phenomena here in India as the Hon'ble Mr. T. Morison, is 'the only principle upon which we (Englishmen) act consistently'. Therefore, the 'break-up' or the dissolution or the 'rapid and extraordinary transformation' of the multitudinous and complicated varieties and sub-varieties of caste prevailing in India, which the *Englishman* notices at the present moment, is either the effect of a reawakening Race-Consciousness, i.e., the spirit of Race in the Indian peoples, brought about by collision with the superior forces of Race-Consciousness, i.e., the Race-Spirit of the Anglo-Saxon people. Or, it may be the visible effect of a process of disintegration and disruption of the entire fabric of the social economy of the Indian people. *If it is the former*, it would mean that the Caste of Race-Blood is asserting itself in India as a permanent force submerging and overpowering all landmarks of subordinate castes and hereditary corporations. In other words, the phenomenon to which the *Englishman* refers is not properly speaking, the destruction of Caste, but only the assertion in a more violent and virulent form—of some of the most objectionable features of the Caste of Race-Blood. On the first hypothesis, then, we are being welded into one supreme and paramount Caste—fusing all castes into one whole—the unity of a Race-Caste. The destruction of Caste, on the first hypothesis, would not be the destruction of the racial type but its glorification on a huge scale. Such destruction of caste would not mean, as the *Englishman* imagines, 'the assimilation of the peoples by the conquerors' but the Phoenix-like appearance of one supreme, dominant, Indian Blood-Caste, upon the ashes of the older, subordinate, multitudinous, and conflicting castes and sub-castes, ready to do battle with spirit of another and a dominant Blood-Caste.

Does the *Englishman* refer to such state of things? On such basis alone, as far as I am able to judge, might we reconcile the contradictory theories started by the *Englishman* of 'the Indian still retaining his typical individuality' and of the 'break-up' or 'dissolution' or 'a vast rapid and extraordinary transformation' of the castes and religions of India.

It is clear then that every one of us belongs in some special manner to some particular environment—which is his caste ; and that the largest caste is the caste of Race-Blood. Stand outside all environment—your caste—you are either a fool or a beast. The question is not how to get rid of all environment, which is impossible for all except the divine—but how to elevate our environment ; in other words, the question is not how to *abolish* caste but how to maintain and improve existing castes or establish better and nobler ones. The growth of a feeling of brotherhood is helped and not hindered by belonging to a caste or a corporation which seeks to embody and foster noble principles of life and conduct.

I have hitherto tried to impress upon the reader's mind, in however indirect a fashion, that the basal principle of caste is the principle begetting and binding a corporation ; and secondly, that all corporations embody a double principle, —(a) the principle of association and brotherhood in the internal relations of members ; and (b) the principle of antagonism and separation in the external relations of different and independent corporations. And lastly, I have tried to show that the caste of Race-Blood represents a paramount social fact.

I will pursue this subject in a third article. The reader need not be told that the subject of the decay, death and evolution of castes is one of the most intricate of Indian social phenomena and that no definite synthesis is possible or desirable until the previous, preliminary work of analysis, —an analysis in detail—has been successfully combated.

WAS BUDDHA OPPOSED TO CASTE ?*

WHY HAS CASTE DETERIORATED ?

MRS. ANNIE BESANT**

I

FROM time to time since I first set foot on Indian soil, I have made allusion to the subject of caste and have stated also from time to time reasons why that institution appeared to me to be a valuable one ; one that it would be unwise to throw away or destroy ; one which was important to national life ; interwoven with the national future. Great has been the work done by the caste-system. However the caste-system in later days might be attacked, however it may be degraded, surely it ought not be forgotten that the greatest teachers the world knows were born into that order. Out from this birth-place of religions - India—went the great teachers ; out from this centre of the world's faith went the divine instructors ; and every one of them was born under this caste-system and trained under caste-observances. In those ancient days that I am speaking of, caste was strong and mighty and it was those that had reached their *last* birth were the true Brahmans. It was they who gave religions to the world and fitted the Indian philosophy to the different civilizations which needed spiritual food. I see it stated by some who one would think, must have read imperfectly the history of the past that such a mighty teacher of the Indian nation as the Buddha was against caste ; it is true that he reproached the Brahmans of his day with their covetousness, with their greediness, with ignorance, with their love of power, and with their absence of spiritual knowledge. That is true. *But those who love best the divine order speak most strongly against those who degraded*

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** N. B.—The whole of this is part of an address delivered by Mrs. Besant in Calcutta as far back as the 27th January, 1896—*Editor, Dawn*.

it and make it hateful in the eyes of man. A Brahman who by his *nature* ought to be a spiritual man with no worldly desire, with no worldly wealth, with no hankering for political power, with no personality showing itself in selfish desire ; what is such a man if he takes the *name* of Brahman and shows everything which the Brahman ought to have outgrown and which ought to lie behind him in the past ; what is the inevitable result except that men shall say, 'What is the Brahman order ? What is this Brahman caste ? We find in it men who are seeking wealth, but the Brahman cares not for wealth ? We find in it men who are ignorant of the *Shastras* but sacred learning was given to the Brahman.' No wonder that the degradation of the most divine should cause the reproach of the divine teacher, and that he should blame those who took the name but had not the quality ; who used the name for personal gratification and showed not the attributes that ought to have belonged to it. But those who have read the teachings of the Buddha with care,—those who know His teachings and have studied them, know that He spoke of the true Brahman exactly in the sense of the Hindu *Shastras* ; they know, if they turn to the teachings of His own lips, that he describes the true Brahman as the man who must be re-born, and you find Him demanding for the true Brahman the honour which is paid to the spiritual teacher, and placing him on the same level as that rank which is called by the Buddhist *Arhat* ; and the two names are used as equivalent ; by the Buddha himself. I have read very carefully not the very imperfect scriptures of the Southern Buddhist Church but the far larger and fuller statements of the Buddha as they have been preserved in the Egyptian and the Chinese scriptures. There you will find these teachings without having them touched by hands impelled by theological prejudices which erased from the scriptures of the Southern Church some of the most important of the teachings of the Buddha. These teachings are largely misunderstood in consequence of the injury that has been done by this treatment of them in the Southern Church ; but if you will turn to the translations, from the Chinese and the Egyptian which give the teachings

of the Buddha, you will find that in all important respects they are indistinguishable from the ancient Aryan teachings. You will find there in those scriptures, the same teachings that you will find in your own Shastras and will know that it is a corrupted form of Buddhism which rejects much of the teachings which He gave to the world. Remember this one significant fact that out of all nations of the world there was only one nation in which caste was found—the Hindu; and Buddha found in that nation the *body* which was fitted for the manifestation of His Divine Soul, and in which illumination might be found by him. He came as a Hindu amongst Hindus, born to the Hindu caste; there alone could He find a fitting tabernacle for the soul, there alone a vehicle which was fit to be a casket to that sublime spirit, that divine intelligence. So it is that the Buddha condemned the abuse of a noble order and the degradation of a perfect ideal. So it is that those who honour the ideal of *kingship* must feel most pain when some monarch degrades what ought to be His glory, by foul or by evil example. So it is that those who understand what the priest and the teacher should be will feel most pain when they see a priest cares for the things of the earth and uses his power for himself, and not for the people's good; for the degradation of the divine is the worst of degradations. And even so, is it with India to-day fallen and degraded as she is from her high estate. But even to-day fallen as she is, degraded as she is, I who travel all the world over West and East, and North and South, I tell you that when I come back and place my foot on this Indian soil, and when I go to some of her holy places and feel the atmosphere that still there remains, even though she be fallen and degraded, there is no such other atmosphere to be found in the whole world; there is no land where the spiritual life is so comparatively easy. And though her soil is desecrated and despised, even by her own children, her ancient customs are disregraded and her ancient faith is scoffed at, the worship of her gods is forgotten, still there remains the sacred power which has not utterly passed away from Indian soil. Do you wonder that I plead to you still for the ancient four-fold order and

while I admit the degradation and the abuses, I think you might still get rid of all the abuses, without tearing up the sacred plant by the roots. It is like a plant around which parasites have climbed. Will you cut down the tree because the parasites are round it? Here spread through India are Brahmans, who are Brahmans not only in name; Brahmans, who are Brahmans by divine evolution as well as by divine hereditary caste. In them lies the hope of the future, on them the eyes of the Great Ones are fixed.

II

If this four-fold order, so wise in its arrangement, so suited for human growth, so fitted for human evolution, if that was ever ordained, why did it gradually deteriorate until the true marks of the castes disappeared, the true characteristics of the order vanished? Let me now remind you that in those ancient days, caste was not the rigid hereditary thing that later it became. In the ancient order, as you may see from the scriptures, men were *not born* into the highest castes, they were initiated into them after some years of life had passed. Not only were they thus initiated, but if a soul did not show the qualities which it ought to have by being born into a particular family, then that soul was not initiated into the divine knowledge. Naturally, therefore, in the Brahman family, would the Brahman family seek re-incarnation. Where men and women lead the Brahman life, where no impure word crosses their lips, where they use their body for spiritual purposes, and ever make them instruments of the soul, where they continually keep themselves pure in every way, in that ancient order from such parents would naturally be born physically the bodies more fitted for the re-incarnation of Brahman soul, than bodies less carefully trained, less strictly ordered in their daily life. But if it happened, as from various reasons it occasionally would happen that a soul born into such a family had not the paramount virtue, then either initiation was refused, or a little late in life, the man was made an outcaste from the caste in which he had been born. For the old dispensation

was sterner than the present, and those who administered it were not merely men whose brains were educated, but men with the divine vision and the spiritual insight which could judge the quality of the soul ; and if a soul that had reached a stage where it should have been Brahman, showed that it had not got rid of the lower signs of personality, showed that it still had earthly desires and earthly longings, then no Brahman body could guard that man from degradation ; and the caste was kept divine by sending outside it those who were unworthy, they were not permitted within it unless the qualities of the Brahman soul were shown. Nor was that all. The Rishis, as you may learn from more than one of the Upanishads, would take and initiate as Brahman a soul that was born in some other family if it showed the Brahman qualities. For at times the working out of the Karmic law would demand that a soul should be born outside the Brahman hereditary caste which none the less had all but touched the point where no more birth would be required ; and such a soul might be born in a lower caste in order that some piece of unsatisfied *Karma* might then be worked out, which was necessary to be exhausted. And then having exhausted that piece of *Karma* which rendered such a birth necessary ; the Brahman quality shining out be recognised and initiation into the Brahman caste would follow the recognition of the qualities of the soul. And you may find in the Upanishads, which are part of the Vedas, cases where such initiations took place where the soul had accomplished its inferior stages, and was passed on to the caste which by its evolution it was fitted to occupy. As some younger souls came into birth in India ; as in the great sweep of the Karmic law, the Rishis retired from material manifestation amongst men, and their places were gradually taken in external semblance by souls, not so perfectly trained, and not having made such divine achievements,—as other souls were gradually born who came from other nations, who were younger in the course of their evolution,—these younger and less developed souls, gradually by their want of training and discipline, impaired this divine order and the great charac-

teristics began to be less clearly outlined. The divine caste marks, as it were, began to be replaced by human signs,—a necessary stage probably in the growth of the world, a necessary downward sweep in the vast circle of humanity, but none the less degrading the divine order, none the less bringing out corruption in the ancient way. And the signs of the degradation began to show themselves when souls that were not Brahman in character, though Brahman by hereditary succession, began to hold the Brahman position and to claim the Brahmanical rank, and the Brahmanical privilege.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Social Psychology. By B. Kuppuswami, Madras : Asia Publishing House. 1961. Pp. xv, 572. Price Rs. 15-00.

College professors who are engaged in the teaching of social psychology courses will welcome this book as a valuable help in their work. Prof. Kuppuswami has covered all the major problems of the field of social psychology in a simple, clear, and readable style. No one should experience any difficulty in following what the author has in mind and wishes to convey to the reader. The book under review reflects mature thought and a long teaching experience on the part of its author.

The subject matter is covered in 22 chapters that have been grouped in five major sections. Part I is devoted to an introductory exposition of the main concepts around which the author has developed the subject. In it one can already find the central idea which underlies the major portion of the book, namely, how the neo-nate becomes slowly 'humanized' through the complexities of the socialization process. The same theme is taken up in Parts II and III, which deal respectively with 'Social Interaction' and 'Socialization'. In Part IV the author turns his attention to the description of group processes with special reference to mass behaviour and leadership. Finally, in Part V, a brief but interesting discussion is added on the urgent and important applications of social psychology to such topics as juvenile delinquency, industry, and war-peace problems.

One of the outstanding characteristics of this text-book is the author's genuine concern with what, in the mind of the present reviewer, is the crucial, and yet unsolved, problem of social psychology ; namely, what is the 'intervening factor' in virtue of which a child becomes an adult *human* being. Two fundamentally distinct attitudes can be adopted with regard to this problem. The first one, which is not mentioned by the author, proceeds by stating that a child, or to be even more specific, a foetus is already a full-fledged human being. In this view the socialization process does not alter nor improve the child's nature ; it only unfolds what the child really, but potentially, is by his very nature. The second

view, which is the one sponsored and explained by the author of the book under review, states that the child is simply a member of an animal species, which differs from other animal species only and exclusively by its more evolved and, consequently, more flexible nervous system. According to this viewpoint, it would appear that the decisive feature that makes a child human is the versatility of its nervous system which in due course will, under the influence of a human society, exhibit forms of behaviour that have been considered specifically human. This idea seems to be the guiding principle of chapters 3 and 4 and later on of the whole of Part III. It is unambiguously stated in pp. 32-33.

Although the present reviewer has some reservations to make about this, according to him, rather over-simplified view of human nature and its development, still it is a pleasure to read Prof. Kuppuswami's systematic presentation of his standpoint. It is regrettable, however, that the author does not consider the possibility of different points of view on such a crucial issue. Obviously, one cannot expect that in an introductory book such as the one Prof. Kuppuswami intends to offer, nor can all the aspects of every problem be fully discussed. Again, it is true that the writer of college text-books is very often forced to sacrifice the fastidiousness of scientific reporting for the sake of brevity and clarity. All the same, a few considerations on the central problem of social psychology with a specific reference to the different orientations to it would have greatly enhanced the value of the book under review.

A commendable feature of the book is the interest of its author in using material from the Indian social background and scientific studies. This feature alone should make this text-book preferable to many others. However, it is bound to come as a bit of a surprise to the discriminating reader to realize that in spite of the author's wide knowledge and genuine effort, very few truly scientific studies are actually reported. In fact, most of the references to Indian social conditions and problems are more by way of 'didactic' examples and considerations than accurate scientific data.

In conclusion, Prof. Kuppuswami's book is a most welcome addition to the series of text-books for courses of social psychology. The clarity of the style, the systematic presentation of the main topics, the thorough and methodical development of the ideas, and the local colour that has been injected into its chapters make the

book a 'must' for the Indian student of social psychology. The present reviewer cannot but express the hope that this text-book may soon find the place it deserves in many Indian Universities.

J. Filella

Caste in India, Its Nature ; Function, and Origins. By J. H. Hutton ; 3rd ed. Oxford University Press 1961. Pp. 320. Rs. 12.50.

Caste system as we find it in India is vast and highly complex subject to be dealt in one book of this size. Mr. Hutton in his book treats this subject in a masterly way. In his attempt to discuss this he states that he has not intended to give an exhaustive account of the subject but to treat this in a general way and in doing so he has made the painstaking effort of assembling numerous references.

The whole book is arranged in a very systematic order. The content is divided into five parts. The first three parts being—the background, caste and origins. In each part different chapters deal with different aspect of the subject denoted by the heading of that part. As we find in the part marked as Caste—the structure of the caste in a general way, then it is followed by a chapter describing the restrictions imposed upon different castes, which is followed by a chapter dealing with its sanctions and lastly its functions from the points of view of an individual, the society and the state. The fourth part consists of Appendices. A bibliography and a glossary of terms and names used in the book are valuable additions. The book is thoroughly indexed and supplied with maps. There are also some interesting diagrams. One or two additions have been made in this present edition.

In a few words this book is almost indispensable for any one who wants to get, in a single book, an all round picture of the Indian caste system—an institution—whose comparison has not yet been found in any other part of the world.

Arati Roy

Biennial Review of Anthropology ; 1959, Edited. By Bernard J. Siegel. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1959. Pp. 273. \$6.00.

The need to communicate is as old as human society. But as we progress day by day in different spheres of knowledge it becomes increasingly difficult for research workers and specialists to keep themselves abreast of the vast amount of literature on each subject

pouring out of the presses throughout the world. The only way is to concentrate one's interest to the specific type of literature one is interested in. Hence the necessity of such a publication is justified.

This particular volume reviews noteworthy anthropological works published since 1955. Five fields are chosen for this volume—social and cultural change; physical anthropology; linguistics; social organization and psychocultural studies—according to the number of works published on each topic—within the given period. Different chapters are written by different scholars. In each chapter the first few lines give the scope of the review, then comes the actual review and the last part of the chapter gives the list of literatures cited with necessary particulars. There is a chapter on Soviet anthropology, which will create interest among anthropologists, who have so far found it difficult to know anything about recent progresses in Soviet anthropology due to the language barrier. The volume is well indexed.

It is stated in the foreword that the subsequent volumes of the biennial review will always include major areas of interest. Hence it is hoped that these publications will be of much help to anthropologists and members of related disciplines who wish to get a bird's eye view of the recent works done in the different subject they are interested in.

Arati Roy

Anthropology Exhibition Souvenir, *Issued by Social Sciences Association, Madras. Pp. 121, Re. 1.00.*

Issued on the occasion of the celebration of the birth centenary of Professor L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, a pioneer anthropologist of India, this publication contains articles dealing with the different aspects of anthropology and its allied subjects written by different scholars. Messages from prominent personalities of India and from UNESCO and Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland form an important feature.

Sri A. Aiyappan's article 'A Pioneer Anthropologist' gives an account of Professor Iyer's life and his contributions to Indian anthropology. The other articles are 'Anthropology, needs of today'; 'A new look for museums'; 'A Century of Darwinism'; 'Serological studies in Gujarat'; 'Kerala and Lanka legends'; 'An

archaeologist's suggestion to universities'; 'Ethnographical collections over 90 years'; 'Social sciences and public health'; 'Tribal survivals in Kerala'; 'Simple way to curb birth-rate' and 'Anthropological repercussions to caste system'.

Arati Roy

Mambo, A Melanesian Millennium. By K. O. L. Burridge, London, Methuen Co. Ltd., 42 sh. net.

The author of the above book, went to live in New Guinea with a view to understanding the ways of life of the natives inhabiting that region; and the present book is the result of a detailed analysis of the values of the New Guinea people. Their values as embodied in their myth-dreams are the main sources of innovation in New Guinea life. European contact has adversely affected the traditional value system of the natives in New Guinea.

Cargo movements also called 'Cargo cult', which is the desire of the New Guinea people to obtain the manufactured goods of the Europeans, in the form of revolutionary activities, sprang out of the precedent system of values. The leader of this movement was Mambu, a native of New Guinea. As such he symbolizes the main theme of the book and the title of the book in his name rightly fits in.

B. Minz

Social Economy of a Polyandrous People. By R. N. Saksena, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Second Edition (Revised) 1962, Rs. 15.

The present book with a forward to the first edition by Sri K. M. Munshi has been written on the basis of extensive research conducted by the author in the Jaunsar-Bawar district of Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

The author has presented the background of the natural surroundings which have gone to a great extent in moulding the social organization, economic life, religious life, trade and transport of the people.

One will also read with great interest about the practice of polyandry and its impact on the social economy of the people.

B. Minz