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CONTENTS

	Page
National Seminar on Hill People ... — <i>Nirmal Kumar Bose</i>	1
Sociological Interpretation in Archaeology ... — <i>L. S. Leshnik</i>	8
Social Groups and Categories in a Small Town ... — <i>I. S. Chauhan</i>	15
A Synthetic Model of the Hindu Jajmani System — <i>Gilbert Kushner</i>	35
Ecology and Markets in Eastern Midnapur ... — <i>Tarasish Mukhopadhyaya</i>	61
Book Reviews	74

Edited by
Nirmal Kumar Bose

MAN IN INDIA

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Index of Articles

(Volume 47, 1967)

ABO Blood Group Among the Jaunsaris			
—Malay Kumar Banerjee and Dilip Kumar Banerjee			133
a - b Ridge Count in Palmar Dermatoglyphics of the Izhavas of Kerala, The			
—B. Vijaya Bhanu and K. C. Malhotra	...		149
a - d Ridge Count of Rarhi Brahmans of Bengal Residing at Delhi, The			
—P. K. Chattopadhyay and P. Dash Sharma	...		123
Age at Menarche of Kalita Girls in Assam			
—Priya Bala Das and Bhuban Mohan Das	...		113
Anthropometry of the Ho of Seraikella			
—Guru Charan Ghosh	...	...	127
Anthropometry of the Koltas of Jaunsar-Bawar, U. P.			
—Malay Kumar Banerjee	...	...	118
Book Reviews	...	...	74, 158, 244, 338
Caste and occupation in a village in Bihar			
—K. N. Sahay	...	...	178
Clan organization among the Garo of Assam			
—M. C. Goswami and D. N. Majumdar	...		249
Ecology and Markets in Eastern Midnapur			
—Tarasish Mukhopadhyaya	...	...	61
Factor Analysis of Farmer's Self-Image of Personality Traits			
—T. K. Moulik and A. R. Khan	...	...	295
Family Planning Problems			
—S. N. Sanyal	...	...	331
Indian States on Social Distance Scale			
—Mahendra Narain Karna	...	...	228
Leadership in a Tribal Society			
—A. C. Sinha	...	...	222
National Seminar on Hill People			
—Nirmal Kumar Bose	...	...	1
Occupational differentiation in a North Indian Community			
—S. P. Jain	...	...	309
Occupation Class, Migration and Family Structure among the Refugees of West Bengal, 1947-48			
—Kanti Pakrasi	...	...	200
Social Changes in Bihar in the Second Half of the 19th Century			
—Surendra Gopal	...	...	81
Social Groups and Categories in a Small Town			
—I. S. Chauhan	...	...	15

Social Structure of a Pnar Village			
—A. P. Sinha	...	...	189
Sociological Interpretation in Archaeology			
—L. S. Leshnik	...	...	8
Some Evolutionary Aspects in the Dental Morphology of Bengalee Skulls			
—Papia Banerjee	...	...	103
Some methods of Studying Social Change			
—N. K. Bose	...	...	169
Some Observations on Factors Influencing Settlement of Households			
—A. B. Bose and N. S. Jodha	...	...	272
Studying Stereotypes Cross-Culturally			
—Gopal Sharan Sinha and Mahendra Narain Karna			92
Study of the Hira Foot, A			
—Renuka Das and Bhuban Mohan Das	...	...	139
Synthetic Model of the Hindu Jajmani System, A			
—Gilbert Kushner	...	...	35
The Ladakhi Custom of Cremation			
—Baidyanath Saraswati	...	...	263
The Problem of the Neo-Christians of Kerala			
—K. C. Alexander	...	...	317
The Work of a Panchayat in Mysore			
—H. D. Lakshminarayana	...	..	214
Two Pedigrees of Inbreeding from North India			
—S. S. Sarkar	...	...	238
Use of Trace Line Analysis in the Construction of an Adoption Scale of Recommended Farm Practices			
—Satadal Dasgupta	...	...	279

Index of Authors

(Volume 47, 1961)

Alexander, K. C.			
—The Problem of the Neo-Christians of Kerala	...	...	317
Banerjee, Dilip Kumar			
—See Banerjee, Malay Kumar	...	...
Banerjee, Malay Kumar			
—Anthropometry of the Koltas of Jaunsar-Bawar, U. P.	...	...	118
Banerjee, Malay Kumar and Dilip Kumar Banerjee			
—ABO Blood Group Among the Jaunsaris	...	...	133
Banerjee, Papia			
—Some Evolutionary Aspects in the Dental Morphology of Bengalee Skulls	...	...	103
Bhanu, B. Vijaya and K. C. Malhotra			
—The a - b Ridge Count in Palmar Dermatoglyphics of the Izhavas of Kerala	...	...	149
Bose, A. B. and N. S. Jodha			
—Some Observations on Factors Influencing Settlement of Households	...	...	272
Bose, Nirmal Kumar			
—National Seminar on Hill People	...	...	1
—Some Methods of Studying Social Change	...	...	169
Chattopadhyay, P. K. and P. Dash Sharma			
—The a - d Ridge Count of Rarhi Brahmans of Bengal Residing at Delhi	...	...	123
Chauhan, I. S.			
—Social Groups and Categories in a Small Town	...	...	15
Das, Bhuban Mohan			
—See Das, Priya Bala			
—See Das, Renuka	...	...
Dasgupta, Satadal			
—Use of Trace Line Analysis in the Construction of an Adoption Scale of Recommended Farm Practices	...	...	279
Das, Priya Bala and Bhuban Mohan Das			
—Age at Menarche of Kalita Girls in Asaam	...	...	113
Das, Renuka and Bhuban Mohan Das			
—A Study of the Hira Foot	...	...	139
Ghosh, Guru Charan			
Anthropometry of the Ho of Seraikella	...	...	127
Gopal, Surendra			
—Social Changes in Bihar in the Second Half of the 19th Century	...	...	81
Goswami, M. C. and D. N. Majumdar			
—Clan Organization among the Garo of Assam	...	...	249

Jain, S. P.			
—Occupational Differentiation in a North Indian Community	...	...	309
Jodha, N. S. and A. B. Bose			
—See Bose, A. B.	...	...
Karna, Mahendra Narain			
—Indian States on Social Distance Scale	...	...	228
Karna, Mahendra Narain			
—See Sinha, Gopal Saran	...	...
Khan, A. R.			
—See Moulik, T. K.	...	...
Kushner, Gilbert			
—A Synthetic Model of the Hindu Jajmani System	...	...	35
Lakshminarayana, H. D.			
—The Work of a Panchayat in Mysore	...	...	214
Leshnik, L. S.			
—Sociological Interpretation in Archaeology	..	..	8
Majumdar, D. N. and M. C. Goswami			
—See Goswami, M. C.	...	...
Malhotra, K. C.			
—See Bhanu, B. Vijaya	...	...
Moulik, T. K. and A. R. Khan			
—Factor Analysis of Farmer's Self-image of Personality Traits	...	...	295
Mukhopadhyaya, Tarasish			
—Ecology and Markets in Eastern Midnapur	...	...	61
Pakrasi, Kanti			
—Occupation Class, Migration and Family Structure Among the Refugees of West Bengal, 1947-48	...	...	200
Sahay, K. N.			
—Caste and occupation in a Village in Bihar	...	...	178
Sanyal, S. N.			
—Family Planning Problems	...	...	331
Saraswati, Baidyanath			
—The Ladakhi Custom of Cremation	...	...	263
Sarkar, S. S.			
—Two Pedigrees of Inbreeding from North India	...	...	238
Sharma, P. Dash			
—See Chattopadhyay	...	...
Sinha, A. C.			
—Leadership in a Tribal Society	...	...	222
Sinha, A. P.			
—Social Structure of a Pnar Village	...	...	189
Sinha, Gopal Sharan and Mahendra Narain Karna			
—Studying Stereotypes Cross-Culturally	92

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NATIONAL SEMINAR ON HILL PEOPLE

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

(Received on 14 December 1966)

Abstract : The author examines the problems of the Hill People of North-East India from the political, cultural and economic points of view. He discusses some of the constitutional demands made by distinguished leaders participating in a seminar in Calcutta, and suggests modifications in terms of the ideals placed before the Indian nation by Mahatma Gandhi.

I am thankful to all the delegates from North-East India who have expressed their views and sentiments clearly and strongly. They have repeatedly emphasized the point that the claim of self-determination is not a claim for separation from India : the demand for a separate State voiced by several delegates is not equivalent to *separatism*. We are happy that this has been stated unequivocally and with a clear realization of the dangers which spring from separatism.

Several measures have been suggested as to how the demand for self-determination among the hill people in question can be adequately satisfied, and reasons have also been given as to

*Concluding address at the National Seminar on the Hill People of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and N. E. F. A. delivered at the Asutosh Hall, University of Calcutta, on 4 December 1966.

why a solution should be arrived at without any further delay by the Government of India. My purpose will be to examine some of these reasons, as well as positive proposals, from the point of view of an anthropologist.

Professor Swell has lain emphasis on the point that the chief solution lies in the direction of a political settlement. Mr. Stanley Nichols-Roy, as well as a number of other speakers, have drawn our attention to the same solution. The argument is that once the hill people are left free to decide their own fate, then, with adequate co-operation from the Central and the State Governments concerned, they will be able to solve all their problems in a satisfactory manner. Tagged on as they are today to communities who do not realize the nature of their problems, their specific problems remain unsolved.

This would tend to mean that a political solution is the first thing which is needed. Let me point out at this stage to my friends from North-East India that, before India attained her Independence in 1947, a similar view was widely held by many of those who struggled in order to liberate India from the British empire. When India did gain her Independence it was very soon realized that it was not enough to transfer power from white to brown hands, but what mattered most was the question : To whom had power come ?

Long ago, in 1909, Mahatma Gandhi wrote a small book entitled *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. In it he had said in course of an imaginary conversation with an Indian revolutionist, 'If you believe that because Italians rule Italy the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. Mazzini has shown conclusively that Italy did not become free. Victor Emanuel gave one meaning to the expression ; Mazzini gave another. According to Emanuel, Cavour and even Garibaldi, Italy meant the King of Italy and his henchmen. According to Mazzini, it meant the whole of the Italian people, that is, the agriculturists. Emanuel was only its servant. The Italy of Mazzini still remains in a state of slavery. At the time of the so-called national war, it was a game of chess

between two rival kings with the people of Italy as pawns. The *working classes** in that land are still unhappy. They, therefore, indulge in assassination, rise in revolt, and rebellion on their part is always expected. What substantial gain did Italy obtain after the withdrawal of the Austrian troops? The gain was only nominal. The reforms for the sake of which the war was supposed to have been undertaken have not yet been granted. The condition of the people in general still remains the same. I am sure you do not wish to reproduce such a condition in India. I believe that you want the millions of India to be happy, *not that you want the reins of government in your hands*.* If that be so, we have to consider only one thing : *how can the millions obtain self-rule*?* You will admit people under several Indian princes are being ground down. The latter mercilessly crush them. Their tyranny is greater than that of the English, and if you want such tyranny in India, then we shall never agree. My patriotism does not teach me that I am to allow people to be crushed down under the heel of Indian princes if only the English retire. If I have the power, I should resist the tyranny of the Indian princes just as much as that of the English. By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them. If any Englishman dedicated his life in securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.'

Friends, you will thus notice that the question of questions is not whether the hill people or the plains people will decide the destiny of the people of North-East India, but, to whom does the power belong? Is it to the 'working classes', in Gandhiji's language, or to a small section among the whole community? Gandhiji devised his means of Satyagraha so that power would come to the poorest in the land—unto the last—by means of constructive work leading to decentralization of the productive apparatus, and non-violent non-co-operation employed to defend an economy of non-violence.

*Italics, present author's.

I would therefore plead with you to devise ways and means so that the agriculturists and working people gain a feeling of freedom, instead of that some among them will alone bask in the sunshine of power. The reason why Gandhiji recommended non-violence as a means of ensuring the transference of either political or economic power was simple and straightforward. He was clearly of opinion that if educated townsmen, who lived not on their own labour but on the labour of others, gained power either through a violent insurrection or even purely constitutional means, they would generally tend to retain power for themselves, i.e. their own class. This is also why Gandhiji defined *freedom* in the following original terms: 'By Swaraj I mean the government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed *by manual labour** to the service of the State and who have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters. I hope to demonstrate that real *Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused.** In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.' (*Young India*, 29 January 1925, p. 40.)

This, I believe, is the supreme political question which every Indian has to place before himself. Whether their answer to this can be obtained by the formation of a separate State within India or not is not the most important question. Such a measure may or may not be necessary. It is for our national representatives to decide whether the best solution can be arrived at in one constitutional way or another. The more important point which has to be borne in mind by all of us in deciding about any political measure is, are we ensuring that power is coming through it to the common people? If it is, then it is most welcome. If not, then we have to devise other means so that Gandhiji's concept of freedom or Swaraj may actually come into being.

*Italics, present author's.

The chief reason given by some of the delegates present here was that an immediate solution at the political level is called for because, by it alone, we shall be able to preserve the culture of the hill people against its possible withering away in the face of an onslaught by pressure placed upon it by the people of the plains.

Let us proceed to examine this question now. By culture, we naturally understand, not only the religion, language, social system of a people, but its entire way of life as well. Now, have these things remained at the same level in course of the last fifty years, or even since the attainment of Independence in 1947 ?

His Grace the Metropolitan of India, His Grace the Bishop of Chotanagpur, as well as several other distinguished speakers have described how Christianity has come into the lives of the hill people, and liberated them not only from some of their earlier commitments in belief, but also from the insidious infiltration of ideas of high and low, of caste, derived from neighbouring Hindu society. Mr. Sitaram Johri, on the other hand, has tried to indicate in his paper that Hinduism respected the beliefs and social systems of the hill people, even adopted their gods and goddesses within the Hindu pantheon. In contrast, the British rulers tried to emphasize the distinction between plains people and hill people and helped substantially in maintaining the latter at the picturesque level of museum pieces, when they did not want to do away altogether with tribal culture by means of westernization.

One need not enter into the controversy as to whether westernization or hinduization is good or bad, or what happens to the personality of the Adivasi individual or to his cultural distinctness under the influence of one civilization or another. But it can be admitted without reservation that, as an objective fact, the culture of the indigenous hill people has not remained what it was before its contact with either the plains people or British rulers or Christian missionaries.

It is indeed true that a new pride in the best elements of indigenous culture has arisen in the Khasi Hills and Nagaland,

in Chotanagpur as well as among the Santal population of either West Bengal or of Orissa. A similar situation arose among the Bengalis of the nineteenth century, when, under the hostile impact of an alien culture, they tried to rediscover the roots of their own culture, and cast them into new moulds so that they could cope with the problems of modern life. This happened from the days of Raja Rammohan Roy to those of Vivekananda, Rabindranath and Gandhi.

A similar event is taking place among the indigenous people of the hills. There is nothing unnatural about this, and every reason for us to feel a pride in this dynamic character of indigenous culture. The same observation can also be made about the people of different States in India. The Andhra, the Maharashtrian, the Punjabi, the Bihari, the Assamese and the Tamil are all trying to make up the lee-way in social reform and education so that everybody can participate fully in the promotion of a modern life. Incidentally, each is also trying to re-emphasize the best and the most distinctive elements of his own culture.

But by that very process of internalization of some of the current values of the modern world, by a rediscovery and revision of its cultural heritage, every one of these communities is altering its own culture in one way or another. Every community, at base, works on the unexpressed belief that culture is dynamic: it marches with the needs of the times.

Now, if that be so, if that is the historical fate of the cultures of the plains and of the hills, why can't we view one another sympathetically and come closer to one another in understanding? Our lives and our cultures today are dominated by industry, commerce and urban professions. Our lives are ruled by the railway, the motor car, the radio and even the aeroplane. We do not express ourselves in our special songs and dances, and wear our special costumes three hundred sixty five days in the year, but only on a few occasions. Common economic needs and the demands of a common political system have brought us closer than ever before.

It is perhaps because of this progressive uniformity at the level of economic and political systems that the fear is being felt by smaller communities that their religious and linguistic or artistic culture is likely to be swept away. But why should this fear be there if the Republic of India decides, as it has already done in our Constitution, that there should be unity at certain levels and diversity in others ?

This brings us to our last point, namely, that it is indeed possible to bring about a uniformity in economic and political life while encouraging cultural diversification in regard to other aspects of life like language and literature, thought and religious belief, and artistic expression in music and dances, painting and sculpture or even architecture.

Hindu civilization had many defects which progressively weakened it in course of time. But it had, at least, one point of strength which helped to preserve its noblest elements in spite of economic and political decay. This was the belief that truth never comes to any person or community except in fragments. If the whole truth does come to any one, it becomes incommunicable to anyone else, except through the fragrance of a perfected life. It was through the recognition of this fundamental truth that Hinduism became a federation of faiths ; while the social system which it built up was the non-competitive organization of caste. Unfortunately, caste was also divided into privileged and unprivileged classes. It was unable to cope with a rising population. It was also unable to cope with the demands of political unity, and the challenge of war.

If India had many weaknesses in the past, let us shed them. But if it believed in a cultural federalism, let us rescue it from the mire and make India the homeland of a civilization once more where one faith does not dominate over another, where the needs of uniformization of culture are subdued, and where the mind of all those who share in her civilization remain free even while they join hands with one another in a common economic and political endeavour as a result of which even the last and least amongst us begins to feel that Swaraj has indeed come.

Let us all combine in this noblest of all adventures.

SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY

L. S. LESHNIK

(*Received on 3 September 1966*)

Abstract : The author expresses the opinion that the sociological interpretation of archaeological facts would become more meaningful if ethnological data of the right kind are brought into adequate use. In many parts of the East, there is an unbroken continuity between the material culture of the past and the present. An archaeologist will have much to gain by a study of the material and social facts in the neighbourhood of the site where he is working ; for they may even help him to look for new facts in his own excavation. The author also suggests that a team of archaeologists should be accompanied by a professional ethnologist, if the former cannot carry out the necessary investigation themselves.

MOST archaeologists, if asked, would agree that they are cultural historians whose concern is to understand past societies as a functioning whole. Ultimately such an understanding must rest upon a knowledge of how the societies were organized to meet the various problems confronting them. This means not only economic organization which has from the beginning attracted archaeologists' attention, but social and political organization as well. Probably these latter two have been pushed into the background somewhat because it is believed that statements about them are more often than not either unreliable or mere platitudes. Since this belief is fairly widely held, it will pay to examine its basis.

In archaeology, as in all historical procedure, interpretation is achieved through inference from more or less direct data. At best, an archaeological interpretation can always

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only be a probable one. The mode of thought applied to the evidence cannot, by definition, result in proofs. Moreover, the nature of the data itself, being inevitably incomplete, also necessitates probable rather than final statements. It is best that we be clear on this point. This state of affairs, if the archaeologist wishes to be taken seriously, makes it incumbent upon him that he present as convincing a case as possible. Awareness of this has in recent years brought some archaeologists to reconsider the various kinds of interpretations they make. The following scheme offered by Hawkes¹ conveniently summarizes them. Starting with the simplest interpretation and progressing to the more complex, we have :

- Level I—Inferences to the subsistence economy
- Level II—Inferences to socio-political institutions
- Level III—Inferences to religious institutions.

Beyond the second level, there is a sharp rise in the unreliability of inference because the evidence pointing to a conclusion becomes more ambiguous, and allows of more than one interpretation. It is quite easy to determine, for example, that a pot was wheel-turned, or a copper axe hammered rather than cast. It is also relatively easy to deduce fishing activities and hunting or agriculture from the presence of artifacts and organic remains. Once an assemblage is given functional meaning, say as fishing equipment (perforated stone = net sinkers ; small hook-ended bone objects = fishhooks ; pointed shafts with laterally projecting fins = harpoons etc.) the conclusion that fishing provided at least a part of the society's subsistence cannot be resisted since there is no reasonable alternative explanation for such a collection of artifacts. Not so at Level II, for as Hawkes points out, inferences to the institution of chieftainship from the presence of a hut larger than the others rest on weak ground. Alternative interpretations such as 'meeting place', 'temple', or 'medicine lodge' cannot be eliminated if only the original evidence is considered. It is characteristic of these grades of interpretation that the lower ones have an element of compulsion about them while the higher levels permit a range of interpretation. The simple interpretations generally bear a direct relation to the actual

data, while the complex ones depend upon a variety of intervening assumptions and hypotheses which have only a weak reliability. If these higher level interpretations are to become meaningful, it will be necessary to invest them with greater validity derivable from the evidence itself. The possibility of achieving this depends initially upon the archaeologist's understanding of the relationship of material elements (i.e. his direct evidence) to other cultural spheres.

Too often, the nature of material elements within a single context (i.e. assemblage) and their relationship to other aspects of culture is either (a) defined *a priori*, or (b) overlooked altogether. The latter attitude is frequently involved when the archaeologist is concerned with determining the spatial-temporal limits of his 'culture'. Then, he selects certain traits (typically pottery, fibulæ etc.) and traces their distribution horizontally and vertically, so to speak. The use of the word 'culture' in this connexion betrays the assumption that in the pursuit of one or a few particular traits, the limits of a society are also defined. 'Archaeological assemblage' = 'Society' is the formula. The essential error implicit here is neatly pointed up by Prof. Braidwood : 'if the Chief of the Ruawalla Bedouins has a Ford, it does not make his culture the same as that of the River Rouge Police Department which owns a fleet of them.'² The single trait in isolation is meaningless for the characterization of a culture. Only when several traits, taken together and related to one another, are considered can one begin to speak with justification of a culture.

The *a priori* theories of the relationship between material elements and social or political organization, economic system etc. have been the sturdy fortresses of Marxists and evolutionists for over a century. Again and again ethnologists have warned that cultural 'development is not uniform, so that a people with a simple technology may have an advanced social structure or form of worship.'³ It is fallacious to reason that because phenomena can be arranged in comfortably *logical* order, the temporal necessarily follows. Yet there are contemporary archaeologists, and not only in Russia, who argue and

interpret in just this way. Others again discuss the limits of archaeological inference and caution us to remain within them, without however indicating how these limits are established. Seemingly, they are measured by what already has been achieved in the interpretation of archaeological evidence. Again the pre-determined conclusions are forced through. We are told, for example, that since 'the essential social divisions of prehistoric peoples do not find any adequate expression in material remains, it cannot be right to try to arrive at a knowledge of them in archaeological interpretation.'⁴ This statement would be unobjectionable if the premise were known to be true. But is it? The fact is that we archaeologists know much too little about the ways other aspects of culture might be reflected in material remains. Both this latter approach to interpretation and the neat developmental schemes have a ring of finality about them which easily discourages and seemingly obviates empirical studies. Yet these are just what are needed. Before any valid generalization on the cultural role of material elements can be made, field studies on this topic amongst societies at various levels of development and existing in different environments are required. I stress field studies, for on the whole, the extant anthropological literature will probably be found incapable of supplying the rather specific and detailed information required. Since independent ethnologists are not likely to suspend their own interests in order to supply this special information, the time would seem right for archaeologists themselves to undertake ethnological studies. They could then collect data with a conscious attention to the problems and needs of archaeology. As a matter of practicality, such a study should not present much of a problem. Most excavations, or at least excavation camps, are near towns or villages, thus readily presenting an opportunity for ethnological investigation. If the present-day settlement is at the same approximate stage of technological development as the archaeological society, which is frequently the case in the East, so much the better. The investigation will then be likely to have more direct applicability to the interpretative problems of the archaeological data.

Alternatively to the archaeologist conducting the ethnological study himself, an ethnologist conversant with the problems of archaeology might be included as a member of the excavation team. I expect that eventually this will become standard practice in areas of the world where technology has not yet altogether separated the present from the past. After a sufficient number of such cross-cultural researches have been made it should be possible then, but only then, to establish some general principles regarding the limits of archaeological inference.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence with which they continually deal, archaeologists are prone to take a piecemeal view of culture. However, if an approach to the understanding of society as a functioning whole is to be made, an organic view of culture is likely to be more productive. If it is accepted that culture is patterned, it may be expected that this pattern will in some part at least be reflected in each of its components, and therefore, also in the material elements.⁵ The archaeological assemblage is accidental only in respect of what has been preserved, but is otherwise the patterned result of patterned behaviour. The quantitative and formal aspects of artifactual groupings, together with their relative locations can be important clues to the pattern of the society which they represent. (It is frequently overlooked that behaviour has a spatial dimension; that, for example, certain areas are either prescribed or proscribed for particular activities.) An assemblage is *what* it is, but also *where* it is, just because these characteristics of number, shape and position once had social significance.

The 'type'-concept⁶, which is the anchor for the 'where'-and-'when' archaeology will have to be relegated to second position and replaced in its primacy by detailed inquiries into ranges of variation so far as the 'how'-and-'why' kind of archaeology is concerned. In the local group, the socially recognized differences in size, material, form, quantity or location of an artifact are meaningful. The archaeological type is merely a mental construction which facilitates a manipulation of the data, but is not necessarily a cultural reality in itself.

Operationally, the interpretative problem then becomes one of identifying meaningful associations of material elements, of recognizing significant quantitative-qualitative variations amongst the elements, and of discovering significant patterns in their spatial distribution. Here, experience gained in a first-hand ethnological study of these matters will prove invaluable in suggesting what to look for and how to go about this. To illustrate: a village in Central India in which I recently had completed a study of the Type I here suggested has a population composed of harijans and 'clean' castes. I found this social division to be reflected in the material elements of the village in several ways. The houses of the two groups were spatially separated, of different size and architecture. Moreover, the contents of the houses differed from group to group. The harijans, for example, used a different type of mortar and pestle than did the clean castes. The reason for this difference in usage I was unable to discover (probably historical), but the fact indicates how social divisions may be reflected in material objects. (If these two mortar and pestle types had been found in an excavation, as well they could, it would have been observed that their distribution clustered in different sections of the village, thus providing a further clue to be followed up by correlating other finds such as house-size with them.)

Often, it will not be easy to recognize associations of elements that were once meaningful to the society concerned. But when it is possible to do so, the evidence for a particular conclusion can be compelling enough to invest that conclusion with a considerable degree of reliability. To return to Hawkes' example, one cannot indeed safely infer chieftainship from the evidence of only a hut. And as for any alternative interpretation, the conviction it carries will be equally slight because the other possibilities still remain open. The reply to this is that if chieftainship had been present as an institution, it would very likely have had a number of material correlates, not only a single, large hut. (Just what these are would have to be empirically determined in the kind of archaeo-ethnological study I suggest. Since in ancient times chieftainship usually

went hand in hand with wealth, one might, for example, expect to find articles of better quality or greater quantity *inside* the house than occur in other houses.) To borrow a term from the field of medicine, the converging lines of evidence which point to a single interpretation might be called *syndromes*. In this example, one would be dealing with the chieftainship syndrome. To arrive at reliable inferences at higher levels, the task of the archaeologist then is to discover syndromes rather than mere types. And to suggest what these syndromes might be composed of, a good deal of archaeological ethnology will be required.

NOTES

1. Hawkes, C. Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World, *in American Anthropologist*, No. 56, 1954, p. 161.
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SOCIAL GROUPS AND CATEGORIES IN A SMALL TOWN

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Abstract : The author describes the cultural characteristics of several groups of people who make up the population of Labasa, a small town in the Fiji Islands. He also tries to analyse their interactions.

LABASA, the town under study, is located on the north coast of Vanua Levu which is the second biggest island in the Fiji group. Labasa's population is multi-racial. Of the town's 3400 people, roughly 68% are Indians, 15% Fijians, 9% Europeans and 3% Chinese. Labasa's population is very heterogeneous. Race, religion, nationality, class, place of origin and, to some extent, occupations could be used as criteria for the classification of the social groups. But these divisions cut across one another to such an extent that they in fact present a very complex situation. Race could, however, be the most effective criterion for a broad analysis of the population.

Indians

On the basis of place of origin in India, Adrian Mayer has classified the rural Indians as Northerners and Southerners (Mayer 1961). This analysis of Fiji Indian society into two cultural groups differentiated by language, rules of marriage, religious rites, diet, names, etc., holds true of Labasa as well.

There is almost an equal number of Northerners and Southerners in Labasa. Both the groups are conscious of their different origins and cultural differences. In so far as marriages are concerned, these broad divisions are maintained

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rather rigidly. If a Southern Indian boy goes to India for higher education, he seeks admission only in a South Indian University. The Southerners are a fairly heterogeneous group ; but their internal differences are significant only for Southerners, and not for others for whom they are all 'Madrasis'. The Labasa Southerners are the descendants of Telugu-speaking Andhras, Tamil-speaking inhabitants of Madras and Malayalam-speaking inhabitants of Kerala. The Southerners have a well-organized socio-religious association called Ten India Sanmarg Aikya Sangam. This was formed in 1926 in order to preserve the South Indian languages and cultures and also to promote education. Politically this association is very significant.

The Northerners are more diverse than the Southerners. This group consists of the first, second, and third generations of those indentured labourers who came from that part of India which lies between the Satpura and the Himalayan Mountains, excluding the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab. The majority of these people come from eastern U. P. and Bihar. Their language was one of the dialects of Hindi and they shared almost common cultural traditions. But, in contrast with the Southerners, this group appears to be more heterogeneous. People within as well as without are familiar with this diversity.

Indians of Labasa, from the point of view of religion, fall into three groups. The majority are Hindus, about 55 households are Moslems, and about a dozen are Christians of various denominations. Hindus belong to two sects. The majority are orthodox Sanatani Hindus, while a few belong to the reformed Arya Samaj.

Arya Samajis

There are about 20 Samaji households in Labasa, most of whom are related to one another by marriage. These ties cut across rural-urban boundaries.

The Arya Samaj philosophy and practices are different from those of the Sanatanis. The two groups have separate priests, different ways of worship and different marriage rites.

In other spheres of life also, while Sanatanis tend to be more orthodox, for instance, in the matter of giving freedom to daughters to select their mates, the Samajis are comparatively more liberal. At least, in theory, a Samaji girl has every right to look for a husband herself, although in most cases it is the parents who arrange marriages for their sons and daughters. It is found that in both the groups, mates from within one's own group are preferred by the parents. In this respect the Sanatanis are more rigid than the Samajis. Among the Samajis the order of preference is a Samaji, a Sanatani, then any other Indian. What is essential is that the marriage rite should be performed in the Samaji way and in case one of the two partners is not a Samaji, he should be converted to the Arya Samaj before marriage takes place. People from any other religion and even those belonging to another race, can become a Samaji. A Samaji Indian married a Christian European girl in a church in London with the consent of his parents. On his return, the European girl was converted to the Arya Samaj. This preceded a miniature marriage ceremony performed according to Samaji rites. In the conversion-cum-purification ceremony, the girl had to promise to the priest before the ceremonial fire, that from now onwards she would follow the Vedic religion and that she would not eat beef or do anything that this religion does not permit. As against this Samaji practice, we find that the membership of orthodox Sanatani religion is exclusively by birth.

The Samajis, in general, are regarded as 'progressive' by others. It was interesting to note that the three traits, namely, drinking liquor, ball-room dancing, and emancipation of womenfolk which the Sanatanis associate with the so-called Samaji progressivism, the first two were found more or less equally distributed among the two groups; the degree of emancipation of women was certainly less among the Sanatanis. However, there is evidence to prove that in the past the Samajis were more favourably inclined to accept modern ways than orthodox Sanatanis.

It is hard to say if in their day-to-day life the Samajis associate more with Samajis than with other people. A few facts are however significant. Every Samaji from the town is sure to be invited if a Samaji family has organized a ceremony such as a wedding, a *havan* or a house-warming party. As against this, in the case of cocktail and dinner parties, occupational, professional and other economic interests of the host family, and not religion, influence the choice of guests. In orthodox Sanatani rituals, the list of guests normally includes persons from both the Sanatani as well as Samaji groups. The more dominant criteria employed in selecting the guests in many such ceremonies are friendship and economic interests rather than religious affiliation.

The Samajis have a national association called the All-Fiji Arya Samaj. There is a local branch at Labasa which is regarded as the headquarters of the whole of Vanua Levu. The Labasa branch was organized as early as 1906, but it was not effective until the 1930's. This association opened a primary school in 1933. Today they have under their control two primary schools, a kindergarten, the only one in Labasa, and several temples throughout the neighbouring region. These temples do not have stone idols as in Sanatani temples, but they are mainly used as community centres and assembly halls. The rural-urban differences do not matter much in the organization of this association. The majority of the members are from the rural region and almost all the assembly halls and both the schools are located in the region. The leadership of the association, however, is in the hands of a few wealthy and prominent Samajis who live in the town. It was reported that it is often to the advantage of such associations to have office-bearers from the town. They have contacts with various Government officials, which is helpful. In theory, at least, the leadership is determined by popular vote; but since its inception there has never been an election of office-bearers. The latter were always appointed unopposed, for, according to its members, elections create unnecessary factions. This year there was a conflict which

was resolved by creating a new 'above controversy' post of a Vice-Patron and offering it to an aspirant for presidentship.

The ties of this organization with the parent body at Suva are rather loose. The membership fees and marriage fees collected by priests are kept at Labasa and no part of it is sent to the parent body. On one occasion, however, when an elder founder of this organization at Suva wanted to go abroad for the treatment of his eyes, funds were generously donated by Labasa Samajis to cover his expenses.

In Samaji schools, though the bulk of expenses are paid by the Government, an attempt is always made to employ Samaji teachers. The Education Department which is responsible for the transfer of teachers, accommodates this demand of the school management, though it is not bound by any law to do so. The majority of students in these schools are Indians, both Samaji and Sanatani, perhaps because the schools are surrounded by villages inhabited by Indians. Few Fijian students attend these schools.

Sanatanis

The orthodox Sanatanis of Labasa can be divided into three groups: the Southern Sanatanis, the Northern Sanatanis and the Gujaratis.

T. I. S. A. Sangam is a socio-religious association of the Southern Sanatanis. In principle, it is an organization of all the Southern Indians, but in reality all its members are Sanatanis, for there are no Southern Moslems or Samajis. The only Sanatani temple in the town was constructed and is run by the Sangam. Donations to erect this temple were collected in part, at least, from Northern Sanatanis and the Samajis also. The temple is freely used by the Sangam members as well as by the Northern Sanatanis and Gujaratis. Rural-urban differences are insignificant in this organization, for Sangam members are drawn both from the town as well as from the surrounding region. The chairman is from a village, whereas the other active committee members live in the town. The Sangam has built a primary and a secondary school in the town.

The headmasters and most of the assistant teachers in these schools are Southerners. There is a shortage of teachers in Fiji and it is surprising to note how the Sangam has been able to pick up only Southerners to teach in these schools. The Labasa Sangam is an autonomous branch of the National Sangam Association which is closely associated with the Ramakrishna Mission in Fiji. The Ramakrishna Mission and the Sangam in Viti Levu established some of the earliest schools in Fiji.

The Sangam people annually organize a fair to raise funds for the school. Financially there are no links between the Labasa Sangam and the National Sangam, but politically and otherwise the Labasa Sangam gets friendly advice from Nadi, where the headquarters of the National Sangam is located.

The Northern Sanatanis of Labasa are culturally not very different from the Southern Sanatanis. A few differences occur in religious rites, in regard to deities that are worshipped, and also in the rules of marriage. The Northern Sanatanis have their own socio-religious association on the pattern of the Sangam. Rural-urban differences in this organization are insignificant. The members are drawn both from the town as well as the countryside. The committee members, except the president, live in the town but the main arena of the activities of this organization has been the countryside. There is an affiliated body, the Ramlila Committee, which looks after the management of the Ramlila festival at Bulileka village. There are several temple committees and Ramayan societies affiliated to the Vanua Levu Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha. They look after the management of temples and organize Ramayan singing in their own areas. This organization has established and runs several primary schools in the countryside with the co-operation of the local people.

Gujaratis

The most interesting social group among the Indians is formed by the Gujaratis. This group has more or less escaped

the attention of Adrian Mayer in his study of Indian peasants here ; perhaps because all the Gujaratis have been town-dwellers. They are traders and own most of the shops in the town.

The Gujaratis came to Fiji from India during the post-indenture period. All Gujaratis share a few common characteristics. In complexion, physical appearance, the clothes they wear, and to a certain extent culturally, they are different from the other local Indians. They are the most cohesive of all the social groups described earlier. They speak Gujarati and Hindi. They are orthodox Sanatanis. In regard to religious rites, rules of marriage, and general socio-religious observances, they are more orthodox than the other Sanatani Hindus and have successfully resisted change in their traditional practices. They do not generally inter-marry with any other Indian or non-Indian. There are, however, three exceptions in the town. Three Gujarati young men have married a European, a Part-European, and a Southern Indian girl respectively. Economically, all the Gujarati traders are well-to-do and they can afford to go to India. The Gujarati group has the largest number of India-born adults and practically every adult Gujarati has visited India twice or more since he has been in Fiji.

Most of the Gujaratis, when they came from India, could not speak English or Fijian, but they have picked up these two languages now. A few well-to-do Gujaratis send their children to India for secondary and higher education. Besides the fact that education in India does not cost much, they say that the boys going to India do not forget the Gujarati culture and the traditions of the homeland.

The Gujaratis have a tremendous degree of community feeling among them. A Gujarati, while referring to another Gujarati, will never use his first name alone, but the word *brother* will always be used as suffix. The related obligations are also sincerely carried through. About twenty years ago, when the immigration rules were not so strict, there were

always some Gujaratis wanting to go back to India, and almost always some newcomer would be available to temporarily buy the establishment and try his luck. This arrangement was very helpful to both parties.

Few non-Gujaratis are aware of the heterogeneity within this group. The Labasa Gujaratis belong to five endogamous castes. There are agriculturist Patels, Goldsmiths, Weaver and Tailor Khattris, Washermen, and Leather-workers, represented in Labasa in the same order of caste-hierarchy. The town has four Patel, eight Goldsmith, fifteen Khatri, two Washerman, and five Leather-worker households. The occupations associated with the names of the various castes are the traditional occupations of the castes in India. In Labasa one Washerman, two Goldsmiths, two Leather-workers and all the Khattris have retained their traditional occupations, while all other Gujaratis are either general merchants or general merchant-cum-tailors.

Inter-caste behaviour is explained by them through two terms which involve varying degrees of social relationship. *Roti beohar* denotes relationship of commensality involving mutual home visits. *Beti beohar* denotes a relationship which could be established with a particular family by means of matrimonial connexions. While all the Gujaratis in Labasa observe *Roti beohar* among themselves, inter-caste *Beti beohar* is strictly prohibited and no breach of this taboo has occurred. The various castes are strictly endogamous. Out of the five castes, the Patels and Goldsmiths are vegetarian. Their traditional prohibition on meat-eating is rigidly maintained by older and middle aged people, but the young have been found eating meat outside their homes. The elders in the family never allow meat to be cooked at home, but they know that the younger members eat meat whenever they go out for eating. *Roti beohar* between the vegetarians and non-vegetarians is maintained through a gentleman's agreement. No meat is cooked in a non-vegetarian home if a vegetarian is invited. But for a few exceptions the Gujaratis do not maintain any contacts,

involving mutual home visits, for eating with non-Gujaratis of any kind, either Indian or belonging to other races.

The Khattris, traditionally Weavers and Tailors, who form the majority of Labasa Gujaratis, claim a high caste status and say that they are Kshatriyas belonging to the Warrior caste. But the Labasa Tailors have done nothing to enhance their status ritually by Sanskritization. There is an association with headquarters at Surat in India named the Kshatriya Association, and every Gujarati belonging to the Tailor caste in Labasa is its devoted member. This association offers scholarship to orphans, runs a youth club, an old people's home, a kindergarten, and a hospital which was constructed by donations from Fiji Gujaratis and is now named as the Fiji-born Hospital. All Labasa Gujaratis of the Tailor caste collect and send about £F. 70 to 100 every year to help this association.

All Labasa Gujaratis show two broad regional divisions among themselves. The Kathiawaris are those belonging to the region north of Surat and the 'Bombaiyas'—'the pure Gujaratis'—belong to the region between Bombay and Surat. It was reported that the Gujarati dialect, as spoken by these two groups, differ slightly. In Labasa no other cultural or interactional differences could be found between these two groups except that the Patels and the Goldsmiths, the only two Kathiawari groups, were vegetarian. The Bombaiyas feel that they are real Gujaratis whereas the Kathiawaris do not bother much about this. It is difficult to say if this factor influences their patterns of interaction.

Moslems

The Moslems of Labasa belong to two different and hostile sects. In the town, while most of the Moslems are Sunnis belonging to the orthodox Sunnatul Jamat, a dozen households are the protestant followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and are known as 'Mirzai' or 'Ahmadiyas'. Both these groups are culturally different from the other Indians. There are

strong rural-urban ties and for religious and all other purposes the rural and the urban Sunnis feel and act as one group. The Ahmadiyas also do the same. All the Ahmadiyas were either Shia or Sunni before 1930 when the Ahmadiya movement started here. The differences between the Sunnis and the Ahmadiyas arise out of conflicting religious beliefs. Ahmadiyas are not allowed to come and pray in Sunni mosques. They are also not allowed to participate in the Id celebration on the Prophet's birthday.

The Sunnis do not accept donations from the Ahmadiyas for any purpose. It is obvious that in such a situation the question of mutual home visits by invitation does not arise at all. The rival socio-religious and political associations, the Muslim League of the Sunnis and the Tahrik-I-Jadid Anjuman Ahmadiya Overseas Mission of Labasa are headed by two brothers. They actually came to blows once in a casual gathering when one brother greeted the other in a particular manner and the latter objected to it. A particular Sunni was converted to the Ahmadiya sect. It was resolved in one annual meeting of the Sunnis that his taxi cab would not be hired by any of them, and that no Sunni would invite him to his home on any occasion.

The Ahmadiyas have a separate mosque in the countryside where they assemble to celebrate religious festivals. This mosque, though open to all, is never attended by any Sunni. Intermarriages are not encouraged. One is forced to change his faith if he or she wants to marry someone from the other sect.

The parents or grandparents of most of the Moslems of Labasa came from North India, but most of them resent the term *Indian* used to refer to them. The Moslems strongly assert their ties with Pakistan from where they have invited preachers of their own religion.

At work, the Hindus and Moslems co-operate, but very few cases of mutual home visits and personal friendships were recorded. The two religious groups seem to have moved apart during the course of their stay in Fiji. There is

enough evidence to prove that they were much closer 30 to 40 years ago. Even today there are cases of friendship and co-operation between the people of the two religions. Thus there are cases of a Hindu regarding a Moslem girl as his sister; a Hindu priest selecting the first most auspicious syllable of a Moslem child's name after calculating the conjunction of stars at the time of its birth; many Hindus participating in Muharram and Id and Moslems participating in Holi and Diwali festivals; a respected Hindu leader settling a Moslem marriage dispute, and so on. From the countryside, a few earlier cases of Hindu-Moslem conflict arising out of the slaughter of cows for beef were reported.

Fijians

Approximately 15% of Labasa citizens are Fijian. On the basis of place of origin and sub-cultural and linguistic differences, the Fijians of Labasa fall into two groups. The first group consists of Fijian civil servants, and they live in Nasea and Vaturekuka settlements. All these Fijians are from various provinces in Viti Levu. The second group consists of *local* Fijians from Macuata, Bua and Cakaundrove provinces of Vanua Levu. Most of these Locals are employed as semi and unskilled workers by the P. W. D., house-building contractors, in the sugar mills and as house-servants by officials in the administration and Europeans in the mills.

There are three Fijian villages which are very close to Labasa. Their residents, all Fijians, actively participate in the religious, associational and economic life of the town. Their role in the activities of the town is indispensable, and is also being taken into account here.

Potting all the Viti Levu Fijians into one group may be convenient for the purposes of this study, but it has to be borne in mind that the criterion is rather arbitrary. Only as opposed to the Locals could they be regarded as a group. All Fijians speak Fijian, but there are slight differences in the way it is spoken from one province to another. As a group, all Fijians from Viti Levu point out that Fijian as it is

spoken in Viti Levu is more sophisticated than the local dialect. In every exclusive gathering, it was jokingly pointed out that the Local Fijians were so backward that they had remained cannibals until recently. The word *recent* was later explained as 'thirty years ago'. The researcher can claim to have had the opportunity of meeting a Fijian elder who was credited to have eaten human flesh.

In every Fijian home guests are most welcome at any time. This renders the criterion of mutual home visits to measure interaction useless to a certain extent. However, the reference groups of Viti Levu Fijians seem to be confined to themselves only. Small friendship groups consist of teachers and civil servants educated in the same school in Suva or belonging to the same province in Viti Levu. The ties established while at the teachers' training college still persist and the teachers scattered in the countryside, most of whom are from Viti Levu, come down for week-ends to stay with their town friends.

The ties established at work by the Viti Levu Fijians remain, in some cases, confined within the group. In some other cases, however, they cut across not only provincial but also racial boundaries. Long, extended chats around the *Yagona* bowl seem to be more popular with the Local Fijians than with the Viti Levu Fijians. A few young men from Viti Levu did show mild resentment for the waste of time involved in such gatherings. The Viti Levu Fijians do not have a separate church building in the town. Although the nearest church in a village is ten minute's walk from the town, the Viti Levu Fijians congregate in a local cinema hall for weekly prayers. They have been contributing in cash and in labour to erect a church building in the town which is halfway through towards completion. In group dancing, choir and *Meke*-singing competitions organized by the Church the Viti Levu Fijians maintain their identity by sending their own troupes to compete with teams from other parts of Vanua Levu. It is expected of a Fijian civil servant who is a newcomer to first look for the people of his own province now living in Labasa, associate with them more than with others,

and get introduced to the local social situation through them.

The Viti Levu Fijians, the Local Fijians living in the town, and the Local Fijians from the countryside outside the town are in no case as much socially separate as the various Indian groups are. All Fijians are Methodists and they share a basically common culture, language and traditions. The same priest conducts services in the cinema hall in the town and in the nearby village church, though he lives in the village. All Fijians co-operate to organize church bazaars and many other church celebrations held mostly in some nearby village. They also co-operate in organizing functions to ceremonially welcome the high chiefs who visit Labasa from time to time. The Sogo Sogo Vaka Marama, a Fijian women's social welfare organization, draws its members from among all the Fijian groups. The Fijian Association, a political party, though rather loosely organized, has leaders in the town and members both in the town as well as in the villages.

The traditional 'communal' outlook within Fijian society makes co-operation among various Fijian groups comparatively easy. Those coming from the countryside never stay in a hotel in the town. Whenever they come to the town on their way to Suva, to attend a Church function, or to spend weekends, they bring with them some food as gift to the host with whom they stay overnight. The host could be a Viti Levu Fijian or a town-dwelling Local Fijian. Out of the thirty-six Fijian participants in a teachers' refresher course organized in August 1965 in Labasa, only three accepted Government hospitality, while the rest from as far as the Lau group of islands stayed with their friends, friends' friends, kin, or with people from the same province as theirs. Another area of Fijian unity is religion. Almost all the Fijians are Methodists and they are very critical of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and its way of persuasion for conversion. This is often vocally expressed. The pattern of mutual home visits as friends is completely absent among the people belonging to these different Churches.

It is in the area of inter-racial relations where the various components of the Fijian population behave as one. In some areas of Fiji, the homesteads of the Indian farmers are situated close to Fijian villages; but the policy of early governors was to keep both Indians and Europeans away from Fijian villages. The pattern is different in towns where the Fijians live as neighbours with people of all other races. They have to live wherever they get private accommodation or in Government quarters allotted to them. At the S. P. S. M. hill settlement, however, accommodation in two separate dormitories has been provided for Indian and Fijian bachelors. Also, in the Batnikama settlement of the South Pacific Sugar Mill, Indian and the Fijian workers have been provided with houses in two separate conglomerations. Almost every European home has a Fijian house-girl who lives with her employers. In some cases living together and working together at the mill, the Government offices, private firms, the P. W. D., and housing work-sites do entail effective co-operation of Fijians with other races; but the cultural, religious, and linguistic barriers tend to limit it to a great extent.

In Fiji, people in the civil service, irrespective of the race to which they belong, must know three languages, namely, English, Fijian and Hindi. Most Indians can speak and understand Fijian and this helps communication. This happens in spite of the fact that quite a few Fijians can speak Hindi. Fijians buy their requirements from Indian and European shops, attend Indian religious celebrations, such as Ramlila and Sangam fair, go for condolence at the death of an Indian living in the neighbourhood, attend Indian marriages, watch Indian movies, sing and play Indian music on guitar; but mutual home visits between Fijians and people of other races are not common. Ties of friendship established by Indian and Fijian teachers and civil servants while at work do sometimes culminate in mutual home visits, but such cases seem to be rare. A few unmarried Indians and Fijians have been found to share a common Government dormitory. In one case an Indian and

a Fijian, both unmarried teachers who had studied together in New Zealand, share a Government flat. Fijians consult Indian doctors and lawyers in the town and show considerable faith in them. By and large it could be said that mixed housing in the town, urban work-situations, multi-racial schools and social clubs provide opportunities to the Fijians to mix and co-operate with people of other races. This may not be the case in the rural areas.

Non-co-operation and aloofness of the Fijians in relation to other races is quite evident in activities associated with the Church. There are Indian Methodist Christians in the town, but they prefer to attend the Anglican Church services and never go to the Methodist services attended by the Fijians in large numbers. The reason given is, that due to the overwhelming predominance of Fijians, the Methodist services are conducted in Fijian. The special Methodist Church celebrations are organized and attended only by Fijians; the Indian Methodists keep away from it. Only Europeans and Fijians were invited to a Methodist special service organized to welcome a visiting Australian priest. The Fijians alone are interested in playing and watching rugby and in organizing boxing competitions and they engage in these activities to the exclusion of people of other races. Soccer is a game played and watched exclusively by Indians. The Fijians do not even go to watch it. Politically, the Fijians are a separate entity so far as elections are concerned. A separate communal roll has given rise to an exclusive, all-Fijian political party. Except for the Part-Europeans, with whom the Fijians are found to intermarry, there is a total absence of intermarriage between Fijians and people of other races.

Part-Europeans

In the order of numerical preponderance, the third social group in Labasa consists of Part-Europeans who form approximately 9 % of the town's total population. In Fiji, the Part-Europeans are essentially urban dwellers except for the few living in the copra-plantations scattered in the rural

districts. They are concentrated in the Nasea and S. P. S. M. settlements in the town. Almost all the men are skilled and semi-skilled technicians. Most of the women are typists in offices, saleswomen, and waitresses. In a general way it can be said that these Part-Europeans lead a Fijian way of life, but blended with a conscious attempt to adopt European ways. In most cases, because of the limited finances, they are not able to imitate the European way successfully. This failure has resulted in a more or less distinctive way of life which is different from those of people of other races in Fiji. They place much value on the fair colour of the skin for themselves as well as for other groups. Every Part-European can speak Fijian and English fluently, but with a typical accent.

A Part-European household is usually very large, the total number of people living together, kins and affines, ranging from twelve to twenty-four. Two or three members in every household are almost always Fijian. Next to his own group, a Part-European tends to be closest to the Fijians. If he is unable to find a girl in his own group, his second preference would be a Fijian girl. Fijian girls readily marry Part-Europeans. As a result, the Fijian members of Part-European households are always Fijian women or their kin or affines. In Labasa, no Part-European Women were found married to Fijians. It appears from census returns that most members of Part-European households in Labasa are linked by kinship ties. Religion seems to be the common cause of conflict in these households, all of which have members belonging to two or more Churches.

Small friendship groups normally consist of Part-Europeans and a few Fijians. The common form of mutual home visits is the after-dinner chat around a *Yagona* bowl. Christmas and birthday parties of Part-Europeans, normally include a few Fijians also. On Saturday nights big dance parties are organized in the market shade by young Part-Europeans. Most of those who attend them are young Part-Europeans and Fijians. It is in such parties that boys meet girls, friendships are made and courtships begin.

Except in work situations, the Part-Europeans have minimum contacts with Europeans and Indians. Even at work, the few exclusive Part-European occupations do not give them much opportunity to come into contact with people of other races. All Part-Europeans are grouped with Europeans for purposes of voting through a communal roll for the Legislative Council. But this does not seem to have given them any sense of social superiority over Indians or Fijians. A European employer may invite his Part-European and other subordinates to cocktails and dinners; but Part-Europeans never invite Indians or Europeans home for any such socials.

The Labasa Club and the official cocktail parties are two the principal avenues which bring Part-Europeans into contact with people of other races. As soon as a Part-European enters the hall, he joins the group of Part-Europeans or Fijians standing or sitting apart. On special occasions in the Labasa Club, when dance parties are organized, besides the wives of the club members, the only other women are the specially invited Part-European unmarried girls. Soon after entering the hall they go and sit in a row of chairs, all clustered together in one corner. They are asked to dance mainly by unmarried European boys, besides a few young men of other races.

Europeans

The Europeans of Labasa, who form only 5 % of the total population of the town, are a very heterogeneous group. They are mainly of three different nationalities and have varied occupational interests. On the basis of common interests and attitudes, they can be grouped into three very broad categories.

Firstly, a very influential group of half a dozen Europeans consists of top British officials in the district administration and other Government departments, and a few Australians who are of comparatively lower rank. All of them live at the Vaturekuka settlement along with civil servants of other races. The second group of Europeans have commercial interests in

Labasa. The top employees of the sugar mill and the two European commercial concerns are Australians. Thirdly, outside the town boundaries, there are a few other Australians associated with a firm trading in timber and other forest produce. There are a few New Zealanders working with the Bank of New Zealand.

Labasa's population is multiracial and as such all Europeans are required to establish contacts with members of other races in work-situations. The intensity and pattern of interaction, both at work and outside work, are largely governed by the nature of interests and duties. Europeans who are in the administration, for instance, are committed to the Government policies. They have to co-operate with their co-workers of all races. No cases of conflict or even non-co-operation between civil servants of different races was noticed. The ties established while at work cut across racial boundaries and people in the administration behave as one in dealing with all others, at least while discharging their duties. Official cocktail parties and receptions are multiracial gatherings. But for two, all voluntary associations, directly or indirectly supported by the administration, are multiracial in composition. Such associations can be grouped into three categories: those organized for facilitating administration, such as the District Committee and the Development Board; those with social welfare as a professed aim, such as the Red Cross, Saint John Ambulance, and the Family Planning Association; those with recreational interests, such as the Women's Corona Society and the Labasa Club. The concentration of power-positions in them provides the the Europeans in the administration opportunities of mixing with people of other races, but at the same time it also necessitates on their part maintenance of a certain degree of aloofness from those not socially equal to them. The latter factor greatly influences their interaction with other races outside work-situations.

Europeans employed in the mill are committed to making the industry a success. European chiefs, Part-European technicians and Indian mill-workers and farmers are required

to co-operate and work as a unit. The occasional conflicts, such as cane-growers' strike or mill-workers' strike, may look like racial conflicts, but they have always been basically economic in nature. The mill-manager responsible for public relations ensures that all functions arranged by him have a multiracial composition. He also tries to secure honorary positions suited to his stature in the voluntary multiracial associations. To a large extent the same applies to other European commercial interests, excepting for the bank employees regarding their social relations. Normally, they have little to do with people of their own or other races outside work-situations. The junior European employees of the mill and the two commercial firms have to work with Indians and Fijians; but their small friendship groups are largely confined to their own race and nationality. Some Australians who have been in Fiji for several years can understand and speak a little Hindi and Fijian. This knowledge is used while communicating with colleagues or customers of other races. Except in one or two cases, where they had friendships with members of other races involving mutual home visits, their friendship groups were exclusively European. Linguistic and cultural differences, a conscious effort at maintaining informal contacts only with people of equal socio-economic and racial status, different food-habits, absence of common topics for discussion, and short length of stay in Labasa, were stated to be the significant factors that limit interaction on an informal level between Europeans and other races.

European priests have wider multiracial contacts. On numerous occasions they are invited by Indian Christians to dine and spend evenings with them. The two Australian teachers work with colleagues of other races and teach children of all races; but most of their social engagements are only with Australians working in the mill. The European lawyer has, in his list of clients, all the Europeans who need his expert services as well as some people belonging to other races. His political interests keep him in closer contact with Europeans, for he has been the Legislative Council Member from the European constituency of Labasa and is planning

again to contest the election. Nevertheless, his economic interests do make him turn to people of other races as well. He has Indian partners in his firms; and European, Indian, Fijian, Part-European and Chinese workers are employed in the hotel bar and the power-station owned by him. He holds an honorary leadership of some voluntary associations and maintains multiracial personal contacts.

The Vanua Levu Club, the Golf Club, the Tennis Club, and the Cricket Club of the mill Australians have as their members some Europeans other than those employed in the mill and a few Indians as well. But these are predominantly European associations. The membership of these clubs is regarded as a big honour by Indians. The few Indians who have been given this honour faithfully pay their annual subscriptions, but except on special occasions they hardly ever go to these clubs.

The Europeans of Labasa do not intermarry with people of other races. With one exception, there are no such cases. However, there are a few cases of local non-Europeans going to New Zealand and bringing wives from there. Three Indians—one a Gujarati and two Southerners—and a Chinese have New Zealander wives. These inter-racial partners had met at a University where they studied together. Such couples are perhaps misfits in Labasa society, for they have acted against the established customs of their own social groups. These people remain clustered together. Any dinner or after-dinner gathering organized by one of these couples would invariably include the rest of them, perhaps a few others also, especially Indians, who are invited. An Indian who has divorced his Australian wife fits in well with this group. They all complain about the lack of reciprocity in social relations from other people in the town, and say that they have deliberately chosen to confine their social contacts within the group sharing common experiences.

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A SYNTHETIC MODEL OF THE HINDU JAJMANI SYSTEM

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Abstract. This paper is written with one specific objective : to present a synthetic descriptive model of the Hindu *jajmani* system based on Kolenda's previous work (1963).

Accordingly, the paper is divided into four parts : I. Introduction, II. Discussion of models of the *jajmani* system, III. Presentation of a synthetic model, and IV. Summary and conclusions.

Introduction

KOLENDA points out that there have been many studies of villages in India, yet there have been relatively 'few attempts to identify all-India social structures and processes, generalizations useful for comparative studies' (1963 : 11). (One need hardly note in this connexion that the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the study of a complex nation-state remain extremely important problems for anthropology [*cf.* Banton 1966 ; Mandelbaum 1955 ; Steward 1950, 1955]).

She goes on to discuss various kinds of generalizations suggested by various writers, and focuses upon the Hindu *jajmani* system as one kind of generalization suitable for comparative studies in India and perhaps other parts of South Asia. A number of the features of the *jajmani* system are then presented :

1. It is 'a system of distribution...whereby high-caste landowning families called *jajmans* are provided services and products by various lower castes such as carpenters, potters, blacksmiths, water carriers, sweepers, and laundrymen' (*ibid* : 11).

2. Brahman priests and 'various sectarian castes' may provide 'purely ritual services...' (Kolenda 1963 : 11)
3. 'almost all serving castes have ceremonial and ritual duties at their *jajman's* births, marriages, funerals, and at some of the religious festivals' (ibid : 11).
4. The lower castes (i.e., the serving castes) have 'the capacity to absorb pollution by handling clothing and other things defiled by birth or death pollution...' (ibid : 11).
5. The lower castes perform duties such as 'gathering up dishes after.. feasts, and administering various bodily attentions to new mother, bride or groom' (ibid : 11).
6. 'landowning *jajmans* pay the serving castes in kind, with grain, clothing, sugar, fodder, and animal products like butter and milk...a little of everything produced on the land, in the pastures, and in the kitchen' (ibid : 11-12).
7. Sometimes land is given to serving castes (ibid : 12).
8. 'middle and lower castes either subscribe to each other's services in return for compensations and payments, or exchange services with one another' (ibid : 12).

From these eight points we may derive the following general statements (some are implicit in the eight features) :

1. The *jajmani* system involves the exchange of goods and services among families occupying different caste positions.
2. We may think of castes in this system in terms of three categories : upper, middle, and lower, depending upon the caste's rank in the caste hierarchy and upon what sorts of goods and services they provide for each other.
3. The lower castes provide certain kinds of goods and services for the upper castes who in return for these goods and services remit goods only.
4. The ability of the lower castes to provide certain services depends on their 'capacity to absorb pollution'.
5. The middle and lower castes reciprocally exchange goods and services, or payments and compensations.

Kolenda then goes on to a discussion of factors which must be considered if one is to develop a descriptive model of any part or whole social system. She does this by listing 'a standard set of questions [eleven in number] about any social system or partial social system' based on the theoretical work of Nadel, Homans, Parsons, and Williams (Kolenda 1963 : 12),¹ and concludes that the Hindu *jajmani* system may be approached

as an institution or social system within Indian villages made up of a network of roles and of norms integrated into the roles and into the system as a whole, and legitimized and supported by general cultural values (ibid : 12).

Next, she presents models of the *jajmani* system which she has constructed from the work of Wisner, Gould, Beidelman, and Leach. The models 'are constructs I have developed by abstracting "essentials" from their analyses' (ibid : 28). Kolenda continues : 'The combination of the four makes possible the development of a useful and detailed guide to the study of any particular *jajmani* system' (ibid : 28). She then suggests that the reader develop a guide based on the four models, and concludes by specifying 'some directives' for such a guide (ibid : 28-29).

As previously noted, my objective in this paper is to develop and present such a guide.

Models of the Jajmani System

Here I shall summarize each model as presented by Kolenda, including points she makes in her discussion of each. It will be noted that they are all (with the exception of Leach) treated by Kolenda in terms of what they have to say with regard to the eleven questions mentioned above (in section I).

I. Wisner's Model

1. Functions of the system ²

The *jajmani* system serves 'to maintain the Indian village as a "self-sufficing community"' (Kolenda 1963 : 12).

2. Roles

Groupings identified as castes (not families, factions or blocks of castes) render certain kinds of services to each other. Not all castes in Wisner's village participate in this reciprocal exchange, and the *kamin's* clientele may include members of other villages as well as his own. The clientele is apparently inherited and fixed. Exceptionally, the *kamin* may sell his rights to a client to another *kamin*. The *jajman* may exchange payments in cash or kind at both fixed intervals and special times, but what seems most important in the maintenance of the *jajman-kamin* relationship are various concessions (some eighteen are mentioned), such as: 'free residence site, free food...free clothing...rent-free land...casual aid, aid in litigation...' (ibid : 13) which the *jajman* may render to some *kamins*.

3. Distribution of authority and power

Wisner speaks of inequalities as essential to the system; inequalities which seem to be in terms of prestige, and insofar as the low caste person (even if he is a *jajman*) is considered subordinate (by himself and the other) than one might reasonably conclude that high castes are superior. But Wisner 'does not attribute power to any castes except the Brahman' (Kolenda 1963 : 13), and since 'castes differ in their bargaining power' (ibid : 13) it is difficult to generalize. Wisner also points out that Brahmans feel a sense of *noblesse oblige* with respect to *kamins*.

4. Rank

Wisner does not give information about the bases he used to rank the various castes in the village.

5. Motivation

The individual in a serving caste is said to enjoy a 'sense of security' and to be so satisfied economically through the concessions mentioned above that he does not take a job in a factory which would provide a 'fixed cash income' (ibid : 13). Brahmans are said to feel a sense of responsibility as *jajmans* 'for the livelihood of all members of the village' (ibid : 13).

6. Norms of the system

There are norms 'concerning rights, duties, payments, and concessions for the *jajmans* and the various *kamins*' (ibid : 14). In addition, each occupationally defined grouping has different 'legitimate claims to the earnings of the whole village' and the *jajman* is not to consider payments sufficient, but rather 'payments with concessions to ensure the servant's living' (ibid : 14).

7. General cultural values

Occupations, duties, abilities, and 'Inequality in caste ranking is God-given' (Kolenda 1963 : 14). This idea and the notion that generosity and charity are religious obligations 'reinforces attitudes of responsibility on the part of the *jajmans*' (ibid : 14). The notion that Brahmans are to be concerned with 'spiritual power...rather than wealth is important' (ibid : 14).

8. Sanctions

Sacred and semi-sacred Hindu literature and secular literature and oral tradition authorizes and justifies the *jajman-kamin* relationship, in addition to the village elders' council, which metes out punishment for 'erring *jajmans* and servants...' (ibid : 14). British courts of law 'support... traditional law' (ibid : 14).

9. Relationships to other social systems

The 'general social structure of caste and the religious sanctions for caste are important to the *jajmani* system' (ibid : 14).

10. Changes

British courts 'have undermined the authority of the village council of elders' (ibid : 14) and also seem to differentially favour *jajmans* as opposed to servants. The village council retains power over erring servants, but not over erring *jajmans*. Only 'half of the families in the village participated in the *jajmani* system...' and only few of them 'were able to support themselves from their *jajmani* clientele'; the others 'supplemented their work with agriculture'. This was the result of several factors: the introduction of factory-made

goods, 'new ideas' introduced 'by teachers in the government-sponsored school', many *jajmans* did not meet the requirements of the customary rates or those specified in the local *wajib-ul-arz* (ibid : 14).

11. Strains

This feature is not mentioned at all by Kolenda with reference to Wisner's model.

Discussion of Wisner's Model

In her discussion of Wisner's model, Kolenda notes that Wisner does not mention such factors as: ritual pollution, untouchability, land-ownership (on which the Brahman's power is based), fictive or extra-village kinship relations linking *jajmans* and servants, the possibility of Brahman power through strength of numbers and domination of the village council, caste councils, 'trade-unionism' of the servant castes, strikes or boycotts by servants (he does mention that boycott was a traditional practice of servants), intra- or inter-caste competition, factionalism, caste monopoly. His emphasis was on the *jajmani* system as the expression of Hindu religion.

II. Gould's Model

1. Functions

Two functions are mentioned here : that of the maintenance of the community in terms of its survival 'in a manner which preserves its Hindu moral premises' and its function to 'distribute agricultural produce in exchange for menial and craft services' (Kolenda 1963 : 15).

Under this label Kolenda discusses two more points : servants may aid *jajmans* by trying to locate eligible spouses for *jajmani* families ; the importance of ritual pollution underlying the system and aiding to perpetuate it, particularly as regards the lower caste servants' ability to absorb pollution and consequently help maintain the ritual purity of the higher castes.

2. Roles

'The units...are relationships between families of different

castes' (Kolenda 1963 : 15). There are two types of castes, the clean high castes and the unclean low castes and this division mirrors a division between dominant land-owning and cultivating castes and subordinate landless and menial castes. There are three kinds of payments : 'formal', which are fixed grain payments after harvests ; 'considerations', which are equivalent to Wisser's concessions ; and 'informal emoluments', such as extra amounts of grain, sweetmeats and so on'. Gould emphasizes the 'diffuse, kin-like quality of *jajman-purjan* relations' and views the *jajmani* system and this kin-like quality of relations as a 'resolution of a "social structural dilemma", a reconciliation of two opposing principles, the centripetal principles of family and caste and the centrifugal principle of inter-caste and inter-village relations' (ibid : 15). Through this extension of kin-like behaviour and attitudes involving (ideally) deference, respect, defense, and service by *purjan* to a *jajman*, contact between higher and lower castes is facilitated in the presence of the fear of pollution and various avoidances (ibid : 15-16).

Purjan 'of the same *jajman* will exchange services' (ibid : 16), consequently *purjan* (all of whom have more than one *jajman*) have 'interactional mobility' which may be utilized for 'marital reconnaissance' (ibid 16).

3. Power

Power of the high castes is based on land-ownership and wealth. No mention is made of any reciprocal power of *kamins*.

4. Rank

The bases are land-ownership and 'the configuration of caste functions' with respect to the degree of defilement (Kolenda 1963 : 16).

5. Motivation

There are essentially two motivations : 'the diffuse quality of the relationship between *jajman* and *kamin*' (ibid : 16) and the fact that the higher castes require the labour and defiling services of the lower castes,

6. Norms

(a) One must not be defiled (b) One must subscribe to the services of lower castes to prevent defilement (c) A *jajman* should be paternalistic toward a *purja* and fulfil his demands (d) A *purja* should behave like a son to the father (e) A *purja* should support his *jajman* in factional disputes (ibid : 16).

7. General value-orientations^a

Traditional Hindu values regarding kinship are important supports of the *jajmani* system (ibid : 16).

8. Sanctions

No information is available.

9. Relations with other systems

It is closely linked with systems of land-ownership, factionalism, and religion.

10. Changes

No information is available but a statement 'that of forty-three families in the village...only nineteen actually are *jajmans*' (ibid : 16).

11. Strains

No information is available.

Discussion of Gould's Model

His important contribution towards a model is 'his recognition that it integrates beliefs about pollutions. The division of labour and indispensability of the *purjan* themselves rests upon these ideas' (Kolenda 1963 : 16).

Gould 'ignores caste differences in capacity to pollute...' (ibid : 16). Some few castes may pollute by touch, others through other means. But *kamins*' interaction with *jajmans* is facilitated by rules permitting contact while performing services, such as according a *kamin* caste high enough rank so as 'not to inconvenience the performances of his services for higher castes' (ibid : 17). The point here is that Kolenda thinks these enabling rules are more important than fictive kinship in facilitating interaction (ibid : 17).

Kolenda argues further that the 'paternalistic', 'diffuse' qualities of *jajman-kamin* relationships, involving 'voluntary generosity' and 'paternalistic affection' of the *jajman* may be present, but are not as significant as the norms defining rights, duties, payments, and concessions in maintaining the *jajmani* system (ibid : 17).

III. Beidelman's Model

1. Functions

Beidelman notes two functions: the 'distribution of some produce to all in the local area ... through the traditional dependence of non-landholders' (Beidelman quoted in Kolenda 1963 : 17), and the maintenance of higher castes' prestige (ibid : 17).

2. Roles

Beidelman's units are families belonging to different castes in a given locality (Kolenda 1963 : 17). He is specially concerned with the relative power of the high caste *jajmans* and low caste *kamins*, and argues (contrary to Wisner's view of the alternation of *jajman-kamin* roles) that 'members of the dominant land-owning castes are almost always *jajmans*, members of the landless castes, the *kamins*' (ibid : 17), and that exchange of services between landless castes is insignificant 'compared to the unilateral service provided the dominant caste' (ibid : 17).

The *kamin* role involves the performance of 'menial, hand craft and field work' in addition to ceremonial services for the *jajman* which reinforce the latter's prestige and the former's subordination. Kinship terms which are used between the two, etiquette, and the semi-public presentation of gifts to the *kamin* by the *jajman* also have the effect of demonstrating and reinforcing the superordinate-subordinate quality of the relationship (ibid : 17-18).

Beidelman notes that the relative lack of outside opportunities for labour or products strengthens the localization of the system, and that it is a continuing problem to align the supply and demand for labour since there is an excess number

of *kamins* and there are many *jajmans* who cannot afford the ceremonial services of the *kamins* (ibid : 18).

3. Power

Land and caste duties are the bases of the system, and since one dominant caste usually owns the land and is most numerous, the land-owning caste is more powerful (ibid : 18). Land tenure is vital for power, since many other elements (such as 'debts, loans...employment, water for fields...advantages in education...etc.' [Kolenda 1963 : 18]) are controlled by virtue of land-ownership.

Contrary to other scholars, Beidelman holds that ritual purity and pollution are not significant in the allocation of power, but that political-economic power is reflected in ritual rankings of castes. Even changes in rank may be determined by such power (ibid : 19).

The *jajman* has 'political' control over the *kamin* because the *jajmans* are able to bribe and coerce witnesses, and the village councils, law courts, and police differentially favour *jajmans* (ibid : 19).

The *jajman's* power, then, is based on economic factors (particularly land-ownership) and on their larger numbers (which constitute a potentially overwhelming physical force).

The *kamins'* power lies in their 'Inherited clientele... monopolies over essential services, supported by trade unionism within the *kamin* castes, support from kin in surrounding villages, and the safety in a multiplicity of *jajmans*...' (ibid : 19). Beidelman notes other sources of *kamin* power, but concludes that relative to the *jajmans*, the *kamins'* power is insignificant.

He claims that payments are arbitrary because the local *wajib-ul-arz* is loosely interpreted and because *jajmans* 'may begin to perform the services themselves' in the face of the decline of caste values and demands (ibid : 20).

4. Rank

Land-ownership is most significant as a basis for ranking, while ritual purity is not important. The system operates to subordinate the *kamin* (ibid : 20).

5. Motivation

For the *jajman*, the 'need for cheap, dependable and hand labour, and servants in ceremonial and ritual', for the *kamin* 'security, dependable access to food, and other requirements for living' (ibid : 20).

6. Norms

Ideally, the *jajman* may use only his *kamins* for the performance of services, while the *kamin* is to perform all services consistent with his caste position. But manifest behaviour varies from this (Kolenda 1963 : 20).

7. General cultural values

Significant here are values concerning 'prestige, caste values of pollution and occupational division of labour...the general cultural emphasis upon hierarchy and inequality...' (ibid : 20).

8. Sanctions

The *kamin* may not perform required services, while the *jajman* may 'take away land rented or granted a *kamin*.' The *jajmans*' numerical superiority and their favoured treatment in village councils, law courts, and by police are important to note here.

9. Relationships with other systems

'The *jajmani* system is closely related to kinship, caste, factionalism, economy, and the political structure of the village' (ibid : 20).

10. Changes

There are many forces impinging upon the *jajmani* system leading to changes such that 'it is doubtful if...it will survive' (ibid : 20): extra-village markets and employment opportunities; fluctuations in prices for products; the increasing compartmentalization of land; subdivision of *jajmani* rights due to increasing population numbers; changes in land tenure laws; changes in caste values such that *jajmans* may perform certain tasks themselves; the inability of some *jajmans* to afford *kamin* services; and the fact that some *jajmans*

'are more interested in cash and profit than service and prestige' (ibid : 20).

11. Strains

Beidelman notes several, some of which have already been mentioned : continued readjustments because of the 'disproportion in numbers of *jajmans* and *kamins*' (including adjustments in payments); 'the vagueness of certain rights and obligations...and the willingness to deviate from traditions' (Kolenda 1963 : 20).

Discussion of Beidelman's Model

Beidelman emphasizes the 'commitment to a royal or lordly way of life as an ideal' which is bound up in the *jajmani* system such that the *jajman* differentially requires certain expressions of subordination from the *kamin* (ibid : 20-21).

Kolenda thinks Beidelman's view of the system as involving just two groups, the dominant *jajmans* and subordinate *kamins* is too simplistic. She states it is not so much 'a set of relationships between a single *jajman* and his set of servants, but...many *jajmans* in many relationships, many *kamins* with many *jajmans*...each *kamin* serves *jajmans* of several different castes' (ibid : 21).

Kolenda continues, 'there are many *jajman-kamin* relationships between members of non-dominant castes' although Beidelman considers them relatively few and consequently insignificant (ibid : 21).

Exploitation of *kamins* occurs, but primarily the *kamins* involved in exploitation are the 'untouchable agricultural workers' (ibid : 22). The difficulty is that Beidelman does not distinguish between the different castes who may play *kamin* roles (ibid : 22).

Beidelman (and others) point out the necessity for adjustment due to fluctuations in the supply and demand for services, usually involving an excess of *kamins*.

Kolenda raises the issue of power and suggests : 'Empirical power structures need to be assessed validly and systematically' (Kolenda 1963 : 20) since there is a question as to

'Whether the balance of power is so heavily on the side of the *jajmans* that the system may be said to be exploitive of the lower caste servants, or whether the reciprocal power of the lower caste's indispensability is sufficient to ensure decent treatment...' (ibid : 22). And Beidelman's two-party role frame is inadequate for this. Kolenda raises other issues relative to power studies, such as the need to differentiate among *jajmans* by rank, caste, dominance ; among the *kamins* in terms of bargaining power ; relative population numbers ; and relationships of the *jajmani* system with village factionalism. Here she discusses certain of Nadel's formulations regarding role theory (ibid : 22-23).

IV. Leach's Model

Kolenda's discussion here is drawn from a paper by Leach which had as its main focus the subject of caste, not the *jajmani* system, and consequently (I assume) she does not categorize it in terms of her eleven questions. Based on her summary, I shall attempt to do so.

1. Function

Leach apparently views the system as maintaining and regulating the division of labour and economic interdependence of castes. (In his view there is relatively little if any competition among the servants.) There is also the implication that the system functions so as to perpetuate the high rank of the dominant castes (ibid : 25).

2. Roles

Each caste and subcaste has a distinctive role. The lower ranked minority have certain economic roles, and the higher ranked majority necessarily therefore, 'compete among themselves for the services of individual members of the lower castes' (Leach quoted in Kolenda 1963 : 25). These differences in number and in occupational role distinguish a caste system from a class system, according to Leach (the class system is one in which the numbers and competition are reversed).

3. Power

Insofar as the situation described exists, then according to

Leach, 'the exploitative activity of any single *jajman* would be limited' (Kolenda 1963 : 25). There is quite clearly a difference between Leach and others regarding relative numbers—with Beidelman, for example, assuming a numerical majority (surplus) of *kamins*, while Leach assumes a numerical minority (scarcity)—and Kolenda favours Beidelman's view (ibid : 25). Leach seems to say that *kamins* may change to a new *jajman* if aggrieved, and there exist caste monopolies of certain kinds with regard to services and products.

4. Rank

Leach views the *jajmani* castes as dominant, but it is not clear on what basis he does so. He does say that there are special privileges for each caste (ibid : 25).

5. Motivation

No information is available.

6. Norms

Each caste has its own rights and duties which are distinct from those of other castes (ibid : 25).

7. General cultural values

No information is available.

8. Sanctions

Kamins may change to a different *jajman* if they are so inclined, but there is no information about possible *jajmani* responses to such action.

9. Relationships with other systems

Leach views the 'local caste interdependence as the heart of the caste system' (Kolenda 1963 : 21), so obviously it is very much involved with caste. In addition, he suggests the connexion of the *jajmani* system with factionalism.

10. Changes

No information is available.

11. Strains

There is competition among *jajmans* for *kamins*' services.

Discussion of Leach's Model

Kolenda says that Beidelman notes three conditions necessary 'for a local caste-grouping to have the kind of economic security Leach speaks of, where a large high caste is competing for the services of the lower smaller caste' (ibid : 25) : (1) monopoly on a service or product that is viewed as indispensable ; (2) demand for a service or product must exceed the supply ; (3) caste unity and discipline (ibid : 25).

Then Kolenda points out that studies indicate carpenters and blacksmiths are most important in the villages, although there are differences in degree of dispensability of different castes and their services in different villages and localities.

She notes that relatively few castes (between five and seven) are usually involved in the *jajmani* system, perhaps because of recent village economic changes (ibid : 26).

Kolenda observes that the strength of caste monopolies varies, while at the same time there may be intra-caste competition among the *kamins*. The extent of competition depends in part on the degree of authority residing in caste councils (Kolenda 1963 : 26).

Questions regarding caste monopolies, security, cohesiveness are considered next, and she concludes :

in some places monopolies are respected, *jajman-kamin* relationships are of long duration, caste *panchayats* are effective, and castes are cohesive. In other places, none of these features of a 'traditional' *jajmani* system can be said to be entirely true (ibid : 27).

From the work of Harper, Kolenda draws more 'crucial features' of the *jajmani* system : 'fixed wages based upon a medium of exchange grain that has constant purchasing power' (ibid : 27) ; 'enduring, even inherited, *jajman-kamin* relationships ; little bargaining power over payments' (ibid : 27). Kolenda notes Harper's queries regarding how payments are determined, and the ambiguity of response available in the literature, ranging from the number of *kamins* available, to the demand for service, to ritual caste rank.

Kolenda's Conclusions

She sums up the crucial factors discussed by each of the four main sources :

Wiser : 'the representation in living society of the Hindu law...' (ibid : 28).

Gould : 'emphasis upon the co-ordination of the system through fictive kinship...' (ibid : 28).

Beidelman : 'the hierarchical dyadic role-relationships...' (ibid : 28).

Leach : 'the importance of small lower castes' monopolies upon services and crafts...' (ibid : 28).

Directives for Guide

1. Function

Functions of the *jajmani* system include : the distribution of produce and the exchange of services between castes ; 'contributions to the life cycle and festival rites' ; support of beliefs about pollution ; the 'superordination of high castes and subordination of lower castes' ; contributions to factional activities and marriage arrangements (Kolenda 1963 : 28).

2. Roles

It is a localized system of hierarchical role relationships involving 'two families of different caste, not just two persons, not two *jatis* or local caste groupings' (ibid : 28). She then specifies a series of role relationships which must be considered :

Role descriptions for *kamins* must include the ritual, menial, craft, and field duties, their rights, payments, concessions, the duration of their relationships with *jajmans*, the quality of these relationships, in-village and out-village clientele (ibid : 28).

One must also note that a description of roles involved must include :

multiple *jajmans* of various castes and multiple *kamins* ; *kamins* related to caste brothers, both within the village and outside the village ; relationships between non-dominant castes, between *kamin* castes ; roles in caste and village *panchayats* as they relate to the

jajmani relations ; roles in factional disputes ; roles of leader, politician, and counselor (ibid : 28).

And still further :

The combination or summation of roles, where two people play a number of different reciprocal roles ; the triadization of role-play, where third party reactions are important for the role-playing paid ; the balance between hierarchical and equal role-relationships ; the presence of allied castes or *jajman kamin* chains ; the individual's priorities in loyalties to role partners—all these must be considered (ibid : 29).

3. Power

Consideration must be made of supply, demand, and bargaining powers of the units involved.

4. Motivation

Kolenda thinks it important to 'interview villagers for their explanations of motivation' (Kolenda 1963 : 29).

5. and 6. Norms and Sanctions

Codifications of both in law and tradition should be sought.

7. Interrelationship with other aspects of culture

Power in the *jajmani* system seems to be drawn from other spheres of the culture which should be identified.

Finally, she concludes by noting that a study of the Hindu *jajmani* system might elucidate thinking on caste, such as views approaching caste in terms of 'classes', 'status groups', 'parties' and 'strata' (ibid : 29).

A Synthetic Model

In this section I will present in tabular form a descriptive model of the *jajmani* system developed on the basis of Kolenda's summary and discussion of the four models. I am not evaluating any of these, but only combining all the information presented in the article. The model, then, represents a field guide which is intended to be useful in the description and preliminary analysis of a *jajmani* system wherever it may be found. It consists of a series of statements arranged in the order of Kolenda's eleven questions regarding

any social system. There is overlapping between various of the categories, yet they each may be considered analytically distinct.

I. Function

(1) to maintain a self-sufficient community operating on the basis of Hindu moral premises ;

(2) to maintain and regulate a division of labour involving the economic interdependence of various castes ;

(3) to distribute agricultural produce in exchange for menial services, hand crafts services, and ceremonial services ;

(4) to maintain the high rank and prestige of dominant castes relative to lower castes who are subordinate ;

(5) to maintain the traditional dependence of landless castes on land-owning castes ;

(6) to reinforce beliefs about ritual pollution and lower castes' ability to absorb pollution (information about differential caste ability to absorb pollution is required) ;

(7) to aid in marriage reconnaissance ;

(8) to contribute to the proper performance of life cycle and festival rites ;

(9) to contribute to factional activities ;

(10) see also No. 9 (below), relations with other systems.

II. Roles

1. (a) units involved are families of different castes in a localized hierarchical system

(b) units involved are relationships between families in different castes

(c) units involved are castes

2. (a) there are upper, middle, and lower categories of castes involved in the *jajmani* system, depending on their rank in the caste hierarachy and the types of goods and services they provide

(b) there are two types of castes: high clean, and low unclean, each of which has distinctive roles

(c) this two-part division is reflected in the division into dominant land-owning and cultivating *jajmani* castes and subordinate landless and menial *kamin* castes

(d) not all castes in a village participate in the *jajmani* system (from five to seven, usually)

3. (a) *kamins* may have *jajmans* in other villages

(b) *kamins* serve only *jajmans* in the village

4. (a) *kamins* perform menial, hand craft, field work and ceremonial-ritual services.

(b) *kamins* have the ability to absorb pollution, consequently can perform defiling services

5. (a) *jajmans* reciprocate by three kinds of payments :

(i) formal : fixed amounts of grain after harvests

(ii) considerations (or concessions) : such as free residence sites, free food, free clothing, casual aid, etc.

(b) *jajmans* reciprocate with goods only

(c) it should be noted that it is necessary to determine exactly how payments are ascertained

6. (a) *kamins* of the same *jajman* exchange services, goods, payments, and compensations ; and alternate roles as *jajman* and *kamin*

(b) the exchange between *kamins* is minor and therefore insignificant in a consideration of the *jajmani* system

7. (a) it is incorrect to consider the *jajmani* system simply as a hierarchical dyadic role frame ; there are many types of *jajmans* and many types of *kamins*

(b) one must differentiate among *jajmans* and *kamins* by caste, rank, dominance, dispensability, etc.

(c) role descriptions of *kamins* and *jajmans* must include specifications of : rights, duties, payments, concessions, clientele, caste councils, village councils, relations between dominant castes, non-dominant castes, factional disputes, triadization, *jajman-kamin* chains, etc.

8. (a) diffuse kin-like relations obtain between *kamins* and *jajmans*, involving deference, respect, defense, service of *kamin* to *jajman*

(b) fictive kin relations are evidenced in use of kinship terms between *kamins* and *jajmans*, traditional etiquette

(c) kin-like relations facilitate contact and mitigate fear

of pollution and therefore are extremely significant in maintaining *jajman-kamin* relationships

(d) kin-like relations function so as to reinforce subordination of *kamin* to *jajman*

9. (a) more important than fictive kinship are norms regarding rights, duties, payments, concessions ; rules enabling rank of *kamin* castes to be raised so as to facilitate contact and interaction

10. (a) ritual services, semi-public displays of gift-giving reinforce subordination of *kamin* to *jajman* and enhance *jajman's* prestige

(b) *jajman* is supposed to live a 'lordly' life

11. (a) because of an excess number of *kamins* there is a constant problem of adjustment necessary

(b) there is therefore competition among *kamin* castes (which varies depending on the degree of authority vested in caste councils)

(c) because of an excess number of *jajmans*, there is intra-caste competition between *jajmans* to obtain *kamins'* services

(d) such a situation of intra-*jajman* competition would require :

(i) caste monopolies on services and products (whose strength would vary)

(ii) services or products that are considered indispensable (should note differences in degree of dispensability, usually carpenters and blacksmiths are the most indispensable)

(iii) demand for a given service or product must exceed the supply

(iv) *kamin* caste unity and discipline and cohesiveness

(e) the type and degree of caste monopolies and cohesiveness should be carefully ascertained

III. Power

1. (a) there is an inequality of prestige with the high caste person possessing more prestige even when playing the role of *kamin* for a lower caste person

(b) this inequality is recognized by both high caste and low caste persons

(c) Brahmans feel a sense of *noblesse oblige* toward *kamins*

(d) higher castes feel responsible for providing necessities for lower castes

2. (a) *jajmans* have more power than *kamins*, and therefore have political and economic dominance over them based upon :

(i) land-ownership and wealth

(ii) numerical superiority which implies potentially superior physical force

(iii) bases (i) and (ii) are augmented by and reflected in :

(1) control over things like debts, loans, employment, water for fields, etc.

(2) differential favoured treatment of *jajmans* in village councils, law courts, and by police

(3) bribery and coercion

(4) payments are arbitrary, although traditional norms exist, and therefore *kamins* have little bargaining power

(5) changes in caste rank and local caste hierarchies are governed by extent of political-economic power, not ritual purity and pollution

(b) *jajmans* therefore exploit *kamins* (this may apply only to untouchable agriculturalists)

(c) this exploitation is limited because of intra-*jajman* competition and reciprocal power of *kamins*

3. (a) *kamins* possess reciprocal power through :

(a) inherited clientele

(b) caste monopolies

(c) caste trade-unionism

(d) support from kin in nearby villages

(e) multiplicity of *jajmans*

(f) intra-*jajman* competition

(g) *kamin* may change *jajman* if he feels aggrieved

(h) *kamins* may strike or boycott *jajmans*

4. (a) much more information is needed than is at hand regarding who exploits whom

(b) there is a need to study empirical power structures, paying special attention to factors noted in sections (1), (2) and (3) above and :

(i) determination of payment schedule, amounts and goods involved

(ii) supply, demand for goods and services and bargaining power of *kamins*

IV. Rank

1. *jajman* castes are superordinate, *kamin* castes are subordinate

2. basis for ranking includes :

(a) ritual purity and pollution

(b) land-ownership (particularly significant)

(c) wealth

(d) numerical superiority (particularly significant)

(e) political power

V. Motivation

1. for *jajmans* :

(a) *noblesse oblige*, feeling of responsibility for survival of *kamins*

(b) need for cheap, dependable, hand labour

(c) need for servants in ceremonial and ritual

(d) need for servants to perform defiling tasks

(e) fictive kinship relations with *kamins*

2. for *kamins* :

(a) provides a sense of security

(b) dependable access to food and other necessities for survival

(c) fictive kinship relations with *jajmans*

3. needed are interviews with villagers to ascertain their motivations

VI. Norms

1. to prevent defilement *jajman* must use services of lower caste *kamin*

2. *jajman-kamin* relationship should be similar to father-son relationship
3. *kamin* should support his *jajman* in factional disputes
4. each caste has its own rights and duties which are distinctly different from other castes (each occupational caste has different claim to the earnings of the entire village)
5. there are traditional rights, duties, payments and concessions
6. servant's clientele is fixed by inheritance (although *kamins* may sell rights to a *jajman* to another *kamin* if he chooses, and may choose also to refuse service to a *jajman* if aggrieved)
7. *jajmans* are to consider concessions more important than payments
8. *jajmans* are to be responsible for the well-being of *kamins*
9. payments should be based on a medium of exchange that has a constant purchasing power
10. *jajman-kamin* relationship should be enduring
11. *jajman* must use his *kamins* only for the performance of services
12. *kamins* must perform all services consistent with his caste
13. there are rules facilitating contact between high and low castes even though there may be fear of contact leading to pollution
14. the researcher is urged to seek codifications in law and oral tradition

VII. General cultural values

1. Values regarding the following are involved and support the *jajmani* system (they may also be said to be expressed in the *jajmani* system) :
 - (a) pollution
 - (b) prestige
 - (c) division of labour
 - (d) hierarchy
 - (e) inequality

- (f) quality of kinship relations
- (g) generosity and charity
- (h) responsibility of *jajmans* for *kamins*

VIII. Sanctions

1. with respect to *jajmans* :
 - (a) the *jajman* may take away land rented or given to the *kamin*
 - (b) potential physical force based on numerical superiority of *jajmans*
 - (c) differential treatment of *jajmans* in village councils, law courts, and by police
 - (d) sacred and semi-sacred literature authorizes and justifies appropriate behaviour
2. with respect to *kamins* :
 - (a) *kamins* may choose not to perform services
 - (b) *kamins* may strike, boycott *jajmans*
 - (c) *kamins* may change *jajmans* if aggrieved
3. there is need to seek codifications in literature and oral tradition

IX. Relationships with other aspects of culture

1. kinship system
2. caste system (*jajmani* system is said to be heart of caste system)
3. religious-philosophical system
4. economic organization
5. political organization
6. village factionalism
7. land tenure

X. Changes

1. so many factors are impinging upon the *jajmani* system that it is doubtful if it will survive :
 - (a) extra-village markets
 - (b) fluctuations in produce prices
 - (c) extra-village employment opportunities
 - (d) changes in land-tenure laws

- (e) increasing population numbers, which leads to :
 - (a) compartmentalization of land
 - (b) subdivision of *jajmani* rights
- (f) changes in caste values such that :
 - (i) *jajmans* may perform certain tasks themselves
 - (ii) *jajmans* may be more concerned with profit and cash than with prestige and service
- (g) relatively few castes in a village may be involved in the *jajmani* system
- (i) *jajmans* arbitrarily arrive at determination of payments, not relying upon local *wajib-ul-arz*
- (j) authority of village councils undermined by extra-village law

XI. Strains

1. changes noted in No. X Changes (above)
2. competition between *jajmans*
3. competition between *kamins*
4. vagueness of certain rights and duties
5. willingness to depart from traditional practices and beliefs

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper I have summarized Kolenda's discussion (1963) of various models of the Hindu *jajmani* system and have presented in tabular form a synthetic descriptive model. The model is offered as a guide for the description and preliminary analysis of any *jajmani* system.

Logical next steps might be to apply the guide to information available in the literature, and to utilize it in fieldwork.

NOTES

1. There might certainly be some argument regarding the aspects of a social system that must be considered for model-building, but this subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

2. The concept of function, particularly insofar as it involves the end-state toward the satisfaction of which some social or cultural element may 'function', is, of course, a vexing theoretical issue (*cf.* Hempel 1959; Nagel 1961), but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

3. I should point out that while Kolenda in other places speaks of values, here she uses the label 'value-orientations'. Apparently they are used as synonyms.

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ECOLOGY AND MARKETS IN EASTERN MIDNAPUR

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Abstract: The author compares the villages, markets and castes in two ecologically distinct regions in West Bengal : one being the new delta region in Midnapur and the other in the moribund delta of Murshidabad. There are significant differences in the economic pursuits of various castes in these two regions which can ultimately be traced to ecological differences.

Introduction

THIS paper attempts to show how far ecological and environmental factors play in determining certain structural aspects of the village, caste composition, occupation, and weekly markets. For my investigation, I selected two different regions of West Bengal : one in eastern Midnapur and the other in the moribund deltaic portion of Murshidabad district. Here I have specially concentrated my observation on the formation, pattern and development of the weekly markets which influence the socio-economic life of the people in eastern Midnapur. The data were collected between November 1960 and September 1961.

Background

Before embarking on the subject, some relevant data pertaining to the two regions are presented from the District Handbooks of the Census of 1951.

The P. S. or Police Station of Tamruk in eastern Midnapur, where the field investigation was carried out, has an area of 94.0 sq. miles. This area is composed of 218 villages and a town. Out of this, 7 villages are uninhabited, 9 are included in the urban area and 17 villages have since been transferred to a different police station. So there are 185 villages and

one town inhabited by 128, 439 and 13,599 people respectively ; the mean density of population being 639 per sq. mile. The number of weekly and bi-weekly markets in the area is 19, and of daily markets 4.

The situation is, however, somewhat different in Murshidabad. The P. S. Beldanga where the survey was confined is entirely rural and has an area of 143.31 sq. miles. There are altogether 138 villages, of which 24 are uninhabited. The other 114 villages are inhabited by 151, 339 persons. In 1951, the mean density of population was 828 per sq. mile. For meeting their daily needs, the villagers depend on the large weekly market of Beldanga which is held every Tuesday. Moreover, there are two daily markets, one at Bhabta and the other at Saktipur village, located under the same police station.

Table 1 presents the area of the villages, number of occupied houses and total population as recorded in the census of 1951 regarding P. S. Tamluk and P. S. Beldanga. Here I have taken a sample of 10 villages from each of the two ecologically different regions in order to illustrate the marked difference between the two regions.

TABLE I

(P. S. Tamluk in Midnapur district)

J. L. No.	Name of village	Area of village (in acres)	No. of occupied houses	Population
12	Agar	219.96	118	498
13	Harasankar Ranichak	165.58	111	546
14	Hogalberya	330.20	201	729
15	Patanda	156.59	80	396
16	Bolluk	254.37	337	1,394
17	Panchberya	100.50	21	110
18	Chatara	381.50	315	1,544
19	Paikpari	385.46	165	857
20	Burari	162.45	42	210
21	Shahara	168.03	90	458
	Total	2324.64	1480	6742

J. L. No.	Name of village	Area of village (in acres)	No. of occupied houses	Population
(P. S. Beldanga in Murshidabad district)				
112	Pilkhana	299.42	81	419
113	Takipur	747.12	378	1,939
114	Ramna Dadpur	232.58	160	850
115	Jalkar Dadpur	62.24	uninhabited	
116	Masimpur Diar	1,037.71	46	329
117	Sadatpur	132.31	18	81
118	Sadhukhali	445.14	180	945
119	Chhatiani	936.13	153	875
120	Naopukhuria	2,230.26	584	3,049
121	Maradighi	384.67	136	693
	Total	6507.58	1736	9180

Ecology, Caste and Markets

The deltaic region of eastern Midnapur bordering the river Rupnarayan is 'formed out of the alluvial deposits borne down by the Hooghly and its tributaries from the great Gangetic system of Upper India'. This area consists of nucleated, clustered and amorphous villages forming a continuous chain of settlements on comparatively high land. The settlement areas are surrounded by low-lying agricultural fields on all sides. During the rains, these fields are subject to tidal influence and are submerged under water. Here, in a village, the number of castes forming the population does not usually exceed twelve; a feature quite common in the area. The villages are primarily dominated by the Mahishya—AGRICULTURISTS.

In this locality, weekly and bi-weekly markets are quite numerous. As a result, it is possible for the villagers to avail themselves of any 2, 3 or more of the 8 markets,

which are mostly situated within a radius of 9 miles from a village as shown in Table 2. These markets are held on different week-days and facilitate the exchange of commodities and services. Outside the markets, there are only a few fixed stalls in the villages where grocery, cloth, stationery, confectionery etc. are available for meeting occasional requirements. The villagers procure their daily necessities from the nearest markets. On occasions, they also visit big markets which have a reputation of dealing in handloom cloth, yarn, pottery, rice, banana, betel-leaf, livestock, etc.

The picture here is, however, different in the moribund delta in (S. P. Beldanga) Murshidabad district, where villages are usually scattered, inhabited by numerous castes (usually between 10 and 18 in a village) and weekly markets are few and far between. Here, in a multi-caste village, services are available from specialist castes, while there are also a few permanent shops which reduce the need of attending weekly markets frequently. In fact, the villages themselves are populous, and permanent shops can be maintained to cater to their needs. The villages of Murshidabad are thus comparatively more self-sufficient than those of eastern Midnapur.

After examining a number of weekly and bi-weekly markets in P. S. Tamluk in eastern Midnapur, a bi-weekly market named Ramtarak-hat was selected as a representative sample of a village-market of that region. About seventy years ago, the market was established by a Brahman zemindar named Babu Ramtarak Mukhopadhyaya. It is important to note that weekly markets in the region are generally owned by influential persons, although markets owned by a village or held in the name of a village deity are not uncommon. Ramtarak-hat is a part of the village named Hogalberya (J. L. No. 14). It is located at a distance of about 40 miles to the west of Calcutta. The Rupnarayan is at a distance of 5 miles east, and is joined by a canal named Joygopal-khal which flows by the side of the market from east to west. This canal facilitates the transportation of commodities like rice,

paddy straw, *khari* or fuel wood etc. from outside. People from the neighbouring villages usually walk to the market on foot. Like some other markets, Ramtarak-hat plays a large part in the trade of betel-leaves, which is a flourishing cash crop of this region. At Ramtarak-hat the market is held on Mondays and Thursdays.

Table 2 shows the distribution of a number of weekly and bi-weekly markets around Ramtarak-hat. Except for the weekly market of Maripukur, all of them are located within P. S. Tamluk.

TABLE 2

Name of the village market	Market days	Distance from Ramtarak-hat (in miles)	Major items available
Sabalarah	Sun., Wed., Fri.	1½ S. E.	Betel-leaf, vegetables, fish, mustard oil, rice, fuel
Demari	Sun., Wed.	4 S. W.	Pottery, sweets, vegetables, fish, hardware, mustard oil
Soadighi	Sun., Wed.	5 E.	Rice, fish, vegetables
Kalatala	Sun., Wed.	6 S.	Rice, plantain, pottery, mustard oil, betel-leaf, vegetables
Bolluk	Tues., Sat.	2 E.	Rice, vegetables, fish
Dariala	Tues., Sat.	3 N.	Vegetables, fish, rice
Nilkantha	Tues., Sat.	4½ S. W.	Betel-leaf, vegetables, fish, mustard oil
Narkeldah	Tues., Sat.	13 S.	Vegetables, fish, rice
Narayandari	Tues., Sat.	6 S.	Betel-leaf, vegetables, fuel
Mathuri	Mon., Fri.	5 S. W.	Handloom cloth, vegetables, hardware, fish
Radhamani	Sun., Wed.	5 S.	Handloom cloth, yarn, parts of handlooms, iron-implements
Maripukur	Thurs.	11 S. W.	Cattle, goat, sheep, chicken, duck, buffalo, pigeon

Nature of Stalls

There are two types of stalls at Ramtarak-hat, fixed and casual. There are altogether 48 fixed or permanent stalls, these being owned by members of 11 castes coming from 26 villages. On an average, they come from places within a radius of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It is noticeable that except for the BARBER, LEATHER-WORKER, Sankhabanik—CONCH-SHELL WORKER, and Sunri—DISTILLER, none of the other 7 castes are engaged in their traditional occupations. Out of a total of 48 stalls, the Mahishyas own 26, BLACKSMITHS 5, BARBERS 4, Subarnabanik—GOLDSMITHS 3, Goala—MILKMEN 2, CONCH-SHELL WORKERS 2, Sukli Tanti—WEAVERS 2, Rajput 1, LEATHER-WORKERS 1, Rajbangshi—FISHERMEN 1, and Sunri—DISTILLERS 1.

Table 3 represents the fixed stalls in Ramtarak-hat, indicating the items sold by different castes.

TABLE 3

Castes														Total		
	Rice	Salt	Grocery	Sweets	Tea	Tobacco	Husking	Shaving saloon	Cycle-repairing	Shoe-repairing	Conch bangles	Ornament	Stationery		Medicine	Excise shop
Goala							1						1			2
Mahishya	1	1	4	2	8	2						6	1	1		26
Muchi										1						1
Napit								4								4
Karmakar	1								4							5
Rajbangshi														1		1
Rajput					1											1
Sankhabanik											2					2
Subarnabanik			1			1							1			3
Sukli Tanti						1							1			2
Sunri															1	1
Total	2	1	5	2	9	4	1	4	4	1	2	6	3	3	1	48

Temporary Stalls

Besides these fixed stalls, a number of temporary stalls are put up on market days. The market starts at about 4 A.M. and continues till noon. Persons dealing in betel-leaves come first. Those who sell straw, a fodder as well as an essential commodity for packing betel-leaves, also come quite early. Generally before sunrise their business is over; then the sellers of other commodities come to the market gradually. Most of the sellers carry their goods and wares on their heads, though the use of a bicycle or a carrying pole, i.e. *bānk*, is not uncommon. Prior to the market day, the market place is thoroughly swept clean by a Hari—SWEEPER family. For this service, they are entitled to a formal payment in cash or kind. Similarly, the Brahman owner of the market collects a nominal market-tax in cash called *jamā*, or in kind known as *muthi*, according to the items brought for sale. It is important that since the inception of this market, sellers of certain commodities like fish, pottery, betel-leaves and fuel were exempted from paying taxes to the owner. Of late, only the sellers of fish and betel-leaves have retained this freedom.

In the market, sellers of a commodity usually sit together in rows facing each other in a particular quarter specially set aside for them. Customers walk between them. It was observed that persons selling vegetables, rice, fruits, sweets, mustard oil, spices and grocery occupy the central portion of the market. But the stalls of earthenware, molasses, coco-nut, basketry, betel-leaves, clothing, stationery and fish are located quite apart from the latter—a feature quite common to other markets in this part of the country. There are shades in the market for the protection of the sellers from sun and rain. At Ramtarak-hat, the BARBER and LEATHER-WORKERS take their seats at the junction of three roads leading to the market. This distribution, however, reflects no hierarchy of sellers in any way.

Caste and Village Distances

A total of 259 temporary stalls were surveyed on one market day. These stalls presented 39 items for sale. The sellers belonged to 19 different castes, excluding the Muslims and Jolha-Tanti Muslim WEAVERS. They came from 57 villages, located within a radius of about 13 miles from Ramtarak-hat. This is an important difference from the moribund delta region in P. S. Beldanga, where the weekly market is bigger, and sellers come from a distance of even 40 miles or more.

The diagram below shows the frequency of sellers' villages and distances in miles. It was observed that with the increase of village-distance, beyond 4-5 miles, the number of such villages rapidly declined.

No of sellers' villages .

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
12 - 13	1													
11 - 12														
10 - 11														
9 - 10	1													
8 - 9														
7 - 8														
6 - 7														
5 - 6	1	1	1	1	1									
4 - 5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
3 - 4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 - 3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1 - 2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0 - 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Distance in miles

Occupational Divergence

The 259 temporary stalls were shared by Brahman 4, Kayastha 1, Rajput 4, Adhikari Baistam 2, Baistam 6, Malakar 1, BARBER 11, POTTER 9, BLACKSMITH 4, OIL-PRESSER 10,

WEAVER 3, Mahishya 133, Oriya Srithikaran 2, GOLDSMITH 13, Darzi—TAILOR 7, FISHERMEN 26, Keora 1, BASKET-MAKER 4, LEATHER-WORKER 3, Mussalman 8, and Muslim WEAVERS 7. It noticeable that some of the specialist castes, namely, the BARBER, POTTER, BLACKSMITH, TAILOR, FISHERMAN, BASKET-MAKER, LEATHER-WORKER, and except for one Muslim WEAVER selling vegetables, all others were engaged in their own traditional occupation. But the members of *other castes* showed a concrete evidence of occupational mobility.

The 10 OIL-PRESSERS were engaged in the selling of grocery 3, fruits 1, oil-cakes 4 and mustard oil prepared by oil-press 2. This is an example which indicates that owing to comparatively cheap rates, mill-crushed mustard oil and oil-cakes are becoming increasingly popular in the village and so the OIL-PRESSERS are taking to other occupations.

But in the case of GOLDSMITHS, a different trend was noticeable. In the market, the 13 stalls owned by them were distributed as follows: grocery 4, ready-made garments 1, books 1, tobacco leaf 1, stationery 1, herbal medicine 1, rice 1, fruits 1, betel-leaf 1, and conch-shell bangles 1. But they possessed no stall for selling gold and silver ornaments, although the latter were available from 6 fixed stalls owned by Mahishyas. Some of the GOLDSMITHS, however, work as labourers i.e. *karigar* in those stalls owned by Mahishyas. For fashionable ornaments, the Mahishya owners seldom depend on them, but purchase a variety of ornaments from Calcutta for sale to their customers.

In the market, the caste of Sankhabanik or CONCH-SHELL-BANGLE-MAKERS have two fixed stalls for selling their wares. But here the popularity of conch-shell bangles, due to the numerical dominance of the Hindus, has also attracted one Mahishya and a GOLDSMITH in the trade.

Out of a total of 33 vegetable-stalls the Mahishyas owned 28. All the 5 stalls of paddy and 9 out of 10 stalls of rice were owned and run by them. They were also engaged in the selling of cloth 6, ready-made garments 10, stationery 7,

grocery 7, *khari* fuel 8, rope and thread 3, herbal medicine 3, lime 2, oil-cake 1, umbrella repairing 1, mat 1 and so on.

It is interesting that factors which influence the acceptance of an occupation by a particular caste reveals its social position in the locality. In Ramtarak-hat, it is specially the Mahishyas who sell certain foods like *chanachur*, *ghugni*, molasses, fried rice, parched rice, sweets etc., as these are accepted by other castes from them. The Brahmans were observed to be in the following businesses : selling of bread 1, fried rice 1, fruits 1, and stationery 1. Tobacco-leaf, *bidi*, lime etc. are sold by Mahishyas, Baistams and GOLDSMITHS as all other castes do not object to accepting these articles from them. These facts illustrate that in a Mahishya-dominated area, the social status of the Mahishyas is much higher than in other places where they are in a minority and are also poor.

Occupation and Market-relationship

In the markets, members of different castes were found to pursue both traditional and non-traditional occupations. But this trend is not so much in evidence with regard to certain artisans, viz., Kumbhakar—POTTER, Karmakar—BLACKSMITH, Teli—OIL-PRESSER etc., who can depend confidently on their caste-trade. The village markets offer facilities of exchange of services to certain functional castes. Here, within the village, members of Muchi—LEATHER-WORKER, Dom—BASKET-MAKER, Keora—TODDY-TAPPER, Hari—DRUMMER and Dhoba—WASHERMAN are not usually served by the Napit—BARBER, Malakar—GARLAND-MAKER and WASHERMAN etc, as the latter consider it derogatory for themselves to do so. But when someone is in the market, the rigidity usually observed in the villages is slightly slackened. Here nobody enquires about the caste of clients but just serves them. In the market, regular meeting and dealings stimulate intimacy and mutual trust which creates opportunity for purchasing articles on credit. This intimacy, which can be termed as *market-relationship*, binds the buyer and

seller together in mutual interdependence. Similarly, when annual fairs and festivals, folk-theatres, puppet shows, devotional songs, etc. are held in the market, they attract all those who are specially tied to that market. The role of a market may be conceptualized as a magnet attracting villagers who are in close proximity in a more conspicuous way than villagers far off. The revenue boundary of a village (*gram*) only presents the physical separation for administrative or other purposes, but it never checks nor discourages the inter-communion with other villages located in the same ecological region.

In eastern Midnapur, where there is a dearth of skilled and specialist artisans, the numerically dominant Mahishyas engage in different non-traditional callings like goldsmithery, carpentry, selling of conch-shell bangles, handloom cloth etc. Thus they try to supplement their insufficient earnings from agriculture. Families which own a little highland (*kala*) are gradually shifting towards the cultivation of betel-vines, which is the traditional occupation of the Barujibis—**BETEL-GROWERS**. It is important to remember that the ecology and the particular type of soil, namely, *bele-doansh* or sandy loam, helps conspicuously in the growth of betel-vines. This is an instance where the incentive of cash economy has succeeded to a very great extent in making the members of the different castes take up an entirely new occupation which was originally the monopoly of one caste only. Economy aided by ecology has proved to be a successful factor in remoulding and recasting traditional caste practices.

Market Administration

The market in question is administered by a number of shopkeepers possessing fixed stalls in the market. Some influential members of the neighbourhood also assist them. This assembly is known as *hat-kamiti*. The committee includes one president, a vice-president, two secretaries, one cashier and thirteen committee members. There are moreover six persons in the advisory committee to deal with matters of

importance. The Brahman owner of the market also co-operates with them. It is important that except for GOLDSMITHS and one BLACKSMITH, all others are Mahishyas. In the committee, there are five members from Hogalberya village, in which the market is situated. The other 19 members live in the 11 neighbouring villages, located within a radius of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Ramtarak-hat.

The committee supervises the market rate, use of proper weights and prescribes a code of model behaviour towards women attending the market and punishes cheats, pickpockets and moral delinquents by fines. For the religious worship of Durga and Lakshmi in September-October, subscriptions are collected from sellers attending the market. The amount collected as fine is also spent for the same purpose. These *puja*-celebrations not only attract men from nearby villages but also villagers from long distances. This is, however, not so much in evidence in the moribund delta in Murshidabad district. There, the villagers are more inclined toward festivals arranged in their home village.

Discussion

This study reveals the part played by the environment in the formation of markets in two contrasted ecological regions of West Bengal. In eastern Midnapur, where the villages are small and do not usually have in the population a large number of castes, members of one village depend on neighbouring villages for the service of the functional and artisan castes. This dependence gives rise to a network of inter-village relationship. But this is not enough : the weekly and bi-weekly markets fill up the deficiency of economic activities. It was the need for exchange which thus brought the markets into being. In eastern Midnapur, where the ecological conditions do not permit easy transportation between villages throughout the year round, a number of markets were formed at a close proximity to one another. Behind the formation of these markets, in most cases, the necessary initiative came from the sellers of vegetables, rice, fish etc. and gradually the betel-growers joined hands with them.

On the other hand, the moribund deltaic region of Murshidabad presents scattered and densely populated villages inhabited by a comparatively larger number of castes. Here, the members of different castes are mostly engaged in their caste occupation. As this locality presents very few weekly markets, the big villages have within them a number of shops where essential consumable goods are available. Again, it was observed that the system of communication is comparatively better, the weekly markets are accessible to sellers from distant places. As a result, the market at Beldanga serves the function of the group of markets which was noticed in the case of Midnapur.

In eastern Midnapur, as the local economy is based on agriculture, the agriculturists come into prominence and other service-castes depend on the agriculturists for their subsistence. But in the case of some of the functional castes, viz. Brahman, BARBER, Malakar, etc., the nature of socio-religious services never permits them to concentrate in a region where they can improve their economic position by means of their traditional occupation. Conversely, the clientele-relationship which other castes maintain with these functional castes, leads them to an accepted position in the ladder of the caste system. But in the case of certain agriculturists and service-castes, their caste status may vary from place to place according to their economic stability and numerical strength.

BOOK REVIEWS

Science in Archaeology. Edited by Don Brothwell & Eric Higgs, with a Foreword by Graham Clarke. 95 photographs, 92 line drawings, 66 tables. Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1963. \$ 17.50.

Archaeology is not merely a science of digging and unearthing past materials. Our interest is not only a curiosity but a definite method to know ourselves better. As Graham Clarke in his foreword to this volume says: 'This book is addressed not merely to students of archaeology and of the various branches of natural science, but to all those who follow with growing fascination the unfolding of new and ever-widening perspective of human history.' It is now an established fact that the prehistorian is not a man engaged in merely living in the past in a world of stone artifacts. In their attempt to understand human culture of the unrecorded past, they have not only made a revelation of the past but also revolutionized the perspectives of history. The problem now is to link the recorded history of man with that of his unrecorded million years. The task is not easy and naturally involves a great deal of development in that field. One has to be extremely cautious; more so, because there is a possibility of jumping into conjectures which are opposed to science. From this point of view, the volume under review is remarkable.

Science in Archaeology is a voluminous book containing five sections and fiftyfour articles written by the foremost archaeologists and prehistorians of the world. It is impossible, indeed, to do justice to this worthy work within the span of a short review.

The first section on Dating, contains the most recent methods developed in the field. Specially interesting are the articles on Archaeomagnetism and dating by Thermo-luminescence. These two methods would surely lead to a new phase in dating the past. The next section on Environment deals with climate, soils, plants and animals. These articles are well arranged and give a comprehensive picture of the total environment of man at the dawn of his life. Section four deals with man. This section, too, contains a number of engrossing scientific ventures in the study of early man,

such as the stature of early man, palaeopathology of skeletal remains, the hair of early people and so on. The section on Artifacts follows naturally. This section deals mainly with the application of recent methods in the study of stone, bronze, metal and glass used by early man. The last section contains only two articles, namely, Magnetic Location and Resistivity Surveying. Both these are of great value to the scientific world of archaeology.

In short this is a precious volume which must find its place in every library, research centre and with individuals engaged in prehistoric and archaeological problems.

M. R.

Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology. By Bruno Nettl. Pp. 295. *The Free Press of Glencoe, New York. 1964.*

The book under review is an introductory text-book on Ethnomusicology, a subject which has undergone tremendous growth and expansion since World War II. It brings together the methods which ethnomusicologists use and the theories on which their work is based. The author introduces the subject by describing the early trends and developments made in western Europe and United States. In fact, he states that 'the order of the book follows, very roughly, the events in ethnomusicological research.'

It contains nine chapters in all. Chapter 2 on 'Bibliographical Resources of Ethnomusicology' adds specially to the value of the book. This bibliography is based upon a wide range of disciplines. As the author says, 'The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the student with the tools for bibliographic location of ethnomusicological materials, and to review briefly those publications and authors with which each student of ethnomusicology should have an acquaintance.' Chapter 3 on 'Field work' is a systematic introduction to field methods and techniques for collecting data relation to ethnomusicology. He points out that the main objective of a field worker should not only lie in collecting physical materials, recording and perhaps gathering notes, but in the ability and knowledge in the musical culture which he is investigating; in other words, development bimusicality as its immediate goal.

Other chapters are devoted to 'Transcription', 'Description of Musical Composition' and 'Nature and Description of Style: some

theories and methods', 'Instruments' et cetera. Chapter 8 on 'Music in Culture-Historical and Geographical Approaches' describes the earlier approaches and trends. Chapter 9, 'Music in Culture-context and Communication' would be of particular interest to students of anthropology.

The book is an excellent attempt in bringing together a wide and complex subject within a reasonably small compass.

V. B. Gupta

The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. By Paul Radin. Pp. iv + 91. Dover Publications, Inc. New York. 1963. \$ 1.00.

The book is a reprint of the 1920-edition of one of the classics of American anthropology. It was taken down from the dictation of C.B., a Winnebago Indian, in his mother tongue and rendered into English by Paul Radin. It comprises two parts, namely, 'the story of my life and my father's teachings'. The merit of the book lies in its being the description of a primitive people and of their culture from within.

Dineshwar Prasad

Oral Tradition. By Jan Vansina. Pp. iv + 226. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. 1965. 30s. net.

The book, originally published in French in 1961, has been translated into English by H. M. Wright. Besides a preface by the author, it contains seven chapters. It exploits the possibilities of the reconstruction of history on the basis of the oral traditions of non-literate peoples. The method evolved by him will commend itself to all social scientists who want to do a similar job.

Dineshwar Prasad

Cultural Forum, 26. Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, April.

Cultural Forum is a bi-monthly journal devoted to articles on cultural activities and experiments. Besides two profiles, nine feature articles and six book-reviews, the present issue contains articles on various aspects and administrative problems of Indian tribal life. The photographs and reproduction of art-pieces add to the value of the publication.

Dineshwar Prasad

Social Work and Social Work Education. By *Madhav Sadashiv Gore*. Pp. 155. *Asia Publishing House, Bombay*. 1965. Rs. 18.

The book consists of eleven papers and two notes. The basic framework is based on two aspects, as the title of the book indicates. Topics dealt with include the historical background of social work, relationship between such work and social structure, values and attitudes and the role of social activities in private and public enterprises. The problems of recruitment, relationship between the professional and auxiliary worker, training of the village-level worker, etc. have then been discussed. The work is specially valuable because it has been written with reference to Indian social conditions.

Bhabesh Chakraborty

The Continent of Circe. By *Nirad C. Chaudhuri*. Pp. 320 with index. *Chatto & Windus*. 35 shillings.

This is a remarkable book worthy of very close study. Mr. Chaudhuri has expressed his ideas, often unacceptable, with vigour and candour. It is always good to know views which differ from one's own.

Mr. Chaudhuri has a deep store of information and experience. He is a bitter critic of various forces that are working now in India. He has handled the history, anthropology, sociology and politics of India in a remarkably original manner. But the presentation has often been marred by an undercurrent of egoism. He has, undoubtedly, the courage of conviction and many stalwarts in the past and the present age have been flayed by him without mercy.

Some of his observations are almost cryptic in nature. According to him a man who cannot endure stench, common noise, ugliness and disorder has no right to live in India. To him, Nehru was a classic example of an anglicized Hindu. He thinks the Hindu infatuation with fair complexion and prejudice against dark skin constitute a bizarre and cruel paradox. There are hundreds of such pithy observations.

It is difficult to accept his drastic statement that the entire body of Moslems are under a black veil. It is also difficult to agree with him that in the Swadeshi agitation the Moslems had sided with

the British in Bengal and elsewhere as a very short-term and opportunistic policy, and that the Moslems founded a political organization of their own on the lines of the Hindu. He ignores the historical fact that Englishmen deliberately encouraged and helped Moslems in the formation of a political organization. He has a bitter observation to make regarding the partition of India which according to him was due to the combination of three factors—Hindu stupidity in the first instance and Hindu cowardice afterwards, British opportunism, and Moslem fanaticism. He has obviously chosen to ignore certain aspects of the working of the forces which brought about the partition. Mr. Chaudhuri should have supported his unequivocal statement that between 1947 and 1954 India intended to invade Pakistan twice, if not three times, and was deterred only by American and British remonstrances. According to him, Nehru was more a Moslem than a Hindu by social and cultural affiliation. It is also hard to agree with Mr. Chaudhuri that the 'Indian Moslems hated the British with a hatred which was even more vitriolic than that of the Hindu, because it was they who have been deprived of an empire by the new concurrence.' It is also observed that while discussing the very unfortunate massacres of 1946-47, he refers to Calcutta, but does not refer to the havoc in East Bengal, and particularly in Noakhali.

The chapter on the Anodyne, the half-caste majority and the dominant minority, are remarkable by the marshalling of facts and quotations ; but the interpretations are original and, even if one does not agree with all the interpretations, there is no doubt they deserve careful consideration.

Mr. Chaudhuri obviously suffers from a very close mind and thinks that 'there is a streak of insanity in the Hindu and that nobody will arrive at a correct apprisement of private and public behaviour on the specific that they have a normal personality...In all Hindu activities, especially in public sphere, can be detected clear signs of either a feebleness or perversion.'

I have no hesitation in repeating that this is a remarkable book and every library and thinker about the welfare of India should study it.

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Islamic Architecture and its Decoration. (A. D. 800-1500) ; A Photographic Survey. By Derek Hill, with an introductory text by Oleg Grabar. Faber and Faber, London. 1964. Six guineas net.

The book contains 527 photographs of the Islamic world covering the period from 840 to 1500 A.D. Ten years were spent in extensive journeys in U. S. S. R., Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Syria and India in order to collect materials for the book. A historical introduction might have been useful for those who are not familiar with Moslem architecture ; but even without that the book will be treasured by all lovers of art and history.

Purushottam Kumar

The Dangerous Sex. By Hoffman R. Hays. 316 pages. G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York. 1964. \$ 5.95.

The book is written in an elegant style by one who is already well known as a novelist and anthropologist.

Facts are presented from prehistoric times up to the modern age in regard to the treatment of women in different parts of the world. Sexual practices, marriage customs and rituals have been examined with a scientist's objectivity. In the last of twenty-seven chapters, entitled 'Now and Tomorrow', the author has tried to offer a solution for the vexed problems connected with sex. He rightly says that 'It is time that the male should abandon his magical approach to the second sex. It is time that he learn to accept his existentialist anguish ; it is time he realise the menace of the female lies within himself. And when he is ready to accept her as a partner in work and love he may even begin to find out what she is like.'

Salil K. Roy Chowdhury

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