

MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 50

NO. 3

JULY-SEPTEMBER

1970

A Quarterly Anthropological Journal
Founded in 1921 by Sarat Chandra Roy

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Edited by

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MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 50 } JULY-SEPTEMBER 1970 { NO. 3

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES

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(Received on 3 November 1969)

Abstract : In this paper on educational development among scheduled castes the extent and level of literacy, inter-district variation in literacy, inter-caste variation in literacy and variation in literacy between males and females have been analysed and compared with the general population on the basis of quantitative information from the Census and other sources. The problems of stagnation and wastage have been discussed, and enrolment trends at different stages of education of the scheduled castes have been indicated. The programmes in the plans for the educational development of scheduled castes at pre-matric and post-matric stages have been described and certain suggestions made so as to accelerate the pace of their educational development.

E DUCATION is one of the most significant instruments for the equalization of opportunities for development and for the removal of the social and economic disabilities of the scheduled castes. Although the general level of literacy in the country continues to be low, educational backwardness of the scheduled castes is more pronounced than that of the general population as will be evident from the data in Table 1

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MAN IN INDIA

PUBLICATIONS

Works

of

Sarat Chandra Roy

1. The Mundas and their Country
(Available with—Asia Publishing House, Contractor Building, Nicol Road, Ballord Estate, Bombay—I)
2. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur
3. Oraon Religion and Custom
(Available with University of Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor-Michigan—48107 U. S. A.)
4. The Kharias, 2 vols.
5. The Birhors
6. The Hill Bhuiyas
7. Caste, Race and Religion in India

A few copies of *The Oraons of Chotanagpur* are available at Rs. 50. *Caste, Race and Religion in India* is also available at Rs. 10.

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

TABLE 1

Extent of literacy in scheduled caste population and the general population

State	Percentage of literates in total population	Percentage of literates in scheduled caste population
1. Andhra Pradesh	21.2	8.5
2. Assam	27.4	24.4
3. Bihar	18.4	5.9
4. Gujarat	30.5	22.5
5. Jammu & Kashmir	11.0	4.7
6. Kerala	46.8	24.4
7. Madhya Pradesh	17.1	7.9
8. Madras	31.4	14.7
9. Maharashtra	29.8	15.8
10. Mysore	25.4	9.1
11. Orissa	21.7	11.6
12. Punjab	24.2	9.6
13. Rajasthan	15.2	6.4
14. Uttar Pradesh	17.6	7.1
15. West Bengal	29.3	13.6
India	24.0	10.3

Source : Census of India, 1961. Nagaland has not been included because the population of scheduled castes in the State is not significant.

giving the extent of literacy in different states. The data show fairly large inter-state variation in literacy in the general population (standard deviation 8.4) as well as in the scheduled caste population (standard deviation 6.5).

(The gap between extent of literacy in general population and scheduled caste population varies from state to state. In some of the states, such as, Assam and Jammu & Kashmir, the difference between the percentage of literates in the scheduled caste population and general population is not very

significant, but in others such as Kerala, Madras, Mysore and West Bengal, it is more than 15 per cent. The co-efficient of correlation between percentage of literacy in general population in a state and the percentage of literacy in scheduled caste population is +0.796 which indicates that states in which the extent of literacy in general population is high tend to have a high literacy in the scheduled caste population also. However, the co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy of general population and the gap in literacy between general population and scheduled caste population is +0.648 indicating that states with higher literacy tend to have a larger gap.

Level of Literacy

There is variation not only in the extent of literacy in different states but also in the level of literacy in the scheduled caste population as compared to the general population. This is evident from the data in Table 2 which gives the number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 of the general population in each educational category. In all the states, the number of scheduled caste literates (without educational level) per 1,000 literates or scheduled caste persons with primary or junior basic level of education per 1,000 with this educational level is lower than the proportion of scheduled caste population in the state. The data further show that the proportion of scheduled caste persons in each educational category falls with a rise in the educational level and the decline is particularly sharp in the category, matric and above. There is also considerable inter-state variation in the level of literacy; in states with low literacy, the number of scheduled caste persons, matric and above, per 1,000 with this educational level is the lowest compared to the number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 of the total population in the state. For instance, in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan the number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 in the category matric and above is less than one-ninth of the number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 persons in the state.

TABLE 2

Number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 persons in each educational level

State	Number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 persons	Number of scheduled caste persons per 1,000 persons in each educational level			
		Illiterate	Literate (without educational level)	Primary or Junior basic	Matric and above
1. Andhra Pradesh	138	161	61	51	23
2. Assam	62	64	59	51	17
3. Bihar	141	162	50	38	13
4. Gujarat	66	74	63	44	14
5. Jammu & Kashmir	80	85	44	22	9
6. Kerala	85	121	49	37	17
7. Madhya Pradesh	181	295	68	50	8
8. Madras	180	224	95	72	24
9. Maharashtra	56	67	36	26	9
10. Mysore	133	161	52	41	24
11. Orissa	157	178	90	61	16
12. Punjab	204	142	100	76	32
13. Rajasthan	167	184	75	66	15
14. Uttar Pradesh	209	235	94	77	37
15. West Bengal	107	241	114	73	23

Source : Based on 1961 Census data

TABLE 3

Variation in extent of literacy in different districts within a state

State	Lowest percentage of literacy in scheduled caste population in a district	Highest percentage of literacy in scheduled caste population in a district	Standard Range	Standard deviation
1. Andhra Pradesh	2.90	17.18	14.28	3.23
2. Assam	11.07	32.32	21.25	5.47
3. Bihar	3.60	16.00	12.40	2.88
4. Gujarat	9.14	40.44	31.30	9.70
5. Jammu & Kashmir	2.49	5.64	3.15	1.30
6. Kerala	13.81	41.68	27.87	9.15
7. Madhya Pradesh	1.44	23.69	22.25	5.58
8. Madras	9.34	39.65	30.31	9.12
9. Maharashtra	4.32	35.09	30.77	6.51
10. Mysore	3.85	15.46	11.61	3.32
11. Orissa	6.55	15.49	8.94	2.73
12. Punjab	5.47	20.47	15.00	4.68
13. Rajasthan	2.09	13.67	11.58	2.21
14. Uttar Pradesh	2.82	19.02	16.20	3.61
15. West Bengal	7.05	22.23	15.18	5.58

Source : Based on 1961 Census data

Inter-district Variation

There is also variation in extent of literacy in different districts within a state. This will be evident from Table 3 compiled from 1961 Census data. The data show that in some of the states like Gujarat, Kerala, Madras and Maharashtra, the range (the difference between highest percentage of literacy in a district in scheduled caste population and the lowest percentage of literacy in a district in scheduled caste population) is more than 25 per cent. The standard deviation of

percentage literacy in scheduled caste population in different districts is also fairly high in these states which, incidentally, rank among the first five in regard to the spread of literacy in the scheduled caste population.

To ascertain the degree of association between extent of literacy in the general population and extent of literacy in the scheduled caste population in different districts (1961 Census) correlation co-efficients were calculated for all the states. The data given in Table 4 show that in almost all the states the correlation is high, suggesting that districts with a higher level of literacy in general population also have higher level of literacy in scheduled caste population. However, the co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy in a district in general population and the gap in literacy in a district between general population and scheduled caste population is high in most states suggesting that districts with higher literacy tend to have a larger gap.

TABLE 4

Association between literacy in general population in a district and literacy in scheduled caste population

State	Correlation between percentage of literacy in general population in a district and percentage of literacy in scheduled caste population	Correlation between percentage of literacy in general population in a district and gap between percentage of literacy in general population and in scheduled caste population
1. Andhra Pradesh	+0.942	+0.854
2. Assam	+0.922	+0.297
3. Bihar	+0.489	+0.734
4. Gujarat	+0.629	+0.294
4. Jammu & Kashmir	+0.549	+0.947
6. Kerala	+0.783	-0.031
7. Madhya Pradesh	+0.545	+0.588
8. Madras	+0.936	+0.399
9. Maharashtra	+0.617	+0.555
10. Mysore	+0.659	+0.948
11. Orissa	+0.668	+0.922
12. Punjab	+0.559	+0.764
13. Rajasthan	+0.727	+0.875
14. Uttar Pradesh	+0.868	+0.803
15. West Bengal	+0.655	+0.868

A study of problems of extension of primary education in rural areas by the Programme Evaluation Organisation (Planning Commission) too found considerable inter-district variation in enrolment of Harijan children. For instance, the percentage of Harijan children on roll to total in the sample schools varied from 8.7 per cent in Burdwan district to 29.4 per cent in Amravati district.¹ A study on post-matric education among the scheduled castes by the Cultural Research Institute, Government of West Bengal, also showed that out of the 16 districts in the state, about 57 per cent of the post-matric scholarship awards in 1966-67 were availed of by scheduled caste students of two districts although only 24 per cent of the scheduled caste population in the state lived in these two districts.²

Inter-caste Variation

Another important feature of the educational development of scheduled castes is the difference in extent of literacy between castes. This will be evident from the data in Table 5 compiled for numerically large castes, i.e., those with a population of more than 25,000. The data show that in five states, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras and Maharashtra the inter-caste variation in extent of literacy is high. Incidentally, these states rank high in regard to spread of literacy among scheduled castes.

TABLE 5

Variation in extent of literacy among different scheduled castes in a state

State	Lowest percentage of literacy in scheduled caste	Highest percentage of literacy in a scheduled caste	Range	Standard deviation
1. Andhra Pradesh	2.97	25.98	23.01	7.42
2. Assam	18.37	36.89	18.52	5.49
3. Bihar	1.32	12.47	11.15	3.49
4. Gujarat	9.11	43.00	33.89	10.66
5. Jammu & Kashmir	3.35	5.51	2.16	0.94
6. Kerala	11.07	49.64	38.57	12.60
7. Madhya Pradesh	2.24	22.64	20.40	5.57
8. Madras	3.50	34.20	30.70	7.55
9. Maharashtra	9.87	27.14	17.27	6.93
10. Mysore	3.20	19.17	15.97	4.97
11. Orissa	6.37	19.31	12.94	2.83
12. Punjab	3.00	16.01	13.01	4.75
13. Rajasthan	3.24	11.58	8.34	2.41
14. Uttar Pradesh	2.23	11.57	9.34	2.28
15. West Bengal	5.33	21.68	16.35	4.98

Source : Based on 1961 Census data. Only castes with a population above 25,000 were taken into consideration.

For three states, viz., Bihar, Madras and Gujarat, the level of education among scheduled castes with a population of over 50,000 was calculated. The extent of literacy among the scheduled castes in these three states is 5.9 per cent, 14.7 per cent and 22.5 per cent respectively and may, therefore, be considered as representing different levels of spread of literacy among the scheduled castes. The data in Table 6 show that in Bihar, among all the scheduled castes, the per centage with matric or higher education is less than 0.5 per cent and in only six of the 13 castes more than 1 per cent have education up to primary or junior basic levels. In Madras and Gujarat, too, in only one caste the percentage with an educational level of matric and above is more than 0.5 per cent. However, in the educational level, primary or junior basic, the situation in Gujarat for most of the scheduled castes is much better than in Madras and Bihar. For instance, of the 13 numerically large scheduled castes in Bihar, in seven castes the percentage of population with primary or junior basic level of education is less than 1 per cent while in the remaining six it is more than 1 per cent but less than 2 per cent. In Madras, of the 10 numerically large scheduled castes, in only one caste is the percentage of population with primary or junior basic level of education less than 1 per cent ; in three castes it is between 1 and 2 per cent ; in 5 castes it is between 2 and 5 per cent and in one caste it is more than 5 per cent. In Gujarat, in four of the six numerically large scheduled castes, the percentage of population with primary or junior basic level of education is more than 9. Thus, while there is inter-caste variation in the level of literacy in states with low as well as higher levels of literacy, the range of variation at the level of primary junior basic and above appears to be greater in the case of states with higher literacy.

The Cultural Research Institute of the Tribal Welfare Department, Government of West Bengal, which made a study of the progress of secondary education among scheduled castes in West Bengal,⁸ too, found considerable variation in the extent to which different scheduled castes have availed themselves of educational facilities. Data for 1960-61 showed that

TABLE 6

Percentage distribution of level of education among scheduled castes in Bihar, Madras and Gujarat

Caste	Total	Illiterate	Literate without education level	Primary or Junior basic	Matric and above
<i>Bihar</i>					
1. Bauri	100.00	94.21	5.08	0.64	0.07
2. Bhogta	100.00	95.89	3.56	0.53	0.02
3. Bhuiya	100.00	98.68	1.17	0.14	0.01
4. Chamar	100.00	93.68	5.15	1.06	0.11
5. Dhobi	100.00	89.97	7.76	1.92	0.35
6. Dom	100.00	95.19	4.15	0.59	0.07
7. Dusadh	100.00	92.92	5.72	1.23	0.13
8. Ghasi	100.00	90.89	7.19	1.68	0.24
9. Hari	100.00	89.48	9.11	1.28	0.13
10. Musahar	100.00	97.88	1.94	0.17	0.01
11. Pasi	100.00	89.97	7.76	1.92	0.35
12. Rajwar	100.00	95.11	4.16	0.67	0.06
13. Turi	100.00	95.33	4.01	0.63	0.03
<i>Madras</i>					
1. Adi-Dravida	100.00	83.32	12.10	4.20	0.38
2. Arunthathiyar	100.00	86.88	9.40	3.34	0.38
3. Chakkiliyan	100.00	96.50	2.42	1.02	0.06
4. Kudumban	100.00	85.48	12.38	1.91	0.23
5. Kuravan, Sidhanar	100.00	86.81	9.97	2.96	0.26
6. Madari	100.00	93.10	5.95	0.91	0.04
7. Pallan	100.00	83.87	12.90	2.86	0.37
8. Paraiyan, Parayan	100.00	84.97	12.03	2.75	0.25
9. Samban	100.00	88.11	10.13	1.68	0.08
10. Valluvan	100.00	65.00	25.99	7.42	0.79
<i>Gujarat</i>					
1. Bhambi	100.00	75.19	11.19	13.30	0.32
2. Bhangi	100.00	80.93	7.82	11.11	0.14
3. Chamar, Nalia or Rohit	100.00	89.75	4.24	5.94	0.07
4. Mahyavanshi	100.00	67.43	12.68	19.26	0.63
5. Meghwal	100.00	90.89	4.98	4.10	0.03
6. Vankar, Dhedh or Antyaj	100.00	85.89	4.89	9.14	0.13

Source : Based on 1961 Census data. Only castes with a population of more than 50,000 were taken into consideration.

the percentage of the students in school-going age in secondary stage who are actually attending schools is 16.48 per cent among the scheduled castes and 45.45 per cent among other communities excluding scheduled tribes. Among the Namasudra, Pan and Poliya castes more than 50 per cent of the number of students of school-going age in secondary stage are actually attending school ; in more than 32 castes, however, the percentage is less than 17. The study further reports that the number of students from different castes attending school is increasing, but the progress is not uniform among all.

Another study on post-matric education among the scheduled castes of West Bengal by this Institute⁴ showed that out of 63 scheduled castes in the state, students from 50 scheduled castes received post-matric scholarships in 1966-67. Four scheduled castes (Namasudra, Poundra, Sunri and Rajbansi) got 84 per cent of the total awards, although they comprise only 42 per cent of the total scheduled caste population in the state. Comparison of the situation in 1966-67 showed that in 1959-60 more than 84 per cent of the total post-matric awards went to the same four castes (Namasudra, Poundra, Sunri and Rajbansi). However, while in 1959-60, 21 scheduled caste communities did not get any post-matric awards, in 1966-67 the number came down to 13.

The Maharashtra State Government which undertook a study in 1962-63 of the scheduled castes who were getting post-matric scholarships reported somewhat similar findings. The progress of post-matric education was very low among some scheduled castes even though they were numerically fairly large. The Mahars, for instance, were getting 85.8 per cent of the scholarships awarded to scheduled caste students although they comprise 35.1 per cent of the total scheduled caste population in the state, while the Mang were getting only 2.2 per cent of the scholarships although they comprise 32.6 per cent of the total scheduled caste population.⁵

Literacy among Females

The extent of literacy among scheduled caste women is only 3.29 per cent as compared to 16.96 per cent among scheduled

caste men. Thus the gap at the all-India level is 13.67 per cent, but the position varies significantly from state to state. The data in Table 7 which gives the percentage literacy among scheduled caste males and females and the gap between the two in each state show that in two states less than 1 per cent of the females are literate and in ten states less than 5 per cent of the scheduled caste females are literate. In educationally backward states like Jammu & Kashmir, Bihar, Madhya

TABLE 7

Extent of literacy in scheduled caste male and female population

State	Percentage of literacy in scheduled caste males	Percentage of literacy in scheduled caste females	Gap in literacy
1. Andhra Pradesh	13.43	3.40	10.03
2. Assam	31.74	16.08	15.66
3. Bihar	11.13	0.92	10.21
4. Gujarat	33.87	10.72	23.15
5. Jammu & Kashmir	7.95	1.09	6.86
6. Kerala	31.61	17.38	14.23
7. Madhya Pradesh	14.26	1.33	12.93
8. Madras	23.56	5.69	17.87
9. Maharashtra	25.46	5.71	19.75
10. Mysore	14.87	3.04	11.83
11. Orissa	19.82	3.43	16.39
12. Punjab	16.18	2.16	14.02
13. Rajasthan	11.63	0.7	10.84
14. Uttar Pradesh	12.79	1.14	11.65
15. West Bengal	21.80	4.61	17.19

Source : Based on 1961 Census data.

Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the picture is particularly depressing. The co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy in a state among scheduled caste males and

scheduled caste females is +0.893 indicating that states with higher literacy among males tend to have higher literacy among females as well. The co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy among scheduled caste males and gap in literacy between scheduled caste males and females is fairly high (+0.788) indicating that states with higher literacy among males tend to have a larger gap.

The difference in level of literacy between scheduled caste males and scheduled caste females is also fairly pronounced as will be evident from Table 8 giving the number of scheduled

TABLE 8

Number of scheduled caste females per thousand scheduled caste males in each educational level

State	No. of scheduled caste females per 1,000 scheduled caste males	Number of scheduled caste females per 1,000 scheduled caste male in each educational level			
		Illiterate	Literate without educational level	Primary or Junior basic	Matric and above
1. Anthra Pradesh	980	1,093	247	267	121
2. Assam	882	1,085	460	428	135
3. Bihar	1,031	1,149	92	53	68
4. Gujarat	972	1,314	313	312	57
5. Jammu and Kashmir	889	956	131	91	63
6. Kerala	1,014	1,225	573	533	331
7. Madhya Pradesh	973	1,119	95	74	31
8. Madras	993	1,225	236	269	127
9. Maharashtra	962	1,216	253	168	97
10. Mysore	965	1,098	196	237	88
11. Orissa	1,015	1,223	182	125	36
12. Punjab	874	1,021	147	89	25
13. Rajasthan	923	1,036	63	88	54
14. Uttar Pradesh	941	1,066	92	62	52
15. West Bengal	916	1,117	21	169	62

Source : Based on 1961 Census data.

caste females per 1,000 scheduled caste males in each educational category. The data show that the gap increases considerably in the category of matriculation and above. There is, however, considerable inter-state variation ; in states with low literacy, the number of scheduled caste females per 1,000 scheduled caste males, matric and above, is much lower compared to the sex ratio in the scheduled caste population in the state.

The co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy among females in general population in a state and extent of literacy among scheduled caste females is +0.822, showing that states with higher literacy among females in general population tend to have higher literacy among scheduled caste females. However, the co-efficient of correlation between extent of literacy among females in general population and gap in literacy between general population females and scheduled caste females is +0.601 suggesting that in states with higher literacy among females the gap tends to be larger.

Table 9 gives the number of scheduled caste females for every thousand females of the general population in each educational category in different states. The data show that the comparative position is extremely unsatisfactory, particularly at the higher levels. There is, however, a large variation in this regard between states.

TABLE 9
Number of scheduled caste females per 1,000 females in each educational category

State	Number of scheduled caste females per 1,000 females in the population	Number of scheduled caste females per 1,000 females in each educational level			
		Illiterate	Literate without educational level	Primary or Junior basic	Matric and above
1. Andhra Pradesh	138	152	40	38	22
2. Assam	62	62	64	59	15
3. Bihar	143	152	20	15	13
4. Gujarat	67	74	49	33	5
5. Jammu & Kashmir	81	83	27	10	4
6. Kerala	85	114	42	30	14
7. Madhya Pradesh	133	140	29	21	2
8. Madras	180	207	63	46	15
9. Maharashtra	57	65	24	15	4
10. Mysore	133	150	30	26	12
11. Orissa	150	167	66	43	8
12. Punjab	205	234	42	23	5
13. Rajasthan	168	177	24	20	7
14. Uttar Pradesh	213	226	82	29	10
15. West Bengal	202	232	66	39	16

Source : Based on 1961 Census data.

Stagnation and Wastage

The problem of stagnation and wastage in education is acute in India, more so in the case of the scheduled castes. The Education Commission has made pointed reference to this aspect of Indian education.⁶ It stated that stagnation is highest in class I ; it is reduced considerably in class II and then remains fairly constant in classes III and IV. At the higher primary stage stagnation decreases still further ; stagnation is greater among girls, and there are considerable variations from area to area. In the case of wastage, it reported that 'wastage is very large at the lower primary stage—about 56 per cent for boys and 62 per cent for girls. About two-thirds of the wastage occurs in class I. Moreover, it has remained fairly constant in the case of boys while there has been a slight improvement in the case of girls. At the higher primary stage, wastage is much less—about 24 per cent for boys and 34 per cent for girls ; and what is more important, it is decreasing consistently, although at a slow rate.' The study on wastage and stagnation in primary and middle schools of India by the National Council of Educational Research and Training also showed that the total rate of wastage and stagnation is 65.30 per cent by the time children reach grade V and 78.35 per cent by the time they reach grade VIII. Of 100 pupils enrolled in grade I, about 39 drop out or stagnate in grade I, 11 in grade II, 8 each in grades III and IV, 7 in grade V, 3 in grade VI and 2 each in grades VII and VIII. As is evident from these figures, about 50 per cent of the total wastage and stagnation at the elementary stage is in grade I itself and the incidence decreases as the pupils move from lower to higher grades.⁷ Separate data for scheduled castes are not available in this Report but the data on the difference between drop-outs and stay-ins in relation to caste structure of families showed that children from Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya families do not drop out in the same proportion as those from the 'backward classes' and scheduled caste or scheduled tribes.

A study on wastage and stagnation in Satara district by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics⁸ reported that

among higher castes like Brahmins, Jains, etc. 'the absolute minima in education of their children are kept considerably higher than the primary third standard, so that even in the face of rather disappointing progress, the children are not usually withdrawn from school'. In the case of lower castes, the Report states that 'education of children is difficult to obtain and almost impossible when the children, for one reason or the other, fail to keep the normal progress.'

The Cultural Research Institute of the Tribal Welfare Department, Government of West Bengal, too, made a study of the extent of wastage and stagnation among the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students at high school stage.⁹ The extent of stagnation found by it in 1962 is given below :

	Percentage of stagnation for 1962				
	Class				
	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Scheduled tribes	27.9	31.2	34.7	38.5	50.1
Scheduled castes	28.2	30.0	30.7	34.8	45.4
Other communities	19.9	22.4	27.2	29.8	35.9

It is apparent that the extent of wastage increases in the higher classes and is the highest for scheduled tribes followed by scheduled castes and the rest of the population. Among both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes the extent of wastage shows a significant rise from class VIII to class IX.

The information collected by the Directorate General of Employment & Training, Government of India, from returns submitted by 38 University Employment Information and Guidance Bureaus (UEIGB) about students getting post-matric scholarships also show that wastage and stagnation is very high. Each UEIGB was asked to collect from a representative college in its jurisdiction data relating to the number of scheduled caste students enrolled and passed during the years 1960 to 1966. The number of colleges covered was 54. The findings show that one-half to two-thirds of scheduled caste candidates enrolled in most of the post-matric courses failed

to complete them successfully. In the general education courses, the average rate of wastage was more than 40 per cent for all courses and was even as high as 80 per cent for some courses. In professional courses like medicine and engineering, the wastage was 62 per cent and 45 per cent respectively.¹⁰ Despite the limited base from which the above data have been collected, it could, nevertheless, be inferred that the rate of drop-outs and failures in post-matric scholarships is very high. The result of a study made in Madhya Pradesh by the Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also points in the same direction. Out of 314 students of B.A. Part I who were awarded fresh scholarships in 1964-65 only 94 (30 per cent) were awarded renewals in B.A. Part II in 1965-66. In the case of B.Sc. Part II, the percentage renewals was only 24.3 and in the case of B. Com. Part II it was 35.3 per cent.¹¹

Thus all these studies report the high incidence of wastage and stagnation at all levels. The Education Commission attributed this to a number of economic, educational and social causes. The NCERT, in its study on wastage and stagnation in primary and middle schools in India, classified the causes of wastage in relation to school variables, pupil variables and family variables and also took into account the causes given by drop-outs, their parents and their teachers. It reported that 'in primary education, the first six variables in order of importance which maximally discriminate drop-outs from stay-ins are: attendance in school, parents' view of the child's educational performance, motivation for learning from home, pupil's academic performance, caste and age at the time of admission to school. At the middle stage, the corresponding order of first six variables is: attendance in school, pupil's academic performance, interest in education, motivation for learning from home, age at the time of admission to school and parents' view of child's educational performance. Thus, it is evident that among the first six variables, five are common to both the primary as well as middle stages of education, although the ranks of some of these variables are not exactly the same'.¹²

Separate studies on the causes of stagnation and wastage in education among scheduled castes are not available, but it may be assumed that most of the causes pointed out by the Education Commission and the NCERT study apply with greater intensity in the case of scheduled castes. Most of the students from these communities are first-generation school-goers and so parental help, support and encouragement are generally lacking. Other important reasons are the poverty of parents and the difficulties they face in sparing their children to attend school since their services are required either for some assistance in the family enterprise or for looking after the younger children when the parents are out working. Malnutrition, ill health and an unattractive school environment and school curriculum lead to the waning of interest of the child in school. There are also deficiencies in admission policies in lower primary level, in school equipment and in teaching methods. Overcrowding, non-availability of the right type of teachers motivated to teach students from these communities, and weaknesses in supervision of the school system in backward areas are other reasons. Hardly any attempt has been made to motivate the parents to send children to school or to try and remove the handicaps of the child who is lagging in studies, irregular in attendance or not interested in studies.

Enrolment Trends

An encouraging feature in the education of scheduled castes is the significant progress in recent years in enrolment of children from these groups in educational institutions. Data collected by the Education Ministry on enrolment of scheduled caste students at different levels is available for the years 1960-61 and 1964-65. This gives a comparative picture of the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children at each level compared to the proportion of the population of these castes in the total population. The data in Table 10 show that whereas in 1960-61 in only three states, namely, Assam, Kerala and Maharashtra, the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children at primary stage was higher than the proportion of

TABLE 10

Percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children to total enrolment at primary/junior basic level in 1960-61 and 1964-65

State	Percentage of scheduled caste population	Percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children	
		1960 - 61	1964 - 65
1. Andhra Pradesh	13.8	12.3	14.0
2. Assam	6.2	7.7	7.1
3. Bihar	14.1	9.8	10.4
4. Gujarat	6.6	6.1	7.6
5. Kerala	8.4	10.9	10.6
6. Madhya Pradesh	13.1	9.3	9.9
7. Madras	18.0	17.0	18.1
8. Maharashtra	5.6	10.0	10.3
9. Mysore	13.2	10.5	12.6
10. Punjab	20.4	12.3	13.5
11. Rajasthan	16.7	4.4	12.4
12. Uttar Pradesh	20.9	14.3	13.3
13. West Bengal	19.9	17.5	16.4

Source : Education Ministry, Government of India ; information is available for only 13 states.

scheduled castes in the total population, in 1964-65 in six states, the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children was higher than the proportion of scheduled castes in the total population. In the other states the gap between the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children and the percentage of scheduled caste population in the state is becoming reduced.

A study by the P. E. O.¹³ on the problems of extension of primary education in rural areas has also reported an increase

in the enrolment of scheduled caste children. It found that the proportion of schools having Harijan children on roll registered an increase from 60.3 per cent in 1951 to 69.2 per cent in 1956 and 74.2 per cent in 1961. The enrolment of Harijan children also increased more than two and a half times in 1961 compared to 1951. The proportion of Harijan children on roll to the total children on roll showed an increase from 13.6 per cent in 1951 to 16.1 per cent in 1961. A significant finding reported by this study is that the growth in enrolment of Harijan children was higher in each of the two plan periods than that of the non-Harijan children, as will be evident from the following figures giving the percentage increase in enrolment of Harijan and non-Harijan children in sample schools :

Year	Harijan children	Other children
1951-56	80.0	50.3
1956-61	48.5	34.3
1951-61	167.2	101.10

Data on enrolment at middle/senior basic, high/higher secondary and higher levels is given in Table 11. At the middle/senior basic stage, in four states the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste students to total enrolment in 1964-65 is higher than the percentage of scheduled caste population in the state. In most states, the percentage enrolment of scheduled castes tends to increase in 1964-65 as compared to 1960-61 but in a few there is a marginal fall. At the higher secondary level, in most of the states there is a marginal increase in percentage enrolment of scheduled castes in 1964-65 as compared to 1960-61. In three states, however, which are educationally backward, namely, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab, there is a fall in the percentage of scheduled caste enrolment. In the case of enrolment at higher levels, while in eight states there is a marginal increase, in five states there is marginal fall.

TABLE 11

Percentage enrolment of scheduled castes to total enrolment at middle/senior basic, high/higher secondary and higher education levels in 1960-61 and 1964-65

State	Percentage of population		Percentage enrolment of scheduled castes				
	scheduled caste	scheduled caste	Middle/ Senior basic	High/Higher Secondary	Higher Educational level		
			1960-61	1964-65	1960-61	1964-65	1960-61
1. Andhra Pradesh	13.8	9.2	9.6	8.2	8.2	5.1	5.4
2. Assam	6.2	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.1	4.8	4.4
3. Bihar	14.1	7.6	7.9	6.0	5.9	3.4	3.8
4. Gujarat	6.6	6.8	7.9	3.8	5.0	2.3	2.2
5. Kerala	8.4	8.5	9.2	7.6	8.0	3.5	3.7
6. Madhya Pradesh	13.1	8.1	8.4	4.2	5.3	2.6	3.7
7. Madras	18.0	11.6	14.9	8.1	12.8	5.1	5.0
8. Maharashtra	5.6	10.2	8.3	7.3	7.9	6.9	7.5
9. Mysore	13.2	6.3	8.9	5.3	5.7	3.1	2.8
10. Punjab	20.4	9.2	8.9	8.5	8.4	5.8	4.6
11. Rajasthan	16.7	3.6	8.7	3.2	6.1	1.5	1.9
12. Uttar Pradesh	20.9	12.2	10.8	9.6	8.8	4.3	4.6
13. West Bengal	19.9	12.2	11.4	6.2	6.2	4.4	5.6

Source : Education Ministry

Table 12 gives the gap at different levels of education between percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children to total enrolment in 1964-65 and the percentage of scheduled caste population in the state.

TABLE 12

Difference between percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children to total enrolment in 1964-65 at different educational levels and percentage population of scheduled castes

State	Primary/ Junior basic	Middle/ Senior basic	High/ Higher Secondary	Higher Education
1. Andhra Pradesh	+0.2	-4.2	-5.6	-8.4
2. Assam	+0.9	+0.2	-0.1	-1.8
3. Bihar	-3.7	-6.2	-8.2	-10.8
4. Gujarat	+1.0	+1.3	-1.6	-4.4
5. Kerala	+2.2	+0.8	-0.4	-4.7
6. Madhya Pradesh	-3.2	-4.7	-7.8	-9.4
7. Madras	+0.1	-3.1	-5.2	-13.0
8. Maharashtra	+4.7	+2.7	+2.3	+1.9
9. Mysore	-0.6	-4.3	-7.5	-10.4
10. Punjab	-6.9	-11.5	-12.0	-15.8
11. Rajasthan	-4.3	-8.0	-10.6	-14.8
12. Uttar Pradesh	-7.6	-10.1	-12.1	-16.3
13. West Bengal	-3.5	-8.5	-13.7	-14.3

Source : Based on Education Ministry data

The data show that the gap increases at the higher levels except in Maharashtra where at all levels the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste students is higher than the percentage of scheduled caste population in the state. In seven out of thirteen states for which data are available, the gap at primary/junior basic stage is either less than 1 per cent or the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste students is higher. In the other states the gap varies from 3.2 to 7.6 per cent. These are, incidentally, the states which are educationally backward. In Assam, Gujarat and Kerala at the primary/junior basic and middle/senior basic level, the percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children is higher than the percentage of their population in the state, but at the higher levels it is less. In six states, namely, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and West Bengal, the gap

between percentage enrolment of scheduled caste children and the percentage of scheduled caste population is high at all levels of education.

The extent of enrolment of scheduled caste students in professional, vocational and technical courses is rather low. The Maharashtra Government, in its study of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students getting post-matric scholarships, found that nearly 87 per cent of the scheduled caste scholarship holders took art, science and commerce courses while the percentage taking up professional and technical courses is comparatively low.¹⁴ The study on post-matric education among scheduled castes in West Bengal, too, showed that 70 per cent of the post-matric scholarships were awarded in 1966-67 for courses in arts and commerce, about 20 per cent for science subjects and about 10 per cent for other technical subjects.¹⁵ The same trend is evident from data on post-matric scholarships awarded to scheduled caste students in 1966-67 in Gujarat and Orissa.

TABLE 13

Course-wise award of post-matric scholarships to scheduled caste students in 1966-67

Course	Gujarat		Orissa	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1. Inter Science/B. Sc /M. Sc.	704	18.56	162	25.47
2. Inter Arts/B. A /M. A.	1,877	49.49	303	47.64
3. Inter Com./B. Com./M. Com.	414	10.92	4	0.63
4. LL.B./Honours/Other Oriental Languages/Fine Arts/Correspondence	110	2.90	6	0.94
5. D.Sc./D.Litt./Ph.D.	—	—	—	—
6. Diploma Certificate Course in Agriculture/Veterinary Science	7	0.18	—	—
7. Teachers' Training and Physical Education	54	1.43	1	0.16
8. B.Sc. Agriculture/B.V.Sc. diploma in Rural Science/Civil and Rural Engineering	7	0.18	13	2.04
9. Post-graduate courses in Agriculture	—	—	—	—
10. Bachelor of Nursing and Pharmacy	3	0.08	—	—
11. Diploma Certificate Course in Engineering/Architecture etc.	60	1.58	84	13.21
12. Degree course in Engineering	123	3.24	63	9.91
13. Other Courses	434	11.44	—	—
Total :	3,793	100.00	636	100.00

TABLE 14

Percentage distribution of scheduled caste candidates undergoing training in Industrial Training Institutes

State	Percentage of scheduled caste trainees to total trainees	Percentage of scheduled caste population in the state
1. Andhra Pradesh	10.0	13.8
2. Assam	3.9	6.2
3. Bihar	4.5	14.1
4. Gujarat	3.7	6.6
5. Jammu & Kashmir	6.5	7.5
6. Kerala	8.8	8.4
7. Madhya Pradesh	6.7	13.1
8. Madras	12.4	18.0
9. Maharashtra	8.5	5.6
10. Mysore	12.5	13.2
11. Orissa	6.8	15.7
12. Punjab	12.1	20.4
13. Rajasthan	10.0	16.7
14. Uttar Pradesh	11.1	20.9
15. West Bengal	7.7	19.9

Although reservation of seats in industrial training institutes set up in different parts of the country has been made for scheduled castes proportionate to their population in the respective states, and each scheduled caste candidate is given a stipend of Rs. 45 per month, these are not filled as will be evident from the data in Table 14 giving the state-wise distribution of candidates undergoing training in I. T. I.'s in 1966.¹⁶ The chief reasons for this non-utilization are restricted mobility undergoing a fresh period of training after schooling due to the pressure of taking up work as early as possible, since most scheduled caste students start education late and by the time they are matriculates they are generally older than

students from other communities. Many scheduled caste students are also not fully aware of the potentialities of placement after training at these Institutes, and the pay scales available. Those who do continue education, therefore, tend to move towards general courses in the hope that by obtaining another degree they will be able to get a suitable job and acquire a higher status in their community.

Concessions in Admission

The Government of India, State Governments, Union Territory Administrations and the Universities throughout the country, are expected to give the following concessions to scheduled caste candidates in the matter of admission to technical and other educational institutions under their respective control in compliance with the requests made in this regard by the Ministry of Education.

(i) Twenty per cent of seats in all technical institutions should be reserved for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, with a distinct reservation of 15 per cent for scheduled castes and 5 per cent for scheduled tribes. This reservation can be interchanged ;

(ii) Where admissions are restricted to candidates obtaining a certain minimum percentage of marks and not merely to his passing of a certain examination, there may be a 5 per cent reduction for scheduled castes, provided that the lower percentage prescribed does not fall below the qualifying examination ;

(iii) If there is a maximum age limit, it may be raised by 3 years in the case of such candidates ; and

(iv) A minimum qualifying standard should be prescribed for admission to any technical institution. Students belonging to scheduled castes should be eligible for admission to the reserved seats if they attain this minimum standard without any reference to the gap between their marks and the marks of the last person admitted in the open seats.

A number of ministries and institutions are giving these concessions in compliance with the request of the Ministry of Education.

*Programmes for Educational Development
at Pre-matric Stage*

To provide educational facilities to the scheduled castes, a number of schemes have been undertaken in the backward classes sector of the Plan for pre-matric education. These are in addition to the exemption given to scheduled caste students in the payment of fees. They include grant of stipends/scholarships, freeships, midday meals, uniforms, exemption from payment of examination fees, book grants and hostel facilities. In the Third Plan about Rs. 17 crores and during 1966-69 about Rs. 9.3 crores were spent in the state sector for the education of scheduled castes.¹⁷ Seventeen lakh stipends/scholarships were given to scheduled caste students in the Third Plan, midday meals were given to 71,862 scheduled caste students and book and equipment grants to 3.49 lakh scheduled caste students. Most of the states have been allocating about two-thirds of the outlay in the welfare of backward classes sector to education. Emphasis is being given in current education-programmes to the expansion of hostel facilities for both boys and girls in order to provide a better environment for studies. Boarding grants are also being given to enable students living in scattered areas to avail of facilities for middle and higher education. These hostels are run both by government and voluntary organizations and admit students from all communities. Chauhan¹⁸ reported difficulties faced by scheduled caste students in adjustment with others in general educational institutions and hostels on account of indifference or resistance from the latter. He, however, suggested that 'corrective action would demand the creation of conditions under which the students from the general population accepted the students of lower castes willingly, and that they take an initiative in that direction rather than provide a negative or indifferent response'. A study by the Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the practice of untouchability in nine mixed hostels in Andhra Pradesh showed, however, that no form of untouchability was observed in both subsidized and government

hostels, the students took their meals together and everybody had free access to drinking water pots kept in the hostels.¹⁹ The present policy is against the setting up of institutions exclusively for scheduled castes even if initial difficulties are faced by the students as this would not promote integration through group-living.

Programmes for Educational Development at Post-matric Stage

In the field of higher education, the scheme of post-matric scholarships is being implemented since 1944-45. In the Third Plan, about 3.19 lakh scholarships were awarded to scheduled caste students. The number of scholarships awarded has shown a phenomenal increase. In 1951-52, only 1,604 scheduled caste students got post-matric scholarships, but by 1965-66 the number rose to 78,548. In 1966-67, the number of scholarships awarded increased still further to 90,481 and in 1967-68 to 1,06,869. These scholarships cover maintenance allowance, compulsory non-refundable fees, study-tour charges in professional courses and thesis-typing charges. The maintenance charges in the scholarships vary from Rs. 40 per month for hostellers and Rs. 27 for day scholars for undergraduate and graduate courses to Rs. 75 for hostellers and Rs. 60 for day scholars in professional degree courses in engineering, medicine, etc. Students whose parents'/guardians' income from all sources does not exceed Rs. 500 per month are awarded post-matric scholarships on a graded means test. Employed scheduled caste students are also given scholarships subject to the graded means test.

Table 15 gives the state-wise distribution of post-matric scholarships. The data show that in the educationally backward states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa the percentage of scholarships awarded is less than the percentage of scheduled caste population in these states.

The working of the scheme of post-matric scholarships has shown that a larger share of the scholarships goes to castes which are educationally more advanced than others. The extent of stagnation and wastage among students is high since

most of the students come from poor families, their health and diet are often unsatisfactory, they are not able to devote full attention to their studies and have to join the family labour force or take up employment early in life. Hostel facilities generally lag behind. The rate of scholarship has remained static for more than a decade and does not take into account

TABLE 15

State-wise distribution of post-matric scholarships awarded to scheduled caste students

State	Percentage of scheduled caste population	Third Plan		1966-67		1967-68		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1. Andhra Pradesh	7.85	18,126	5.75	5,312	5.96	5,667	5.53	
2. Assam	1.16	8,025	2.55	2,027	2.27	2,355	2.30	
3. Bihar	10.32	16,771	5.32	4,595	5.16	6,052	5.91	
4. Gujarat	2.16	9,555	3.03	3,793	4.26	3,759	3.67	
5. Haryana	—	—	—	258	0.29	1,672	1.63	
6. Kerala	2.25	5,819	1.85	2,442	2.74	2,442	2.39	
7. Madhya Pradesh	6.72	8,971	2.85	4,018	4.51	3,780	3.69	
8. Madras	9.59	15,420	4.89	5,465	6.13	7,575	7.39	
9. Maharashtra	3.52	50,501	16.03	13,264	14.89	15,277	14.91	
10. Mysore	4.92	15,086	4.79	4,016	4.51	4,808	4.69	
11. Orissa	4.36	2,183	0.69	636	0.71	781	0.76	
12. Punjab	6.54*	20,955*	6.65*	5,302	5.95	5,176	5.05	
13. Rajasthan	5.30	3,859	1.22	1,310	1.47	1,767	1.72	
14. Uttar Pradesh	24.34	98,263	31.18	24,813	27.85	29,021	28.32	
15. West Bengal	10.97	41,607	13.20	11,855	13.30	12,351	12.05	
Total :		100.00	3,15,141	100.00	89,106	100.00	1,02,483	100.00

*Includes Haryana and Chandigarh.

the difference in cost of living in different states in towns and cities. This has often meant that the scheduled caste students from poor families have to discontinue their studies or take up some part-time job for support. It has not been possible to provide for follow-up action in regard to future placement of students or give vocational guidance. Also, since students get scholarships from the state to which they belong rather than the state where they study, inconvenience has sometimes to be faced by them. Delay in the award of scholarships is one of the major difficulties experienced by students. The scholarships are sometimes given in a lump, which leads to the money being spent for meeting other expenses. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report for 1966-67 stated that hardly 24 per cent of scholarships could be disbursed within a month from the receipt of application forms in the Directorate.³⁰

Conclusion

It is necessary to consider measures to accelerate the pace of educational development among the scheduled castes, taking into account the differential needs of castes and the level of their educational development. The Education Commission (1964-66) which considered the problems of educational development of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes felt that in so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, the existing programmes should be continued and expanded. It emphasized the importance of universal provision, universal enrolment and universal retention. It pointed out that while school facilities at primary stage exist, at the higher primary stage there is some inadequacy. It further emphasized that 'the most important programme to be implemented at the primary stage during the next ten years is to improve the quality of education and to reduce stagnation and wastage to the minimum. In fact, the task of universal education begins when children are enrolled in class I. It is completed only when they are successfully retained till they complete class VII. In this overall programme, the reduction of wastage and stagnation in class I is obviously the most important element'.³¹

At the pre-matric stage, it would be desirable to have a larger coverage of students for pre-matric scholarships/stipends, book grants, school uniforms and midday meals. At the middle and higher secondary stages the rate of expansion of hostel facilities would have to be accelerated. Special attention will be necessary to increase the enrolment and retention of girls at school. In order to reduce the incidence of drop-outs and wastage, apart from educating the community and motivating parents through increased parent-teacher contacts, it would be necessary to exercise greater care at those stages where the rate of drop-out is the maximum. Improvement of teacher-student ratio, greater regularity in the holding of classes and more individual attention to the needs of students would be essential. At the middle and higher secondary stages, coaching facilities for weaker students would be desirable while the brighter students should be chosen and special assistance given to enable them to realize their full potentialities for development. It would also be useful to extend facilities for career guidance. Greater care will have to be exercised in the selection of teachers working in villages with a large scheduled caste population and measures devised for stimulating their interest. It would also be necessary to improve school equipment, introduce greater facilities for science education, encourage students from these communities to opt for science subjects and improve the machinery of supervision of school education of backward students. In view of the general constraint of resources, it is worth considering which of the different schemes for educational development should be given priority to obtain maximum returns.

For increasing the effectiveness of measures of promoting higher education, pre-matric education needs to be strengthened so that a strong foundation is laid, hostel facilities increased, new courses included for award of post-matric scholarships, book grants given and administrative and other delays minimized. It is also worth examining at what stage some form of graded merit test is applied so that the brighter students are given greater assistance in their academic pursuits.

Acknowledgment

Thanks are due to Miss R. R. Mathur and Shri Sewa Singh for their assistance in the compilation of Census data.

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AGRICULTURE AS A CASTE PROFESSION

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(Received on 22 January 1969)

Abstract : Agriculture has been considered as an honourable profession for all the *varnas* since Rig-vedic times. Some *smritis* and *dharmasastras* have frowned upon Brahmins engaged in this occupation, but never has condemned it outright.

This attitude has given maximum scope for the tribal population to get absorbed into the Hindu fold, through continued practice of settled agriculture. This has also given greatest freedom to the upward status mobility of the castes through this profession.

This condition is primarily responsible for the absence of genuine agricultural castes in the Indo-Aryan speaking parts of India.

Presence of such castes only in Madras and Mysore, and nearly so in the adjacent areas may suggest this as a phenomenon primarily of the Dravidian-speaking area.

AGRICULTURE, we all know, was one of the factors that brought forth the neolithic revolution. It is reasonable to presume that there was no guild formation of contemporary agriculturists. In chalcolithic cultures, and, more so in the urban bronze age cultures, we certainly find certain specializations, mainly confined to the bodies of artisans. Formation of occupational guilds was primarily an urban phenomenon. Judging by the high frequency of agricultural tools in the cities, it may reasonably be inferred that such tools were manufactured mainly in the urban areas. Even then, agriculture remained an open profession. The only possible restriction, developed as a natural corollary to urbanization, made it a monopoly profession of the rural population.

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Paper read at the fifty-sixth session of The Indian Science Congress, Bombay. It is impossible to study the ancient usages without referring to the monumental work of Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane. The traditional aspects, referred to in this paper, are only technically short of *ad verbatim* transplantations from his *History of Dharmasastras*.

We know that the Purusasukta of the Rig-veda speaks of Brahmana, Rajanya, Vaisya and Sudra. These four categories are the *varnas* as different from the *jatis* or castes. Of these, in the first case *varna* and *jati* have become synonymous. For, even though the Brahmins have endogamous regional groupings and sub-groupings, the caste name has, nevertheless, remained the same. Frequent references have been made in the Rig-veda to fields, ploughshares and tilling of the soil.¹ The famous gambler's song exhorts people to engage in agriculture.² We may, therefore, justifiably presume that agriculture was an honourable profession for all the four *varnas*.

In spite of the emphasis given to agriculture as a vocation, we do not find any mention of an agricultural caste in the list of castes already formed during later Vedic³ times. In the *Sabhaparvan*,⁴ *Aranyakaparvan*⁵ and *Shantiparvan*⁶ of the *Mahabharata* and in the *Ayodhyakanda*⁷ of the *Ramayana* we see emphasis on *Varta*. *Varta* is constituted by agriculture, trade and commerce, mining and animal husbandry. Thus, in the Epics, also, we do not come across any agricultural caste, neither do we find this occupation prohibited for any caste or *varna*.

Baudhayana (500-200 B. C.)⁸ frowns upon agriculture as an occupation for Brahmins. His only argument is that agriculture destroys the study of the Vedas and the study of the Vedas destroys agriculture.⁹ He, however, does not totally prohibit agriculture as an occupation of the Brahmins, but sets down limitations in the operational time, types of cattle, and the behaviour-pattern towards the animals.¹⁰ Manu (200 B. C.-200 A. D.) describes agriculture as a *pramrita* occupation,¹¹ i. e., an occupation pre-eminent in loss of life, and prohibits it as a vocation of a Brahmin or a Kshatriya even when he is compelled to adopt the occupation of a Vaisya.¹² Harita (600-300 B. C.) says that agriculture is not a proper occupation for a Brahmin, and allows him to practise it as a means of livelihood only when he is in distress and only so long as he remains in distress and just to tide over the distress.¹³ Parasara (100-500 A. D.) also limits the conditions under which

Brahmins can take to this profession.¹⁴ Vriddha Harita (400-700 A. D.) describes agriculture as a common occupation of all *varnas* and not forbidden to any.¹⁵ Ancient law-givers are, therefore, not unanimous in determining the status of agriculture as an occupation. While in the case of Brahmins, and, in rare cases of Kshatriyas, limitations have been put forward to discourage their agricultural vocation, nowhere is there any outright condemnation of it.

Coming down to modern times, we are faced with the problem of differentiating between the castes practising agriculture and the occupational castes of agriculturists. This distinction may appear artificial to non-Indian scholars, but to Indian scholars this has a fundamental import.

The major castes associated with agriculture need a broad review. The Jats of the Punjab have almost become an agricultural caste; they are practically identified with agriculture in the region. This transition from a group of people, or a tribe, practising agriculture to a hereditary agricultural caste is not yet complete. It is still primarily a land-owning caste aspiring to be classed as Kshatriya. Historically, they are an Indo-Scythian tribe who entered the Indus Valley region some time during the first century B. C. Strabo mentioned them as Zanthi. Pliny and Ptolemy referred to them as Jatu. Todd identifies the Rajput tribes with Getae and classes Jats as one of the Rajput tribes.¹⁶

The Rajputs, everywhere in northern India, practise agriculture. Their historical vocation has been that of warriors. Scholars feel that the Rajputs are a branch of the immigrant Indo-Scythians or even of the Huns. Their claim to represent Kshatriyas has already got recognition and social acceptance.

Newari Brahmins of Nepal, Bhuinhar Brahmins of U. P. and Bihar, and some Brahmins of Orissa practise agriculture. At present these are the only Brahmins who may claim to have agriculture as their principal caste occupation.¹⁷

In eastern India, Mahisyas and their equivalents may approximate what may be termed as agricultural castes. In Midnapur district, Mahisyas are the chief land-holders and

represent the local aristocracy. In status, they are immediately below Kayasthas.¹⁸ In Assam, Bengal, and even in some parts of Orissa, a section of the Kaibartta caste, whose traditional occupation, even today, is fishing, had taken to agriculture. These were known as *Halia* or *Chasi* Kaibarttas, literally meaning Kaibarttas who have taken to agriculture. A section of this *Halia* Kaibarttas, especially in Midnapur and the adjacent districts, began to call themselves Mahisyas and, in time, claimed an identity, independent of the parent caste. The latter phenomenon was observed personally by Risley during the closing years of the last century.¹⁹

In western India, the major caste practising agriculture is known as Kunbi. Kunbis may also approximate what may be called a genuine agricultural caste. This caste is spread in the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In Gujarat they are known as Kanbis, in Madhya Pradesh as Kunbis and Kumbis, and in Maharashtra as Kunbis. Pandit Bhagwanlal thinks that North Indian nomadic tribes, whose primary occupation was cattle-breeding, moved into this region. Those who settled down assumed the name *Kunbi* or its variants, which he thinks, originated from the word *kutumbin*, meaning a householder. He thinks that this happened some time during the early historic period. He also mentions contemporary parallelism among the Vanjera herdsmen, who, having settled down during the last twenty years, have claimed to the caste name of Kunbi.²⁰ In Bihar, we have a caste called Kurmi. Risley believes that the name has been taken from Kumbi, a variant of Kunbi.

Thus, we find that in the Indo-Aryan speaking part of India there is no caste that fully satisfies the definition of a genuine agricultural caste in having agriculture as the traditional hereditary occupation and with a mythological association with this particular occupation.²¹ The nearest we come to a true agricultural caste is in western India and in the region under its influence. While the term Kumbi or Kurmi shows only terminological variation, it is reasonably certain that the name has been, in most cases, borrowed. There is no

reason to think of any connexion between the people, though a certain amount of folk movement may be essential for such borrowing.

In Madras, we get the genuine agricultural castes in the Vellalas and Pallis. Oppert considers both these names as etymologically connected. Both have connexion with water (*vellam*-water : *anmai*-management).³² With the fall of the Pallava dynasty, who were the patrons of the Pallis, the latter lost their land-holdings and became agricultural serfs of the Vellalas.³³ It is not improbable that the legends of different dynasties having originated with different members of these two castes, may, after all, have some truth in them. Their caste-name, however, temptingly draws our attention to the irrigation tanks introduced by, and associated with, the megalithic culture of the region.

In Mysore, we have another genuine agricultural caste in the Vokkaligas. *Vokku* means 'to thresh grain out of the ear stocks'. Thus, the very caste name signifies the occupation of agriculture. It is significant that the exogamous divisions of the major sub-caste, Gangadikaras, are termed *Devara Vokkalus*, literally meaning 'the farmer of Gods'.³⁴

In Andhra Pradesh, the four castes, Kammas, Kapus or Reddis, Velamas and Telegas, are the ones who practise agriculture and who are identified with the agricultural occupation. They have a general physical similarity³⁵ and seem to have branched off from a common stock at different times. Legendary stories connect them in a common ancestry.³⁶ *Kamma*, in Telugu means an ear ornament. Mythology says that they are the children of a band of five hundred warriors who sprang up from the ear ornament of the goddess Lakshmi to save the Rishis from the Rakshasas. *Kapu* means a watchman while *Reddi* means a king.³⁷ Their use of the word *Raju* as a sort of surname or a name-suffix is significant. *Vel* means bright. Telegas were also the warriors. They are supposed to have come to the Andhra region during the first century A. D. from the Ganga Valley.

From the above, we find that genuine agricultural castes are present only in Madras and Mysore. In spite of the

possibility that some members of these castes had founded royal dynasties, caste members, in general, have always claimed identity with agriculture and have claimed to belong to the agricultural castes and not to the groups of circumstantially fallen Kshatriyas. The next groups, who may very nearly be called so, are in the adjacent regions. In fact, D. R. Bhandarkar feels that the Sanskrit word *kutumbin* might have been chosen to denote a cultivator because of its close correspondence to the Dravidian word for labourer.⁸⁹ It may, therefore, not be unreasonable to presume that the phenomenon of genuine agricultural castes is a Dravidian one.

We have seen that the Vedic and Epic literatures have given freedom to the four *varnas* to practise agriculture. *Dharmasastras*, too, generally approve of that freedom, though they frown upon Brahmins engaged in agriculture. Only one school extends this frown to the Kshatriyas. It may be presumed that because of the need to have agricultural serfs, *Dasas* or Sudras were not prohibited from this occupation. This, then, remains an occupation wherein is provided a vast scope for the castes to aspire after upward status mobility. The case of the Mahisyas of Bengal is a very clear one of this process. Kshatriyas, as we understand them in the classical sense, are no more to be found in the social hierarchy. There are Rajputs, Jats and such other people. In as much as they are later immigrants they cannot represent the classical Kshatriyas. This partial vacuum extends the upward status mobility up to the level of Kshatriyas. Kunbis claiming to be Marathas and the recognition of Maratha claim to be Kshatriyas during the coronation of Shivaji, are clear instances of the process. The same principle has worked equally well with the tribal population. By settling down to agriculture for a number of years, a tribal group may easily isolate itself from its parent body, and slowly get inside the Hindu caste structure, and then get involved in the process of upward mobility. Pandit Bhagwanlal has observed this process in the Vanjera-Kunbi transition.⁹⁰ S. C. Sinha has observed this among the Bhumij of Manbhum district. In the latter instance, too, the identity sought was of

the status of Kshatriya, as evident from the name, Bhumij Kshatriya, they gave to their own caste.³¹ The size of the group that can be sustained by an occupation, probably makes agriculture, all the more, the chosen caste occupation.

In this connexion, we come accross a peculiar phenomenon. During the period, between the first century B.C. and first century A. D., large-scale migrations and folk movements seem to have taken place. The Jats, and probably some Rajputs, entered India during this time. Again, during this time, movements of people seems to have taken place from the Ganga Valley to the southern Krishna and Godavari region. The former has some confirmation in history while the latter is based, as the author understands, mainly on the legends³² and some social practices. Historians must come out with a positive confirmation or, what is equally important, an emphatic denial of such migrations and/or movements. In case of confirmation, the nature, extent, and character of these migrations and/or movements have to be clearly indicated. Archaeologists, too, should give a little more attention to this period. Otherwise this hiatus will always create problems to the study of the social history of the region.

The hiatus creates problem for palaeo-anthropology as well. These aspects, therefore, need much detailed study, more so, because the agriculturists generally represent the regional characteristics. Large-scale migrations or absorption of immigrant agriculturists, naturally, tend substantially, to change the personality of a region.

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5. *ibid.* 150.30.
6. *ibid.* 263.3
7. *Ramayana* 100,47.

8. Dates give within brackets, in this paragraph, do not indicate the life spans of the authors of *Dharmasutras* and *Samhitas*. This can easily be understood. The date-ranges given conservative estimates within which their respective life-times fall.
9. *Baudhayana Dharmasutra*, 1, 5.101.
10. *ibid.* II, 2.82-83.
11. *Manusamhita*, IV, 5.
12. *ibid.* X, 83-84. This does not mean that Manu makes agriculture a monopoly profession of the Vaisyas.
13. *Grihastharatnakara* of Chandesvara, p. 429.
14. *Parasaramriti*, II, 2-4, 7, 12-14.
15. *Vridhdha Harita*, VII, 179, 182.
16. D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, 1916, p. 100.
17. K. P. Chattopadhyay, *Ancient Indian Culture Contacts and Migrations* 1965. p. 27.
18. J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, 1968, pp. 222-223.
19. H. H. Risley, *The People of India*. 1915 ; pp. 118, 157, 164.
20. As quoted in R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 284-285.
21. These two are vital conditions for an occupational caste. It is probable that the second condition is often forgotten even by members of the caste. In that case the scholar, working on such a caste, must examine critically, whether a benefit of doubt can be given to that specific caste.
22. G. Oppert, quoted in E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, 1909, vol. 7, p. 361.
23. E. Thurston, *ibid.* vol. 6, p. 9.
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RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

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(Received on 27 October 1968)

Abstract : When traditional callings change in India under the impact of urbanization and other circumstances, they tend to be replaced by such occupations which go well with the religion, caste, traditional occupation and so forth of the people involved. This paper brings forward some evidences of religion acting as a determinant in directing occupational choice. The data from a group of Hindu and Muslims from Assam are compared with similar data from U. P.

THE factor of religion seems to be a compulsive force in selection of occupation' observed Mr. S. P. Jain on the basis of a study conducted by him in a 'predominantly agricultural North Indian community.' (*Man in India* : 47, 4). Classifying the occupations of his 81 Hindu and 155 Muslim subjects into ten occupational categories Mr. Jain observed that 'a large percentage of Hindus predominate in the occupations of skilled manual workers, agriculturists and small businessmen,' and the Muslim population 'preponderate mainly in two occupations, namely, skilled manual workers and agriculturists'. (Jain : op. cit., p. 312).

Comparing the total percentage of the two religious groups in different occupational categories (Table No. 1a), one can see that Hindus show a preference for 'lower professional and administrative jobs', 'small business' and 'highly skilled

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supervisory posts' over their Muslim counterparts ; whereas the Muslims exhibit a preferential tendency toward 'unskilled manual work' and 'agriculture'. Only in one occupation, namely, 'skilled manual work', the religious differences do not tend to produce differential preference.

These observations tempted me to enquire into the Assamese situation where Hindus and Muslims living side by side are presented with similar occupational opportunities.

The Assamese sample has been collected from two villages situated between the Gauhati University campus and the N. F. Railway headquarters residential colony. The villages are very close to each other and apparently look like two units of a single village. They, of course, are separated by the railway line running east-west at the place. The village of Sundarbari from which the Hindu sample is derived has already appeared in an earlier study which I co-authored. (Goswami, Ratha, and Nesha : 1966). Here I have utilized the same data excluding the Kumar sample. The remaining castes are traditionally, or were a generation ago, cultivators and exhibit more or less similar trends in occupational differentiation under the impact of urbanization. I excluded the Kumar caste (POTTERS), first, because their caste-craft acts as an additional determinant in directing their occupational change, hence cannot be grouped with pure agricultural castes for overall comparison. In the second place, Mr. Jain has not reported the names of the various castes and their pre-urban traditional occupations, if any. Taking a clue from his statement, 'The economy of the town is predominantly agricultural' (Jain : op. cit., p. 310), I felt safe to choose only the agricultural castes.

The Muslim sample was collected in the month of July, 1968. The name of this village is Katiadolong, populated by 156 males and 126 females belonging to 52 Muslim families. It can be mentioned here that their occupation a generation ago was purely agricultural like that of their Hindu neighbours of Sundarbari and is similarly undergoing a change leaning heavily on various types of salaried occupations. Thus the similarity in the occupation of both the communities before

changes set in has been maintained in the sample to neutralize the effect of the older calling in determining the occupational differentiation.

The sample studied here, however, includes all the present living working male population of both the communities. There are 50 Hindus and 59 Muslims.

A word must be said about the method of classification I have followed to group various occupations into different categories. This I did purely on an *ad hoc* basis keeping my data in view. Comparison would have been easier and possibly more profitable if I could have fitted my data under various categories of Mr. Jain's classification ; but he has not reported the various occupations he classified under various categories. My classification is as follows :

Occupational categories	Occupations or official designations
1. Agriculturists.	
2. Small traders.	i. Confectioner.
	ii. Grocer.
3. Skilled daily-wage earners.	i. Tailor.
	ii. Mason.
4. Unskilled daily-wage earner.	
5. Unskilled menial services.	i. Office peon.
	ii. Bus cleaner.
	iii. Bus conductor.
	iv. Unskilled employee in railway workshop (<i>Khalasi</i>).
	v. Railway fire-man.
6. Skilled services.	i. Railway driver,
	ii. Automobile driver.
	iii. Various grades of skilled workers in railway workshop, automobile repairing concerns and in lower grade jobs of railway traffic control.
7. White-collar jobs.	i. Primary school teacher.
	ii. Office clerk.
	iii. Assistant railway station master

Occupational categoriers	Occupations or official designations
	iv. Railway ticket travelling examiner.
8. Officers and highly skilled services including higher secondary school and college teachers.	i. Higher secondary school teacher.

From the observed frequencies (Table No. 1b) one can infer that the Hindus cluster around unskilled menial services and skilled jobs. The Muslims, on the other hand, show diverse occupational interests, thus spreading over their preferences for agriculture, skilled jobs, and white-collar jobs and to some extent for unskilled daily-wage earning and unskilled menial services.

A comparative look at the two communities gives the impression that the Muslims are considerably more inclined to agriculture and white-collar jobs and to some extent to small trading and unskilled daily-wage earning than the Hindus; whereas Hindus show a marked preponderance only in unskilled and skilled services over their Muslim counterparts.

This observation, when compared with the U. P. data, is in substantial agreement in inferring the Muslim preference for agriculture and unskilled daily-wage earning ('unskilled manual work'?) and the Hindu preference for skilled and supervisory positions, though at certain places the observations deviate a little from each other which may be due to different methods of classification we have followed in categorizing the occupations and may also be due to a comparatively smaller Assamese sample.

To measure this disagreement I tried to subject our data to some statistical treatment and found the response quite profitable.

(i) First the data are subjected to the most popular statistical test of significance, chi-square. The results are tabulated in Tables No. 1a and 1b. For the U. P. data, the

chi-square value has been found to be 19.32 for 9 degrees of freedom and this is significant beyond 5% level of confidence. The coefficient of contingency (C) has been found to be 0.2751 or 0.28 (correcting up to second decimal place) suggesting statistically that religion yields a moderate pressure in directing occupational choice.

For the Assam data, the chi-square value is 14.71 for 7 degrees of freedom and this is also significant beyond 5% significance level. Here C is equivalent to 0.3448 or .35 suggesting again a moderate influence of religion on the occupational undertakings.

TABLE 1a (U. P. data)¹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Occupational categories	Hindus	%	Muslim	%	Chi-square	Confidence level	C
1	7	8.6	30	19.4			
2	25	30.9	46	29.7			
3	8	9.9	6	3.9			
4	12	15.0	13	8.4			
5	10	12.3	6	3.9			
6	1	1.2	2	1.3			
7	—	—	3	1.8			
9	13	16.0	41	27.0			
10	4	4.9	5	3.2			
Total	81	100.	155	100.	19.32	Beyond 5%	0.28

TABLE 1b (Assam data)

Occupational categories	Hindus	%	Muslim	%	Chi-square	Confidence level	S C
1	6	12.0	14	23.8			
2	1	2.0	5	8.5			
3	2	4.0	2	3.4			
4	4	8.0	8	13.6			
5	17	34.0	7	11.8			
6	14	28.0	11	18.6			
7	5	10.0	12	20.3			
8	1	2.0	—	—			
Total :	50	100	59	100	14.71	Beyond 5%	0.35

(ii) The significance of difference in the two religious groups for each occupational category has also been calculated. (Tables 2a and 2b). The differences at various levels of confidence are tabulated in the tables referred to above.³ The most significant differences for the U. P. data are those in 'unskilled manual work', 'agriculture', 'intermediate professions.....etc.' and 'highly skilled and supervisory posts.' These are in the order of 1%, 3%, and 5% levels of confidence. The inference is that the Hindus show a significantly higher preference for 'highly skilled and supervisory posts'⁸ than the Muslims and the latter lean more heavily on the rest of the three occupations.

The Assam data show a very significant difference only for unskilled menial services at 1% confidence level inferring the occupation highly preferred by the Hindus. For agriculture the difference is at the 9% level of confidence indicating a Muslim preference for it. The differences in small trade, unskilled daily-wage earning and the skilled jobs are at 14%, 23% and 26% levels of confidence, showing Muslim preference for small trade, unskilled daily-wage earning and Hindu preference for skilled jobs.

Allowing for the statistical differences the U. P. and the Assam data are in substantial agreement in Muslim preference for agriculture and unskilled daily-wage earning ('unskilled manual work'), and Hindu preference for skilled services.

TABLE 2a (U. P. data)

1	2		3	4	5	6
Occupational category	Percentage of		Observed difference	Standard error of difference	Normal deviate	Confidence level in%
	Hindus	Muslims				
1	9.0	19.0	-10	4	2.50	1
2	31.0	30.0	1	6	1.20	23
3	10.0	4.0	6	4	1.50	18
4	15.0	8.0	7	5	1.40	16
5	12.0	4.0	8	4	2.00	5
6	1.0	1.0	-	1	-	-
7	0	2.0	-2	1	2.00	5
8	1.0	2.0	1	1	1.00	82
9	16.0	27.0	-11	5	2.20	3
10	5.0	3.0	2	3	0.67	5

TABLE 2b (Assam data)

1	2		3	4	5	6
1	12	24	-12	7	1.71	9
2	2	8	-6	4	1.50	14
3	4	3	1	3	0.83	-
4	8	14	-6	5	1.20	23
5	34	12	22	8	2.75	1
6	28	19	9	8	1.13	26
7	10	20	10	10	1.00	31
8	2	-	2	2	1.00	31

(iii) To measure the preferences of each religious community of both the regions under the given degrees of occupational freedom the data are subjected to the test of the normal deviate. The U. P. Hindus show a significantly higher preference for 'skilled manual work', 'small business' and 'agriculture' than for the other seven categories of occupation. Among these three, the clustering around skilled manual work is significantly higher than small business (beyond 1%) and agriculture beyond 5% level of confidence. The occupations which have least attracted the Hindus are those of 'clerks and shop-assistants', 'intermediate professions.....etc.' and 'medium business'. The Muslims also show a higher preference for skilled manual work and agriculture like their Hindu neighbours; but differ from them in their heavy leaning on unskilled manual work. This occupation outweighs the preference to the skilled manual work at 5% confidence level. Further, like their Hindu neighbours their preference for jobs like clerks and shop assistants, intermediate professions..... etc., and medium business is negligible.⁵

In Assam, unskilled menial services and skilled jobs appear in the most preferred category of the Hindu list.⁶ They seem to keep away from small trade and daily-wage earning. The Muslims have polarized more into agriculture, skilled jobs and white-collar professions.

In general these preferences, positive or negative, are significant beyond 5% level of confidence both for Assam and U. P.

The foregoing discussion leads us to regard religion as one of the determinants in guiding occupational change. This conclusion, however valid in the context of the limited areas of U. P. and Assam, should not be pressed too far. A more valid conclusion should await further studies.

NOTES

1. Mr. Jain classified the occupations of his subjects into ten occupational categories. They are : 1. Unskilled manual worker. 2. Skilled manual worker. 3. Lower professional and administrative jobs. 4. Small business. 5. Highly skilled and supervisory

posts. 6. Clerks and shop assistants. 7. Intermediate professions, salaried posts and secondary school teachers. 8. Medium business. 9. Agriculture. 10. Unclassified. The table under reference is reproduced from his work cited with columns 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 calculated and added.

2. Keeping in view the complex nature of the socio-economic phenomenon the differences up to the 50% level of confidence may be taken as valid.
3. In this category the observed frequencies are too small to press for a valid inference.
4. The percentage figures are rounded.
5. When there is equal preference for particular occupations it is assumed that there is no effect of religion on such choice. The determinants may be some other factors like education, wealth etc.
6. For the Assamese population studied, the largest source of employment is the Railway department. Most of such employees get into its different workshops as unskilled workers (*Khalasis*) and gradually push up to some moderately skilled jobs (Category 6), just as a bus cleaner or a railway fireman picks up driving and becomes a driver.

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CHANGING CLASS STRATIFICATION IN RURAL RAJASTHAN

K. L. SHARMA

(Received on 9 January 1970)

Abstract. A comparative study of six villages in Rajasthan shows that even after the abolition of zemindary and jagirdari systems¹ and introduction of Panchayati Raj and adult suffrage, rural class structure has not undergone significant change. This is mainly because of the resourcefulness of the privileged groups. In fact, the upper sections of rural society conserve the new basis of status and uphold the traditional ones simultaneously.

Introduction

THE four sets of determinants of stratification, namely, class, caste, power and cultural attributes overlapped to a great extent in the past. Those who were jagirdars, zemindars, priests and merchants were also economically well off and upper-caste people. The tenants, artisans, functionaries and landless labourers were economically backward and lower-caste people. This correspondence between class and caste does not exist today constitutionally and legally. But the reality is that the process of breakdown has not yet proceeded to the expected extent. The nature and direction of recent changes in the village community in Rajasthan have been such that the privileged classes have been able to maintain their *status quo* with new means and resources. Some significant processes, though not powerful enough to change the basic ingredients of rural class structure immediately, have, however, been initiated in the stratification system in rural Rajasthan.

Traditional Class Structure

The jagirdars and zemindars, merchants, tenant-peasants, artisans and landless labourers constituted the traditional

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class hierarchy before the abolition of the zemindary and jagirdari systems in the six villages.²

TABLE 1

Six villages : Their location, land-tenure systems and landowning and tenant castes.

Village	District	Situation	Land-tenure system	Land-owning castes	Main tenant castes
Roopgarh	Sikar	Remote	Jagirdari	Rajput	Jat and Kumhar
Sabalpura	Sikar	Suburban	Zemindary	Rajput	Jat
Bhutera	Jaipur	Remote	Jagirdari	Rajput	Jat and Ahir
Harmara	Jaipur	Suburban	Zemindary	Charan	Mali
Bawari	Bharatpur	Remote	Zemindary	Jat and Gujar	Chamar
Murwara	Bharatpur	Suburban	Zemindary	Jat and Brahmin	Chamar and Mali

Rajputs occupy the second highest rank in the caste hierarchy, Charans and Jats are ascribed upper middle-caste ranks, while Brahmins are at the top. The Jat zemindars of Bharatpur belong to a princely clan, and as such they are considered to be superior to the Jat peasants (formerly tenants) of other regions in Rajasthan. Malis are an agricultural lower intermediate caste. Chamars are one of the scheduled castes.

Rajputs, Brahmins and Jats were the major land-owning castes. The Jats were zemindars in Murwara and Bawari villages of Bharatpur, Rajputs were jagirdars in Roopgarh and Bhutera and zemindars in Sabalpura. Charans were zemindars in Harmara. Gujars and Brahmins shared, however, some land-ownership in the two villages of Bharatpur.³ All

these land-owning castes enjoyed a higher rank in their respective villages than the majority of other castes who did not own land.

The merchants were the Banias, a twice-born caste, and economically better off than even some zemindars and Brahmins. The tenant-peasants comprised a number of intermediate castes like the Jat, Gujar, Ahir and Mali etc. The lower and lower middle castes constituted the class of artisans and servants. The class of agricultural labourers was mainly formed by the scheduled castes and the poorer sections of the intermediate and lower castes.

There is a positive coincidence between class stratification and income hierarchy. The manual labourers, for example, constitute the lowest rank in class hierarchy; their income is also the lowest compared to other classes, peasants, merchants and zemindars, etc. The lower the rank of a class, the lower is its economic position. The overwhelming majority of labourers constitute the lower income group. The same applies to the tenant-peasants and the functionaries. The majority of the ex-zemindars and jagirdars and merchants are in the high- and middle-income groups.

TABLE 2

Relationship between class and income

Income groups	Class groups					Total
	Ex-zemindar and jagirdar	Merchant	Tenant-peasant	Artisan and servant	Labourer	
Lower	23 (2.9)	3 (0.4)	364 (46.4)	131 (16.7)	264 (33.6)	785 (100.0)
Middle	103 (46.8)	17 (7.7)	54 (24.5)	34 (15.3)	12 (5.5)	220 (100.0)
High	14 (15.6)	21 (23.3)	50 (55.5)	5 (5.6)	—	90 (100.0)
Total	140 (12.8)	41 (3.8)	468 (42.7)	170 (15.5)	276 (25.2)	1095 (100.0)

Power hierarchy also went with the coincidence between caste and class ranking. Individuals and groups who possessed power and influence were from among the high caste and class groups. Top-ranking officials, such as those in the jagirdar's court, were generally from among the Rajputs, Brahmins and Banias. Revenue collection assistants were taken from the intermediate castes (Jat and Kumhar). Members of the lower castes were appointed only as messengers and drum-beaters.

The tenant-peasants and the landless labourers did not have a decisive hand in the affairs of the village. Instead, they were victims of exploitation and humiliation. Forced labour or *begar* was very common. It was imposed upon them in the form of unpaid manual labour, supply of fodder, milk, food-grains and 'functional' services. The 'functional' services included the services rendered by 'functionary' castes such as Kumhar (POTTER), Luhar (BLACKSMITH), Nai (BARBER), Dhobi (WASHERMAN), Darzee (TAILOR) and Khati etc. to their patrons.

Emerging Class-structure

The four main class groups in the six villages are (1) ex-jagirdars and zemindars, (2) merchants, (3) peasants and artisans, and (4) agricultural and manual labourers. These classes constitute a hierarchy with the labourers at the bottom and the ex-landlords at the top.⁴

The ex-Jagirdars and Zemindars

The abolition of the jagirdari system has reduced the status of the jagirdars of Roopgarh and Bhutera to a great extent in terms of property, land and political power. But the two ex-jagirdars still own tractors, jeeps and camels, horses and substantial property in the form of ornaments, jewellery, houses and land etc. They are the biggest peasants in their respective villages today. The neighbouring village of Sabalpura was under Rajput zemindars. These Rajput zemindars shared the entire land of the village. But the economic position of the ex-zemindars has been considerably lowered on account of the abolition of the zemindary system.

Land reforms have come all too suddenly for them and they have not made efforts in other directions to improve their status.

The *per-capita* income of the ex-landlords before and after the abolition, however, does not show the land-holdings owned by individual families. For example, the jagirdars of Roopgarh and Bhutera were owners of the entire land in their respective villages before abolition. The jagirdar of Roopgarh owned 17,000 acres of land in the revenue unit of Roopgarh (revenue unit refers to one revenue village which is under the jurisdiction of a Patwari). He owned more than 1,00,000 acres of land in other villages. Even after the abolition, these ex-jagirdars and zemindars own several hundred acres of land. Two Jat ex-zemindars in Bawari possess more than one-fourth of the total land of the village. Rajput zemindars have suffered more in comparison with the jagirdars and Jat zemindars, as they were dependent on their big brothers (jagirdars).

The result of the abolition is that among the seven families of ex-zemindars (Rajputs) in Roopgarh and Bhutera (excluding the jagirdars) none is educated even up to the eighth standard. The lands they have retained do not yield enough to satisfy their needs and obligations. Some of these families have to depend partially upon manual labour for livelihood. Economically these families have been reduced to such a level that

TABLE 3

Land-owning castes before and after the abolition

Village	Castes of zemindars and jagirdars	<i>Per-capita</i> land-holding before abolition (in acres)	Land-holding (<i>per-capita</i>) after the abolition (in acres)
Roopgarh	Rajput	202.5	25.2
Sabalpura	Rajput	13.7	2.2
Bhutera	Rajput	153.0	13.5
Harmara	Charan	11.2	2.2
Bawari	Jat and Gujar	3.8	1.8
Murwara	Jat and Brahmin	3.0	2.1

they can hardly meet the expenses of education of their children. Their traditional standard of living has almost disappeared. Today these families are self-cultivators, i. e. they have to plough the land by themselves. This kind of work could not even be imagined for them before the abolition of the zemindary system. A large number of families of the ex-zemindars of Sabalpura possess today meagre land-holdings. They have taken up manual work and are also employed as constables and soldiers.

The condition of the ex-zemindars (Charans) of Harmara is similar. A few have been able to retain viable land-holdings. The other families are employed as teachers, clerks, factory-workers, peons, manual labourers and petty cultivators. Out of 377 men in new jobs, 173 (46%) are from among the upper castes although their percentage in the population is 18%. Moreover, the upper castes have taken up more lucrative and prestigious jobs because of their resourcefulness and superior background.⁵

The position of the Jat ex-zemindars has not gone down to the extent to which the Rajput and Charan ex-zemindars have been affected by the land reforms (see Table 3). Bharatpur had several small zemindars living in the village. They had a direct control and supervision over their respective lands. Consequently they could considerably retain their land-holdings. Thus the ex-zemindars are today big peasants and, as such, land-reforms have not been as effective in the Bharatpur villages as they have been in the jagirdari villages of Sikar and Jaipur districts. The status of these ex-zemindars has, however, gone down compared to their position in the past.

The process which explains the lowering of status of the higher class-and caste-groups in an abrupt way and from high to low can be designated as 'reduction to the proletariat class'.⁶ The effects of this process, however, are also found in other aspects of life, such as political, social and cultural. This process is essentially a result of the planned structural changes brought about through the abolition of the zemindary and jagirdari systems. The facts

analysed above corroborate this process in the case of the ex-zemindars and jagirdars. The ex-zemindars and jagirdars, however, have not been equally reduced to the proletarian level. The jagirdars have been less affected whereas the zemindars in the four villages of Sikar and Jaipur districts have been considerably affected, and again the zemindars in the Bharatpur villages have been less affected. The variations are found mainly due to differential nature of land-tenure systems before the abolition and level of awareness of the ex-zemindars.

Merchants

Traditionally the merchants are a commercial and trading class. The situation today, however, is somewhat different. A number of castes (both high and low) constitute the class of merchants. A lack of alternate sources of credit and prevalence of general economic backwardness of the people contribute in retaining the traditional character of this class. The traditional pattern of *Bohra-Dhuriya* (lender-borrower) relationship still operates in the villages studied by the author. Lending and borrowing families depend on one another for generations. But more significant are the changes which have affected the traditional character of the merchants. About one and half a dozen families in Bhutera and Sabalpura of the Jats have taken up money-lending as a supplementary source of income.

Traditionally, the Banias were supposed to take up mercantile functions, but now some families of Brahmins, Rajputs and Jats have entered the business which the Banias used to perform in the past due to either loss of their traditional callings or for other reasons. There are about 50 families of Jats, Gujars, Brahmins and Rajputs who have taken to money-lending. There are about 20 families which were forced to give up the same due to loss of their lands as a result of the abolition in particular. Similarly, some Rajput and Brahmin families have started money-lending and shop-keeping. Some of the ex-money-lenders are today grocers and petty workers. These are changes in the direction of decentralization of economic power and resources from one group of

families to another. However, the institutional network of mercantile functions still remains basically unshaken as so far no effective new institutions or agencies have replaced the old ones.

There are, however, some characteristics of this class found in tact even today: (1) those who comprise it, hold overwhelming economic power; (2) mercantile activities are today not a monopoly of the Banias as they were in the past, rather they are distributed among various high and low caste groups. Finally, (3) the merchants as a class do not wield political power. Much has been said above about the first two characteristics. About the last and third characteristic, it can be said that with some exceptions, the merchants generally spend and waste conspicuously on a display of their wealth rather than in spending in the village for useful purposes. Even 'conspicuous expenditure' is a way of 'social participation'. One significant reason for their passive orientation towards power-achievement is that their involvement may obstruct their occupational and economic interests. This is obvious on the basis of the fact that none of the well-to-do merchants is actively engaged in the race for political status and recognition, while they spend conspicuously on marriages and for maintaining higher standards of living. Recently, particularly since independence, both high and lower castes have started the same occupations. Both Jats and Brahmins are money-lenders. In Roopgarh a Kumhar (POTTER) and a Naik ('untouchable') stitch clothes along with the Darzee (TAILOR) caste. In Harmara, a Brahmin stitches clothes. Some Brahmins and Rajputs have taken up manual labour as a source of their livelihood. This is a trend towards differentiation and modernization of occupational structure.⁷ But modernization is not accessible equally to all members and groups of the society under concern. A Bhangi (SWEEPER) cannot run a grocery shop in a village in which castes superior to him live. A Chamar (LEATHER-WORKER) cannot become a priest for the clean castes. These are limitations set by our society which hinder freedom in the choice of occupations.

Some other changes are noticeable in the rural class structure, particularly due to the abolition. These changes are primarily reflected through improvement of economic position of the non-privileged ex-tenants. The formerly expropriated classes, such as tenants-at-will and agricultural labourers, have become rich peasants and taken up money-lending and employ labourers on their own farm. In some cases, education has helped them to gain a higher status and even reach the top of the rural status-pyramid.

Peasants

Despite intra-class horizontal status-distinctions among the peasants, they exhibit homogeneity in regard to their style of living and occupational interests. The abolition of zemindary and jagirdari systems has not only emancipated the peasants from the clutches of the zemindars and jagirdars, it has generated a sense of freedom and individual dignity among the former. Ownership of land has opened a way for initiative, innovation, more produce and less revenue and expression of class consciousness. As has been mentioned earlier, the abolition in particular has paved the way for the process of raising the status of a few families of ex-tenants.

The ex-tenants (Jats) are the Sarpanch and the Secretary of the Village Panchayat and the Co-operative Society in Bhutera. In Roopgarh, the ex-tenants (Jats and Kumhars) own big brick-built houses, and as they are money-lenders, they exercise a considerable influence in decision-making. The ex-tenant peasants unite at times on account of their common interests. In 1965, an ex-zemindar (Rajput) was opposed by the majority of ex-tenants (Jats, Ahirs and Malis) for the office of Sarpanch. The ex-zemindar was defeated by an ex-tenant (Jat). The latter had a landslide victory over his opponent. Similarly, in 1966, the peasants united to increase the charges for hiring the plough per day in Roopgarh and neighbouring villages. All the peasants united on this occasion irrespective of their caste and economic distinctions.

TABLE 4

*Per-capita land-holdings of ex-zemindars and jagirdars,
peasants and labourers*

Village	Ex-jagirdars and zemindars	Peasants	Manual and agricultural labourers
Harmara	2.2	0.9	0.1
Roopgarh	25.2	4.5	2.2
Bhutera	13.5	2.8	0.7
Sabalpura	2.2	2.5	0.5
Murwara	2.1	1.8	0.6
Bawari	1.8	1.6	0.4

This does not mean that all the expropriated have been uplifted. The fact is that a very few and only the big and favourite ex-tenants could be able to retain big land-holdings, the majority of the ex-tenants even today remain downtrodden and backward. This can be proved on the basis of *per-capita* land-holdings of ex-zemindars, peasants and labourers. With the exception of Sabalpura, in all the villages the ex-landowners still continue to own bigger land-holdings compared to peasants and labourers. 17.5% of the households in the six villages are landless labourers and the majority (45.2%) own less than 9 acres of un-irrigated land. Thus, economic resources are still centralized and undifferentiated in the village community.

Agricultural and Manual Labourers

Out of 1900 male workers, 392 are manual labourers, and out of the total households 17.5 per cent are landless. Thus the majority of the labourers are landless. They are in fact economically poor, socially backward and politically without influence and un-politicized. The recent reforms have not changed their low economic condition. They were still

victims of forced unpaid labour (*begar*) and cesses and taxes (*lagbags*) as in the past. Today they depend upon the *elite*, big peasants and Sahukars (*money-lenders*) for manual labour and share-cultivation in the village.

Landlessness, indebtedness and irregular and under-employment impose serious limitations even on the development of class consciousness and class unity among the landless labourers. Compared to peasants, labourers have remained a backward class not only economically but socially and politically as well.

Conclusion

Stresses and strains in the traditional rural class-structure are revealed through various processes of economic and political change. But basically the class-structure remains unaltered, as these processes have not been able to bring about large-scale changes in the position of different classes. This is because of differential capabilities of different classes for mobilization of resources for elevating status and prestige. The higher classes are more resourceful than the lower ones, and consequently the former are more advanced than the latter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Jagirdari and zamindari were two land-tenure systems. Jagirs were bigger estates than the zamindaries. Jagirs were granted to certain military commanders, ministers and courtiers, who took the revenue for their own support or that of a military force which they were bound to maintain. Thus, jagirs were under the control of assignees, grantees and sub-grantees of the former kings and chiefs. The Jagirdar was an intermediary between the tiller of the soil and the state, but practically behaved as 'owner' of the land in relation to the peasants. 'Charge' lands were zamindari lands. A person appointed to manage the tract under his influence was designated as 'land-holder' or zamindar of his territory. The duty of such a zamindar was strictly to gather revenue, and retain only his own recognized share of the total. The Jagirdar was to pay a fixed amount of tribute to the king of his state, whereas the zamindar was given a definite share of the total revenue. In Rajasthan about 60% of the total land was under the jagirdari system and the remaining 40% was under the zamindari system.

2. The findings of this paper have a direct bearing on a study conducted for a doctoral dissertation on the 'Changing Rural Stratification System : A Comparative Study of Six Villages in Rajasthan', India during 1965-66 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, September, 1968). The villages studied were from Jaipur, Sikar and Bharatpur districts of Rajasthan. Two villages from each district were selected, one suburban and the other remote. The villages selected from Sikar were Sabalpura and Roopgarh, from Jaipur were Harmara and Bhutera and from Bharatpur were Murwara and Bawari. These villages represented both jagirdari and zemindary systems along with variations in topography and means of communication etc.
3. Chaturvedi, Shrinath—*New Image of Rajasthan* (Jaipur : Govt of Rajasthan Publication, 1966).
4. See Andre Beteille—*Caste, Class and Power : Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village* (Bombay) : Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 102-104. See also B. B. Misra—*The Indian Middle Classes* (London : Hutchinson University Press, 1964) and N. K. Bose 'Caste and Class' in *Culture and Society in India* (New York : Asia Publishing House, 1967) for an analysis of caste and class relations under changing situations in India.
5. Sharma, K. L. 'Patterns of Occupational Mobility : A Study of Six Villages in Rajasthan', *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, (Vol. XXX, No. 1, April 1969), pp. 34-43.
6. Sharma, K. L. 'Stresses in Caste Stratification', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Vol. 4, No. 3, January 18, 1969), pp. 217-222. An attempt has been made to understand and analyse rural stratification system with the help of the concepts of 'proletarianization' and 'bourgeoisification' as processes of change in the rural class and caste structures.
7. Parsons, Talcott, 'Evolutionary Universals in Society', *American Sociological Review* (Vol. 29, No. 3, June 1954). See also Yogendra Singh, 'Caste and Class : Some Aspects of Continuity and Change', *Sociological Bulletin* (Vol. XVII, No. 2 September 1968), pp. 165-186. Singh refers to 'distributive justice' as an aspect of caste and modernization with reference to equitable distribution of education, professional jobs and power and authority. M. N. Srinivas, *Social Changes in Modern India* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1966). The volume provides an excellent analysis of the concepts of modernization, Sanskritization and secularization.

STRATIFICATION AND ETIQUETTE IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

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(Received on 28 April 1969)

Abstract : The author compares the stratification system in terms of the traditional caste hierarchy, and the pattern of interaction among different castes of two more or less comparable villages situated in two states of northern India, namely, Rajasthan and eastern U. P. The basic norms governing caste hierarchy and interaction among various castes are similar in both the villages in spite of the differences in caste composition.

THIS paper is based on the study of two more or less comparable villages—Asalpur in Jaipur district of Rajasthan State, and Barigaon in Gorakhpur district of eastern Uttar Pradesh—situated at a distance of about one thousand kilometres from each other. Asalpur and Barigaon are multi-caste villages and include members of high, intermediate, low and untouchable castes.

An attempt has been made here to present a comparative picture of stratification as found in the two villages, and thus to add a little in the understanding of the nature of rural society in India. The data were collected through interviews and non-participant observation in the year 1967.

Traditional Caste Hierarchy

From the point of view of traditional caste-hierarchy, the different castes in Asalpur and Barigaon may be grouped in the following order. Here an attempt has been made to arrange the castes in the two villages strictly on the empirical evidence regarding commensality.

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Caste-ranking in Asalpur and Barigaon

Asalpur	Barigaon
<i>High-rung clean castes (Brahmins)</i>	
Gaud	Mishra, Tiwari
Dadhich	Pandey
Khandelwal	Upadhyaya
Saraswat	
Pareek	
<i>Middle-rung clean castes</i>	
Baniya	Chhatri
Khati, Soni	Kayastha
	Baniya
<i>Low-rung clean castes</i>	
Goswami, Badava	Ahir, Koiri
Jat, Gujar, Kumavat, Mina	Lohar, Barhai, Kumhar
Daroga, Kumhar, Lakhera	Barai, Teli
Jogi, Nai	Nai, Bari, Kahar
	Kalwar
<i>Untouchable castes</i>	
Balai	Beldar
Raigar	Bhar
Guvaraya	Dharikar
Dhobi	
Nat	Dhobi
Bhangi	Chamar

The above table shows that Brahmins occupy the highest social rank in caste at both the places. Bhangis and Chamars belong to the lowest level in Asalpur and Barigaon respectively.

Within the high-rung clean-caste group in both the villages there is no inferiority or superiority complex in day-to-day relationship or interaction. In Asalpur, Baniya, Khati and Soni come in the middle-rung clean-caste group. But among them Baniyas occupy the rank next to Brahmins. It was not so when Rajputs resided in the village. In their period, the Baniyas were ranked after Rajputs, who were ranked next to Brahmins. Though Khatis and Sonis are more or less equal, now-a-days Khatis are trying to elevate their social position and bring it next to Brahmins by calling themselves Jhangir Brahman and wearing the sacred thread. In the middle-rung clean-caste group of Barigaon are Chhatri, Kayastha and Baniya, but they are not regarded as equal. Chhatris are considered to be superior to Kayasthas and Baniyas, and Kayasthas superior to Baniyas.

In the low-rung clean-caste group of Asalpur are Goswami, Badava, Jat, Gujar, Kumavat, Kumhar, Daroga, Mina, Lakhera, Jogi and Nai. Among them Goswamis are accorded the highest position and Nais the lowest. Though there is not much distinction, yet Badavas are considered to be superior to Jat, Gujar, Kumavat, and Mina and the latter are considered superior to Daroga, Kumhar, Lakhera, Jogi and Nai. Though Kumavat and Kumhar have the same origin, yet the social status of Kumavat is higher than that of the Kumhar because Kumavats are vegetarian whereas Kumhars are non-vegetarian. Daroga, Kumhar and Lakhera are considered to be superior to Jogi and Nai, and Jogi superior to Nai.

In the low-rung clean-caste group of Barigaon are Ahir, Koiri, Lohar, Barhai, Kumhar, Barai, Teli, Nai, Kahar, Bari and Kalwar. Though these eleven castes constitute the low-rung clean-caste group, yet they do not enjoy the same status. From the point of view of precedence, Ahir and Koiri occupy a higher status than Lohar, Barhai and Kumhar; Lohar and Barhai are regarded as superior to Kumhar Barai and Teli are regarded as inferior to Lohar, Barhai and Kumhar but

superior to Nai, Kahar and Bari. The Kalwars are considered to be lower in status than all other castes in the low-rung clean-caste group.

Among the untouchable castes of Asalpur are Balai, Raigar, Guvaraya, Dhobi, Nat and Bhangi. In Barigaon, Beldar, Bhar, Dharikar, Dhobi and Chamar belong to this group. In both the villages none of this group, except the Bhangis of Asalpur, considers itself inferior to other castes.

The Pattern of Interaction among Castes

In order to find out the pattern of interaction among various castes the study of commensal relations, *pangat* (unbroken line) relations, and mode of social intercourse may be of great help. In this section an attempt has been made to throw some light on these aspects.

Commensal relations: The commensal relations between different castes of Asalpur and Barigaon have been discussed here in terms of acceptance or non-acceptance of *kaccha* food, *pukka* food, water and hookah or *chilam* (smoking pipe). Food articles, baked, steamed or boiled in water are considered *kaccha* food. Food articles fried in *ghee* or oil are considered *pukka* food. *Kaccha* food is considered more pollutable than *pukka* food, that is why they have been treated here separately. In the following tables, we have tried to present a picture about the acceptance and non-acceptance of *kaccha* food, *pukka* food, water and hookah or *chilam* among different castes of Asalpur and Barigaon.

TABLE I

Showing inter-caste commensal relations in Asalpur

The numbers given below show the serial numbers of the castes from which *kaccha* or *pukka* food, water and *chilam* or hookah can be accepted.

S. No.	Caste	<i>Kaccha</i> food	<i>Pukka</i> food	Water	Hookah or <i>chilam</i>
<i>High-rung clean castes (Brahmins)</i>					
1.	Gaud	1-5	1-17	1-17	1-18
2.	Dadhich	1-5	1-17	1-17	1-18
3.	Khandelwal	1-5	1-17	1-17	1-18
4.	Saraswat	1-5	1-17	1-17	1-18
5.	Pareek	1-5	1-17	1-17	1-18
<i>Middle-rung clean castes</i>					
6.	Baniya	1-6	1-17	1-18	1-18
7.	Khati	1-7	1-18	1-18	1-18
8.	Soni	1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
<i>Low-rung clean castes</i>					
9.	Goswami	1-18	1-18	1-19	1-19
10.	Badava	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
11.	Jat	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
12.	Gujar	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
13.	Kumavat	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
14.	Mina	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
15.	Daroga	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
16.	Kumhar	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
17.	Lakhera	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
18.	Jogi	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
19.	Nai	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
<i>Untouchable castes</i>					
20.	Balai	1-20	1-20	1-20	1-20
21.	Raigar	1-19, 21	1-19, 21	1-19, 21	1-19, 21
22.	Guvaraya	1-19, 22	1-19, 22	1-19, 22	1-19, 22
23.	Dhobi	1-19, 23	1-19, 23	1-19, 23	1-19, 23
24.	Nat	1-20, 24	1-20, 24	1-20, 24	1-20, 24
25.	Bhangi	1-25	1-25	1-25	1-25

TABLE 2

Showing inter-castes commensal relations in Barigaon

The numbers given below show the serial numbers of the castes from which *kaccha* or *pukka* food, water and *chilam* or hookah can be accepted.

S. No.	Caste	<i>Kaccha</i> Food	<i>Pukka</i> Food	Water	Hookah or <i>chilam</i>
<i>Higher-rung clean castes (Brahmins)</i>					
1.	Mishra	1-4	1-4	1-13, 15-17	1-4
2.	Tiwari	1-4	1-4	1-13, 15-17	1-4
3.	Pandey	1-4	1-4	1-13, 15-17	1-4
4.	Upadhyaya	1-4	1-4	1-13, 15-17	1-4
<i>Middle-rung clean castes</i>					
5.	Chhatri	1-5	1-5	1-13, 15-17	1-6
6.	Kayastha	1-6	1-6	1-13, 15-17	1-7
7.	Baniya	1-7	1-7	1-17	1-17
<i>Low-rung clean castes</i>					
8.	Ahir	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
9.	Koiri	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
10.	Lohar	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
11.	Barhai	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
12.	Kumhar	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
13.	Barai	1-13	1-13	1-17	1-17
14.	Teli	1-14	1-14	1-17	1-17
15.	Nai	1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
16.	Bari	1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
17.	Kahar	1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
18.	Kalwar	1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
<i>Untouchable castes</i>					
19.	Beldar	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19
20.	Bhar	1-18, 20	1-18, 20	1-18, 20	1-18, 20
21.	Dharikar	1-18, 21	1-18, 21	1-18, 21	1-18, 21
22.	Dhobi	1-18, 22	1-18, 22	1-18, 22	1-18, 22
23.	Chamar	1-18, 23	1-18, 23	1-18, 23	1-18, 23

From the table showing commensal relations in Asalpur it is evident that Brahmins can take *kaccha* food only from Brahmins, but they can take *pukka* food and water from all the clean castes except Jogi and Nai, and *chilam* from all except Nai. It is interesting to note here that the wives of Brahmins can take even *kaccha* food from all the clean castes except Nai. The Baniyas can take *kaccha* food only from Brahmins, but they can take *pukka* food from all the clean castes except Jogi and Nai, and water and *chilam* from all the clean castes except Nai. The Sonis and Khatis can take *kaccha* food from Brahmins and Baniyas, and *pukka* food, water and *chilam* from all the clean castes except Nai. These high-rung and middle-rung clean castes can accept water from earthen vessels only from those castes which are higher in the hierarchy than themselves. Goswamis can accept *kaccha* and *pukka* food from all the clean castes except Nai, but water and *chilam* from Nai also. Badava, Jat, Gujar, Kumavat, Mina, Daroga, Kumhar, Lakhera, Jogi and Nai can accept *kaccha* food, *pukka* food, water and *chilam* from all the clean castes. Thus it appears that among clean castes, Nai occupies the lowest position in the hierarchy of Asalpur. Balais, Raigars, Guvarayas, and Dhobis can accept everything from all the clean castes, but nothing from unclean castes. The clean-caste people can provide to all the unclean castes *kaccha* and *pukka* food and water, but not *chilam*. Nats can accept everything from all clean castes, and only from Balais among unclean castes. Bhangis accept everything from all the clean and unclean castes but none offers them *chilam* or hookah.

From the table showing commensal relations in Barigaon it is clear that Brahmins can accept either *kaccha* or *pukka* food only from Brahmins and not from any other caste. They can accept water from all the clean castes except Teli and Kalwar. Unlike the Brahmins of Asalpur, the Brahmins of Barigaon consider smoking degrading; that is why it is not generally practised among them. If anyone is addicted to smoking hookah, he keeps his own and never uses that of others. Unlike the Brahmin wives of Asalpur, here the wives

of Brahmins cannot accept *kaccha* or *pukka* food from any caste except from their own group. Chhatri can accept *kaccha* and *pukka* food from Brahmins, water from all the clean castes except Teli and Kalwar, and hookah or *chilam* from Brahmins and Kayasthas only. Kayasthas can accept *kaccha* food from Brahmins and if prepared by male members from Chhatris also, *pukka* food from Brahmin, Chhatris and Baniyas, water from all the clean castes except Teli and Kalwar, and hookah or *chilam* from Brahmins and Chhatris only. Baniyas can accept *kaccha* food from Brahmins and if prepared by male members then from Chhatris and Kayasthas also, *pukka* food from Brahmins, Chhatris and Kayasthas, water and hookah from all clean castes except Kalwar.

Ahir, Koiri, Lohar, Barhai, Kumhar and Barai can accept *kaccha* food if prepared by male members of any of these castes, and the castes constituting the middle-rung clean castes. They can accept *kaccha* food from Brahmins, whether it is prepared by male or female members. As regards the *pukka* food, they can accept from all the above mentioned castes irrespective of whether it has been prepared by male or female members. They can accept water and hookah or *chilam* from all the clean castes except Kalwar. Telis can accept *kaccha* food prepared by male members of all the clean castes except Nai, Bari, Kahar and Kalwar. From a Brahmin's house, they can accept *kaccha* food even if it is prepared by female members. They can accept *pukka* food from all the clean castes except Nai, Bari, Kahar and Kalwar. Water and hookah or *chilam* can be accepted by them from all the clean castes except the Kalwar. Nai, Bari, Kahar and Kalwar can accept *kaccha* and *pukka* food, water and *chilam* or hookah (if provided) by all the clean castes. Among the unclean castes every one can accept *kaccha* or *pukka* food, water and *chilam* (if provided) from all the clean castes but not from unclean castes except their own.

Thus it is apparent from the study that in both the villages, commensal relations among the low-rung clean castes are more homogeneous, whereas they are more heterogeneous among the untouchable castes. A comparison between commensal relations in Asalpur and Barigaon shows that the similarity in

respect of commensal relations among the untouchable castes of both the villages is greater than that among the high-rung clean castes. The middle and low-rung clean castes are more or less on an equal footing.

Pangat relations (sitting in an unbroken line while taking meals) : *Pangat* relations may be seen among different castes from the point of view of *kaccha* and *pukka* food. While taking *kaccha* food, the high-rung clean-caste people of both the villages sit in the *pangat* of their own group only. In Asalpur, the members of this group while taking *pukka* food sit in the *pangat* of all the clean castes except Nai, but in Barigaon, they confine themselves only to their own group.

In the middle-rung clean-caste group of both the places people generally confine themselves only to their own caste *pangat* while taking *kaccha* food. The same restriction applies to the members of this group in Barigaon while taking *pukka* food also, but the practice does not apply to Asalpur, because there they sit in the *pangat* of all the clean castes.

In the low-rung clean-caste group, the members in Asalpur while taking *pukka* food sit in the *pangat* of all the clean castes irrespective of their position in the hierarchy, but while taking *kaccha* food they confine themselves to the *pangat*, not only of their own castes, but of their own group. The low-rung clean-caste people, in Barigaon, while taking *kaccha* food sit in the *pangat* of their own caste, but while taking *pukka* food, in the *pangat* of their own group. The members of untouchable castes of both the places sit in the *pangat* of their own caste irrespective of *kaccha* and *pukka* food.

Social intercourse : Taking into consideration the four-fold division of caste hierarchy in both the villages, the relative hierarchy in both the regions is placed in descending order. The members of the high-rung clean castes are considered superior to the members of all other divisions. The members of the middle-rung clean castes are considered superior to the members of low-rung clean castes and untouchable castes. The members of untouchable castes are considered inferior to the members of low-rung clean castes. Generally, the members of

each group show respect to the members of superior groups irrespective of their being guest or host. The members of inferior groups greet the members of superior groups, and they in response acknowledge it. In seating arrangements also, the members of superior groups generally occupy (or are given) high places in comparison with the members of inferior groups. If the members of two groups sit together on a cot, the member belonging to a superior group sits on (or is offered) the upper end of the cot (*sirhana*) and the member belonging to an inferior group sits on (or is offered) the lower end of the cot (*paitana*). Within the low-rung clean-caste group and untouchable caste group there are no such norms of greeting or sitting ; any one may greet first and may occupy *sirhana* or *paitana* of a cot (*charpai*), and high or low place for sitting.

Caste-hierarchy in Asalpur can also be observed at a glance by visiting the village well where men and women belonging to various castes come to draw water. Though all may dip their buckets together into the well, yet while drawing the buckets out of the well caste-hierarchy is kept in consideration. The members of inferior castes are not allowed to draw their buckets prior to the members of the superior castes. If both are drawing together, the inferior caste person will always hold his/her bucket below the bucket of his/her superior caste. If a man of inferior caste is drawing water out of the well, a member of the superior caste will neither drop his/her bucket into the well nor draw it out of the water till the person inferior to his/her caste completely draws out his/her bucket. If these restrictions are not observed, the bucket of the superior caste and the water therein is believed to be polluted.

Findings

Though there are obvious differences in the caste composition of the two villages under study, the basic norms governing the hierarchy and interaction among various castes are the same. In Asalpur we have the Jat, Gujar, Mina, and Badava etc. which are not found in eastern U. P. Similarly in Barigaon Koiri, Barai, Kahar, Bari, Bhar, etc are found but

they are not found in the region of our study in Rajasthan. However, the existence of specific castes does not affect the nature of caste structure significantly.

Among the caste categories, such as the high, middle, and low-rung clean castes and untouchable castes, which are found in both the regions, there are considerable similarities in ranking and function. More or less similar patterns of commensal relations, *pangat* relations and social intercourse among the members of various castes are found in both the regions. But some remarkable differences between the two regions have also been noted. For instance, while the Brahmins of Barigaon do not accept *kaccha* food from the houses of other castes, some Brahmin families in Asalpur receive unleavened bread or *chapati* every morning as a part of customary alms-giving. Thus there may appear to be a good deal of difference between the commensal norms of the Brahmins of the two places. However, what is remarkable is the fact that even in Asalpur the principle that Brahmins should not accept *kaccha* food from anybody else's house exists as an ideal. Even among the Brahmin families which get daily alms in the form unleavened bread (*roti* or *chapati*), only women and children who have not undergone the sacred-thread-wearing ceremony eat this bread. They get their own bread cooked at home. It is also apparent that in both the regions commensal relations among the low-rung clean castes are more homogeneous, whereas they are more heterogeneous among the untouchable castes. The study also shows that the similarity in respect of commensal and *pangat* relations and social intercourse among the untouchable castes of both the regions is greater than that of the high-rung clean castes. The middle and low-rung clean castes of both the regions are more or less on an equal footing.

CASTE-SECT DICHOTOMY IN TELANGANA VILLAGES

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(Received on 1 August 1969)

Abstract. A noteworthy feature of the caste system in Telangana region is that castes in general are split up into two distinctive sectarian divisions, namely, Saivites and Vaishnavites. These divisions are not merely distinct sectarian groupings, they also have contrasting modes of ritual life. Saivism and Vaishnavism have for centuries governed the ceremonial and ritual conduct of people irrespective of their status in the caste hierarchy.

The present paper attempts to describe the caste-sect dichotomy as it prevails in this part of rural India.

THIS paper partly embodies the findings of a field-study made of caste and kinship organization into 11 villages of Telangana. A part of the wider culture-area of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana region comprises 9 out of 20 districts of the state and has a population of about 15 millions.

One of the characteristic features of *kulam* (Telugu word for an endogamous unit of caste or sub-caste) in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh is its association with *matam* or polarized 'we-groups' professing Saivite and Vaishnavite faiths. The universal division of a *kulam* into Saivite and Vaishnavite *matams* is rooted in the historical schism between the two great sects of Hindu religion. Each of these divisions is characterized by a rigid adherence to its distinctive norms and practices.

Except the Brahmins, among whom the Saivites and Vaishnavites are designated as Aradhya and Sri Vaishnava

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respectively, in all other castes these divisions are commonly known as Vibhutidharis (worshippers of Siva) and Tirmanidharis (devotees of Vishnu).¹ The Vibhutidharis are so called because they wear horizontal marks of *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) on their forehead. The Tirmanidharis derive their designation from the fact that their traditional sectarian markings are three vertical streaks of sandal paste (or red and white paint, the side lines being white and the middle line red) running from the root of the nose to the root of the hair. In actual practice, however, the Tirmanidharis mostly mark their foreheads with just one vertical streak called *namam*. Hence they are also designated as Namdharis.

In the course of his investigation, the author found no caste or sub-caste which was formed of only one sect.² In the 11 villages studied, the author recorded a total of 30 castes which were split up into Saivite and Vaishnavite divisions. Besides the Brahmins, these castes are Komati (Vaishyas), Kapu (agriculturists), Golla (shepherds), Velama (agriculturists), Munnur Kapu (traders and cultivators) Banjari (grain merchants and cattle-dealers), Mutracha (agriculturists), Sale (weavers), Kummari (potters), Gandla (oil-pressers), Ausula (goldsmiths), Kase (sculptors), Kanchara (brass-smiths), Kammara (blacksmiths), Wadla (carpenters), Gaondla (toddy-tappers), Uppari (masous), Meru (tailors), Besta (fishermen), Bukka (cosmetic-makers), Kurma (goatherds), Medara (bamboo-workers), Perike (jute-workers), Waddar (stone-workers), Bogam (dancers and singers), Sakali (washermen), Mangali (barbers), Mala (untouchable village menials), and Madiga (untouchable scavengers and cobblers).

As in the case of caste, so in the case of sect, the *illu* (Telugu word for family or household) forms the nucleus. As such, each sect represents a complex of numerous *illus* belonging to different *vamshams* (lineages) and *gotrams* (clans) within any caste (or sub-caste) which are bound together by bonds of common sectarian norms and practices.

As already stated, the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis, are distinguished by separate norms and practices. The differentiation between the two sects is not merely expressed

in the daily ritual observances ; it also comes into prominence during the ceremonies associated with the great crises of life. In all ritual and ceremonial matters, the Vibhutidharis acknowledge Aradhya Brahmins as their priests, whereas Sri Vaishnava Brahmins act as priests of the Tirmanidharis. In addition to these higher priests, there are lesser priests also who officiate in specific rituals. These are the Jangam and Satani Iyyavar. The Jangams are a priestly caste of Saivite faith who are strictly vegetarian and teetotallers. Although the Jangams are ranked next to Brahmins in the caste hierarchy, they do not accept food from the hands of the latter. They worship only Siva and wear the *lingam* (phallic symbol) on their bodies. The Satani Iyyavars are a priestly caste of Vaishnava faith who claim to have descended from those Brahmin disciples of Ramanujacharya (12th century A. D.) who were degraded from the sacred order and deprived of their sacred thread for violating a social norm. The Satani Iyyavars are a non-vegetarian and non-teetotaller priestly group. They eat mutton, fowl, and fish and drink fermented and spirituous liquors.

The Jangams officiate as priests at the funeral ceremonies of the Vibhutidharis. They receive a customary share of ritual gifts at the *sraddha* ceremony (offering of ritual oblation to the manes) of the Vibhutidharis usually consisting of rice, salt, pulses, five kinds of vegetables, including pumpkin and green tamarind, and some money. The actual ceremony, however, is conducted by a Brahmin priest (mostly Aradhya).

The Satani Iyyavars conduct the funerary and *sraddha* ceremonies of the Tirmanidharis. They act as lesser priests to the Vaishnavites of all castes except the Komatis. The Komatis who are strict vegetarians and teetotallers consider the Satani Iyyavars ritually unfit to be their spiritual guides because of their ritually less pure food-and-drink habits. The Jangams, who are strict vegetarians and teetotallers themselves, however, are accepted as lesser priests by the Vibhutidhari Komatis.

Marriage ceremonies of both the sects are generally conducted by Brahmin priests, the Vibhutidharis employing

the Aradhya priests and the Tirmanidharis engaging the Sri Vaishnava priests. This, however, is not a prescription but only a preference, expressed by a family for a priest of its own sect whenever it is in a position to exercise such a choice.

It may be pointed out that the Brahmins, Jangams and Satani Iyyavars do not minister to the ritual needs of two distinctive categories of castes, i.e. ritually unclean and untouchable castes and Panch Brahma. These three orders of priests do not officiate at the rituals of the lowest castes because they are ritually too impure to be served by them. As a result, these castes have created their own priests. For example, Mala Jangam and Mala Dasari are priests of the untouchable Malas, the former serving the Malas who are Vibhutidharis and the latter officiating at the ceremonies of the Tirmanidharis among them. Similarly, the Madigas who constitute the lowest untouchable caste have their own priests, namely, the Madiga Jangam and the Madiga Dasari. The Madigas who are Vibhutidharis employ the Madiga Jangam to conduct their rituals whereas those who are Tirmanidharis require the services of the Madiga Dasari.

By contrast, the reason why the Brahmins, Jangams and Satani Iyyavars do not serve the Panch Brahma as priests is entirely different. Panch Brahma is the designation given to an exclusive group comprising five artisan castes, namely, goldsmith, blacksmith, brass-smiths, sculptor and carpenter. The Panch Brahma, who take pride in calling themselves Viswa Brahmins, claim that they are superior even to Brahmins in origin, and consequently do not recognize the sacerdotal authority of Brahmins, Jangams and Satani Iyyavars. Nevertheless, like all other castes, the Panch Brahma are divided into Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis and employ their own caste-and sect-priests to conduct their rituals and ceremonies.

As observed earlier, the sect is essentially a ritual grouping based on allegiance to an exclusive set of norms and practices. Naturally, the differences between the two sects express themselves in terms of their characteristic ways of doing things. The more significant among these may be examined

here. It is already been mentioned that the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis (males) put on characteristic sectarian markings on their forehead. This distinction is noticeable also among women. It is characteristic of women who are Vibhutidharis to put on round *bottu* (auspicious marking made with coloured powder, which symbolizes the married state) on their foreheads, whereas Tirmanidhari women follow the convention of putting on an oblong *bottu* on their foreheads. Likewise, the traditional threshold markings are different in the two sects. While it is customary for the devotees of Siva to put round markings (of coloured powder or paint) on the thresholds of their house, the worshippers of Vishnu decorate them with oblong markings.

Yet another important distinction between the two sects is with regard to *puste* or *mangal sutram* (a medallion-like ornament of gold attached to a string of black beads worn by women round their necks as an auspicious sign of the married state). The distinction between the designs of the two is so well established that goldsmiths all over the region know what type to make for which sect.

Until a few decades ago, the members of the two sects, by and large, followed two distinctive patterns in naming their children. The Vibhutidharis mostly named their children after Siva and his consort Parvati, making use of their numerous designations. In contrast to this, the Tirmanidharis named their children largely after Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, choosing from among the innumerable designations of their various incarnations. Even to this day, Aradhya Brahmins and Jangams scrupulously avoid all designations of Vishnu and Lakshmi, whereas Sri Vaishnavas and Satani Iyyavars shun those of Siva and Parvati.

With a view to studying the extent of inter-generational change in the pattern of naming children after the sect diety, names pertaining to three generations (Ego's generation, Ego's father's generation and Ego's children's generation) of 128 families were analysed. Of these, 4 belonged to the Jangams and 4 to the Satani Iyyavars. The remaining 120 families encompassed a total of 30 castes including Brahmins. As

regards these castes, 2 families were taken from either sect and in all 4 families from each caste. The findings of this study may be briefly summarized as follows. Among Aradhya Brahmins and Jangams, on the average, 90% names in the Ego's father's generation, 85.71% in the Ego's generation, and 66.66% in the Ego's children's generation were found to be after the various designations of Siva and Parvati. The rest of the names in all the three generations in question belonged to mythological personages, sacred rivers, celestial bodies and non-religious themes. Not a single name was recorded which belonged to Vishnu and Lakshmi. Among the Sri Vaishnavas and Satani Iyyavars, on the average, 92.85% names in the Ego's father's generation, 81.25% in the Ego's generation, and 64.28% in the Ego's children's generation were found to be after various designations of Vishnu and Lakshmi. The rest of the names in all the three generations in question belonged to mythological personages, sacred rivers, celestial bodies and non-religious themes. Not a single name occurred pertaining to Siva and Parvati.

Among the Besta, Gaondla, Bukka, Meru, Uppari, Sale, Munnur Kapu, Mutracha, Golla, Kurma, Perike, Waddar, Bogam, Medara, Sakali, Mangali, Mala and Madiga (of both sects), on the whole, between 40% and 50% names in the Ego's father's generation, between 30% and 40% in the Ego's generation, and between 25% and 33.33% in the Ego's children's generation pertained to their sect deity. Varying proportions of the rest of the names were found to be after mythological personages, celestial bodies, sacred rivers, animistic and local deities, and non-religious themes.

Among the Komati, Kapu, Velama, Kummari, Gaudla, Vanjari, Ausula, Kammara, Kanchara, Wadla and Kase (of both sects), on the whole, between 50% and 66.66% names in the Ego's father's generation between 33.33% and 50% in the Ego's generation and between 20% and 30% in the Ego's children's generation were after their sect deity. Varying proportions of the remaining names were found to be after mythological personages, celestial bodies, sacred rivers, animistic and local deities, and non-religious themes. As none

of the castes other than Brahmins, Jangams and Satani Iyyavars hold the name of the rival sect's deity as taboo, families belonging to both the sects in all these castes were found to name their children after the rival sect's deity.

From the above analysis, it is evident that the practice of naming children after the sect's deity is on the decline among all castes. The reason is perhaps the increasing popularity of non-religious and new-fashioned names (such as Bharati, Veena, Neela, Jyoti, Jyotsna, Prabha. Pushpa, Nirmala, Shobha, Rajkumari and Snehlata for girls and Subhash, Anil, Prakash, Prabhat, Vijay, Pratap, Prem Kumar, Raj Kumar, Jai Pal, Vasant, Sunder and Nandan for boys) in the place of conventional and stereotyped names. However, it is important to note that the inter-generational change in the pattern of naming children after the sect's deity does not indicate any basic change in the structure of the sect as a ritual group.

The distinction between the ritual practices of the two sects is also evident in their customary practices regarding disposal of the dead, the Vibhutidharis ceremonially burying their dead and the Tirmanidharis cremating them. Again, it is characteristic of all Vibhutidharis of the Sudra *varna*, as well as those of untouchable castes, not to make offerings of non-vegetarian food and alcoholic beverage to their manes on the occasion of the *sraddha* ceremony, though they are non-vegetarian and non-teetotaler by tradition. Such a practice is diametrically opposed to that of the Tirmanidharis of Sudra *varna* and untouchable castes. Non-vegetarian food and intoxicating drinks form an integral part of the ritual offerings made by them in the name of their deceased ancestors. It is worth noting in this connexion that mythological tradition regards Siva as Jangam and Vishnu as Kshatriya and consequently attributes qualities associated with vegetarian food to the former and non-vegetarian to the latter.

In this context, it is necessary to point out that, with the exception of the Brahmins, inter-dining and inter-marriage is not forbidden between the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis of any caste, although people generally prefer marital

alliances with families of their own sect. The fact that sects among the Brahmins have crystallized into water-tight compartments and assumed the form of in-marring units reflects upon the extreme rigidity and dogmatism with which members of the highest caste have adhered to their creed through the ages.³

Membership of the sect, like that of the caste, is acquired by birth. But marriage and adoption too are traditionally recognized modes of recruitment to a sect. As inter-marriages are not forbidden between the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis of any caste, very often a girl is married into a family belonging to a different sect. An analysis of 192 marriages was made in order to find out the extent of cross-sect or inter-sect alliances in different generations. These marriages encompassed a total of 116 families (2 families from either sect and in all 4 families from each caste) and 29 castes among whom inter-marriages are not forbidden between the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis. Of these, 64 marriages pertained to the Ego's father's generation, 67 to the Ego's generation and 61 to the Ego's children's generation. The analysis indicates that 56.25% marriages in the Ego's father's generation, 58.20% in the Ego's generation and 60.65% in the Ego's children's generation were cross-sect or inter-sect alliances.

The remarkable fact about the sect as it prevails in Telangana villages is that there are no regulative and control functions attached to it. Unlike the caste, the sect does not manifest its authority through local and regional organizations. In his investigation, the author found no caste which had panchayats exclusively for the Vibhutidharis or Tirmanidharis. Each caste has common panchayats for the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis, thus cutting across the boundaries of sectarian divisions. True, the continuity and survival of the sect as a grouping vitally depends upon the conformity of the behaviour of its members to the standards of its creed, but the sect itself does not embody any concrete and explicit instrument of regulative authority and control. All the important activities concerning adherence to the customary practices and perpetua-

tion of the distinctive creedal formulae of a sect are centered in the family and larger kin-group or lineage.

Although the sect is a ritual grouping, sectarian loyalty does not conflict with the demands of *dharmam* or religious community. The demands of religious community and those of a sectarian group are complementary, not competitive. Sect and religious community are inalienable from one another in the sense that the former is an outgrowth of the latter. The sect as a sub-group possesses many of the characteristics of religious community, but on a smaller scale and with less extensive and integrated common interests and activities.

As part of larger identity groups, namely caste and religious groupings, the sect functions as an identity group in its own right. It confers a specific ritual identity on its members who have a vested interest in maintaining the distinctive ritual patterns that assure the persistence of their collective ritual identity.

NOTES

1. The internal organization of the *kulam* among the Brahmins in somewhat complex. The Brahmins of Telangana are divided into three major sections—Aradhya, Sri Vaishnava, and Smarta. The Aradhya worship only god Siva and express their devotion to him by wearing a phallic symbol (*lingam*) about their necks. The Sri Vaishnava worship only Vishnu and his incarnations. Until a few decades ago, the Sri Vaishnava were so bigoted in their devotion to Vishnu that they could not bear even the mention of the name of Siva. The Smartas who are further subdivided into Vaidikis and Niyogis are followers of Sankaracharya, the founder of Advaitism or absolute monism. The Smartas are not partial to the worship of any particular god.

All the three sections are endogamous in character and inter-marriage is forbidden between them.

2. This statement excludes the Jangams and Satani Iyyavars who act as subsidiary priests to the Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis respectively.
3. What applies to the Brahmins also holds good for the Jangams and Satani Iyyavars who as sectarian priestly groups have remained exclusive through the ages.

SOME GOND MARRIAGES

K. S. YADAV

(Received on 12 March 1969)

Abstract : Among the Gonds, the wife is regarded an economic asset in the family, as agriculture is mainly dependent on her. Gonds prefer monogamy, but may have another wife in certain circumstances. The custom of cross-cousin mating is also common. The geographical proximity latitude of Gonds also play a deciding role in the marital alliances. Gonds usually practise adult marriages which are performed in many ways including exchange, capture, intrusion, elopement, etc. Bride-price is necessarily paid in marriages, which is very expensive and, therefore, many families become indebted.

Introduction

THE Gonds comprise 47.12 per cent in the tribal population (6, 678, 410) of Madhya Pradesh. The Gond tribe includes about 42 sub-tribes living in several districts of the state, but for the present analysis, the marriages of Gonds of Chhindwara district were studied. Data were collected from two Gond villages, namely, Dhusawani and Mohpani-Malguzari, and in all 293 marriages were examined.

Gonds believe that a person's soul neither goes to heaven nor rests in peace if he has not married a virgin. The woman is regarded as a positive asset in the family due to her capacity to co-operate in the economic activities of her husband. As the agricultural activities are mainly dependent on the co-operation of the wife, who works better than hired servants, the economic aspect of marriage dominates over the religious

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one in practical life. Therefore, those who do not find virgins in time marry widows or divorced women. Among married males, 83 or 28.33 per cent did not find virgins at the right time and they married divorced and widow women as their *Kartah*—wife under a separate rite called *Haldi-pani*. These males continued to be regarded as 'bachelors' till they were married again to virgins to satisfy the religious belief. Since polygyny is not banned, both the wives can stay together for whole life but usually one of them, particularly the *Kartah*, goes away after a very short time.

Monogamy and Polygyny

Although, polygyny is freely allowed in the tribe and a Gond male may have as many wives as he can maintain—just as a sign of his wealth and dignity or as hands for cultivation—yet Gonds consider monogamy as ideal, and have one wife except in certain circumstances. Such as, out of 293 males, 22 or 7.51 per cent had two wives and 13 of them had married a second time because the first had no issue, 4 had to keep the widow of their elder brother under the custom of levirate, and 5 had to maintain their *Kartah* wife who decided to stay along with the first wedded wife.

Selection of Mates

For marital alliances the Gonds observe tribal endogamy, but within the tribe they practise *Samdhan* (moiety)—exogamy. The clans worshipping six gods constitute one *Samdhan*-group and have to marry from the clans of another *Samdhan* worshipping seven gods, and *vice versa*. A *Samdhan* group or a group of clans worshipping the same number of gods is called *Bkai-band* organization, and its members look upon themselves as brothers and sisters; therefore, marriage between them is taboo. If such a union takes place, it is deemed as an incest by the community.

Cross-Cousin Marriage

Among the Gonds, cross-cousin marriage is common. The custom has strong socio-religious force behind it in the

community, and it operates both bilaterally as well as symmetrically. Thus, a Gond must marry either his MoBrDa or his FaSiDa. Although, the perpetuation of the custom is made obligatory for both the cross-cousin families, yet the MoBr must adhere to it and he should give his daughter to his SiSo. Practically, a man for the very beginning begins to assert his claim over MoBrDa as his potential wife. Therefore, Gonds marry other girls only when none of the cross-cousins is present. Among 210 males married to virgins, 173 or 82.38 per cent married their cross-cousins, including 127 or 60.48 per cent with MoBrDa and 46 or 21.90 per cent with their FaSiDa.

The custom of cross-cousin mating has several socio-economic advantages, but strict adherence to it restricts the marriage alliances to the same families for generations and it also sets aside all other considerations of selection, such as, social and economic background of bride's family, her age and character, her capabilities for work and adjustment in the family. Consequently, the custom results in many unhappy unions, cases of capture, intrusion and elopement, and frequent divorces in the community.

Propinquity in Mate Selection

Village or territorial exogamy is not a rule in the tribe, marriage alliances of Gonds reveal a significant manifestation of narrow geographical distance. The analysis of 315 marriages from Dhusawani and Mohpani-Malguzari villages showed that 43 per cent of them took place within the village and 57 per cent outside, including 31 per cent in contiguous villages within less than 5 miles, 18 per cent at 5—10 miles, and 8 per cent at 10—20 miles of distance.

Moreover, Gonds preferably marry within the village, and, if they are required to go outside, they select spouses from the villages at shorter distance that can easily be covered both ways in a day. While selecting such villages, they give more stress over the villages having common market centres with them so that they can meet their affinal kins every week on market-days. In the case of our present villages, it was found that 80 to 90 per cent, among the marriages contracted outside

the village, were concentrated in the villages near the Tamia and Delakhari market-centres in case of Dhusawani, and Ramakona and Umeranala markets in case of Mohpani-Malguzari village. Such a geographical proximity latitude of Gonds based on weekly market centres enables them to find out mates easily, provides them full knowledge about family background of each other, facilitates frequent visits and meetings with the affinal kins and extends more chances of mutual aids between the families.

Age at Marriage

Normally the Gonds think that the ideal age of marriage for boys is 20-24 years and for girls 17-19 years, when they (boys and girls) become physically capable to earn their livelihood by themselves. An analysis of 210 first marriages also revealed a significant conformity of actual age at marriage with that considered ideal.

TABLE 1

Age at the first marriage of males and females

Age at first marriage (years)	Males	Females
Below 13	2	6
13-16	7	8
17-20	32	167
21-24	126	26
25-30	34	3
31-36	9	—

TABLE 2

Age at first marriage and present age of the spouses

Age at marriage (years)	Present age of the spouses							
	Below 14		15-24		25-34		35-above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below 13	1	2	-	1	1	2	-	1
13-16	-	-	1	2	2	5	4	1
17-20	-	-	7	31	11	62	14	74
21-24	-	-	18	4	51	9	57	13
25-30	-	-	-	-	13	-	21	3
31-36	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
Total	1	2	26	38	78	78	105	92

TABLE 3

Age at first marriage and the ways of marriage

Age at marriage (years)	The ways of marriage											
	Settlement		Serving for wife		Exchange		Intrusion		Capture		Elopement	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below 13	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13-16	7	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17-20	29	111	-	13	-	15	3	9	-	11	-	8
21-24	89	4	14	17	12	-	5	2	4	2	2	1
25-30	4	2	12	1	2	-	3	-	7	-	6	-
31-36	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Total	131	131	31	31	15	15	11	11	13	13	9	9

It is clear from the tables that the maximum number of males, *i.e.* 66.15 percent, were married at the age of 21—24 and that of 79.09 percent females at the age of 17—20 years. Most of the males and females married at these ages are now above 25. The males and females who married prior or after the above age-sets suffered from some specific reasons. Thus, 9 males and 14 females, married at below 16 years, were contracted with their inter-kins who were above 21 (females) and 25 (males), just to obey the custom of cross-cousin mating by their parents. Contrary to this, the marriages of 13 males and 11 females were performed late, as the parents on either side were not willing to perform the cross-cousin marriage, and on failure of long negotiation, the interested parents of the boys captured the bride from lonely places, like fields or forests, and the parents of the girls asked their daughters to enter into the house of their prospective cross-cousin husbands as wives. Again in case of another 7 males, out of 9 who married by elopement, whose parents were waiting or giving them in marriage to their MoBrDa, who were still minor, were married after 25 when they eloped with the girls of their own choice to avoid unsuitable cross-cousin unions. Besides, marriage by way of serving for the wife had been responsible to delay marriage of 17 males and 18 females, as their marriages were performed after the completion of the service period, which ranged from 5 to 9 years.

Thus, the analysis of age at first marriage gives some important glimpses. Gonds predominantly marry their boys at 21—24 and girls at 17—20 which they also consider as an ideal age for marriage and, if they deviate from this age, it is mainly due to the custom of cross-cousin mating and securing a bride after a period of service. The custom of cross-cousin marriage also causes greater age disparity among the spouses, particularly when one spouse is minor (below 16) and the other is major (above 25). These unions do not generally endure as the girls stay with their parents, according to the practice of the tribe, till they or their husbands attain maturity. But these girls hardly join their husbands again and marry others, in one way or another, as there is ample freedom in the tribe to do so.

Ways of Marriage

An analysis of 210 marriages which took place between unmarried boys and girls, indicated that the Gonds marry in many ways, 131 or 62.38 percent of them were arranged by the families in question, 31 or 14.76 per cent by serving for a wife, 15 or 7.14 per cent by exchange, 13 or 6.19 per cent by capture of the bride, 11 or 5.24 per cent by intrusion and 9 or 4.28 per cent by elopement. Among all, marriages by proper settlement, called *Vivah* is most common in the community and it is performed with due consent of parents on both sides. This kind of marriages are ceremonized through the prescribed rites in a cordial atmosphere and are participated and admired by all.

Gonds resort to other ways of marriage only under desperate conditions. Such as, among 31 marriages by serving for the wife, in 17 cases the boys' parents were unable to pay the bride-price and therefore sent their sons to serve in lieu of the payment ; in 9 cases the girls' parents were short of hands for cultivation, therefore, instead of taking the bride-price they preferred the services of sons-in-law ; and in 5 cases the girls' parents required sons-in-law for whole life as they had no male issue to take care of them in old age, as well as to inherit the property later on. However, the husband serving for the wife in his prospective parents-in-law's family is called *Lamsena* and so is his marriage also called. He stays in his parent-in-law's family where he is required to work like hired bullocks till the completion of service that may go up to 9 years. His marriage is usually performed at the end of the service period, and if he discontinues his services before that, he is neither given the girl for marriage nor any compensation for the services. But if his services are terminated by the girl's parents, he is paid at the current rate of annual agricultural labour for the period covered by him. Moreover, the *Lamsena* is not allowed to develop intimacy with his prospective wife, and should not even talk to her. He should also not accept things from her and should not work alone with her in the fields or elsewhere.

As regards marriage by exchange, the 15 concerned males, in the absence of cross-cousin virgins, did not find suitable girls in the community. Then they contracted marriage in exchange of their sisters who became the wives of their wives' brothers. In these cases, both the marriages were ceremonized simultaneously on the same date. There is however a condition in such marriages according to which if one withdraws his sister, the other also reciprocates in the same manner.

The spouses married by way of capture and intrusion were inter-kins, and they resorted to these ways when parents on either side failed to conform to the established custom, and the community people also did not interfere, as these were the matrilateral cross-cousin unions. In the 13 cases, the parents of the girls were unwilling to give their daughters in marriage, while the parents of the boys were determined to have them. The girls were captured by force from lonely places and then married. In 11 cases the parents of the boys were unwilling, but the other parties were bent upon the customary union. On failure of their efforts, they asked their daughters to walk into the houses of their cross-cousin mates with the intention of marriage according to custom. In both circumstances, the girls stayed in the families of their cross-cousins till the persuasion made by the community elders forced the reluctant parents to accept the customary union.

The way of elopement was adopted by the boys and girls who were in love with each other and intended to marry; but their parents were not willing as they were not cross-cousins. Consequently, in an opportune moment, they ran away to some other places, where they started their married life with the help of relatives or friends who supported them. When their parents became cool and agreed to accept their union, they came back home.

However, marriages by way of proper settlement, serving for the wife and exchange get social recognition automatically; but in the case of marriage by capture, intrusion or elopement, one has to call a meeting of the council of village elders who provide sanction to the marriage after imposing an additional dinner on the offending party for adopting an unsocial method of marriage.

Payment of Bride-Price

Bride-price is necessarily paid in one way or the other in Gond marriages. The payment is made by the bridegroom's parents or his kinsmen to the bride's parents or her kinsmen. It is known as *Kharchi*, and its payment is the same for all. It includes Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 for the council of elders, a pair of traditional dress to the bride's mother and the food provisions for marriage dinners comprising about 2 quintal of grains ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *Khandi*), 25 Kg. (3 *Kuro*) of pulses, 16 Kg. (2 *Kuro*) of oil-seeds, 10 Kg. of salt, 4 Kg. of chillis, 1 Kg. of turmeric, and $\frac{1}{4}$ Kg. of other spices. Among the marriages performed by way of proper settlement or exchange, the payment is done in two instalments (i) at the time of engagement, (ii) a few days before the wedding in the presence of village elders. In the case of marriage by capture, intrusion or elopement, the amount of bride-price is paid after the marriage is given recognition by the council of elders. In the *Lamsena* type of marriages, the payment is not done, but the groom serves in lieu of it in his parent-in-law's family.

However, the Gonds do not consider customary bride-price as a compensation for the loss of girl, but treat it as an economic help extended by the bridegroom's parents towards the expenditure of the bride's parents who, as such, do not save anything out of it but spend all on marriage dinners, etc. Moreover, the Gonds are poor but their bride-price is very high, which an average family can hardly bear. It lays heavy expenditure on the bridegroom's family alone, and thus results in indebtedness in many cases. Among 179 marriages in which the bride-price was actually paid, in 147 or 82.12 per cent the bridegroom's parents met it after taking loans from the money-lenders, relatives or friends on interest which varied from 25 to 50 per cent per year. Among them 69 or 46.94 per cent borrowed between Rs.50—100, 46 or 31.29 per cent between Rs. 100—200, 19 or 12.93 per cent between Rs. 200—400 and 13 or 8.84 per cent between Rs. 400—600. And due to the low economic position of their families most of them, particularly those who borrowed above Rs. 200, remained indebted for a decade or so.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON MIDDLE AND LATE STONE-AGE SITES IN ADILABAD DISTRICT OF ANDHRA PRADESH

URMILA PINGLE

(Received on 22 August 1969)

Abstract : The author describes a few stone tools discovered by her in Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh. Typologically they are similar to Middle and Late Stone Age tools reported from different parts of Peninsular India.

SO far only a few late stone-age sites have been discovered and described in Andhra Pradesh especially in the Godavari area. Though many microlithic sites were found in Lower Godavari Valley by L. A. Cammiade, forty years ago, the Pranhitha Valley of Adilabad District has so far been left blank.

Now, the discovery of three new stone-age sites in this area helps to fill in the gap in knowledge. The area is on the border line between South and Central India and will, therefore, yield interesting information about the cultural diffusion of palaeolithic techniques between the two areas. All three sites are mixed stone-age sites yielding both middle and late stone-age implements. The continuity between the middle and late stone-age has been apparent in the South, but is uncertain in Central India and Gujarat. (Allchin & Allchin). Until a detailed survey is carried out on these three sites, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion regarding the cultural pattern of implements and the relationship between

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middle and late stone-age. So far everywhere except in Gujarat and Western Central India, middle stone-age influences are strong in the Indian Stone-age industries.

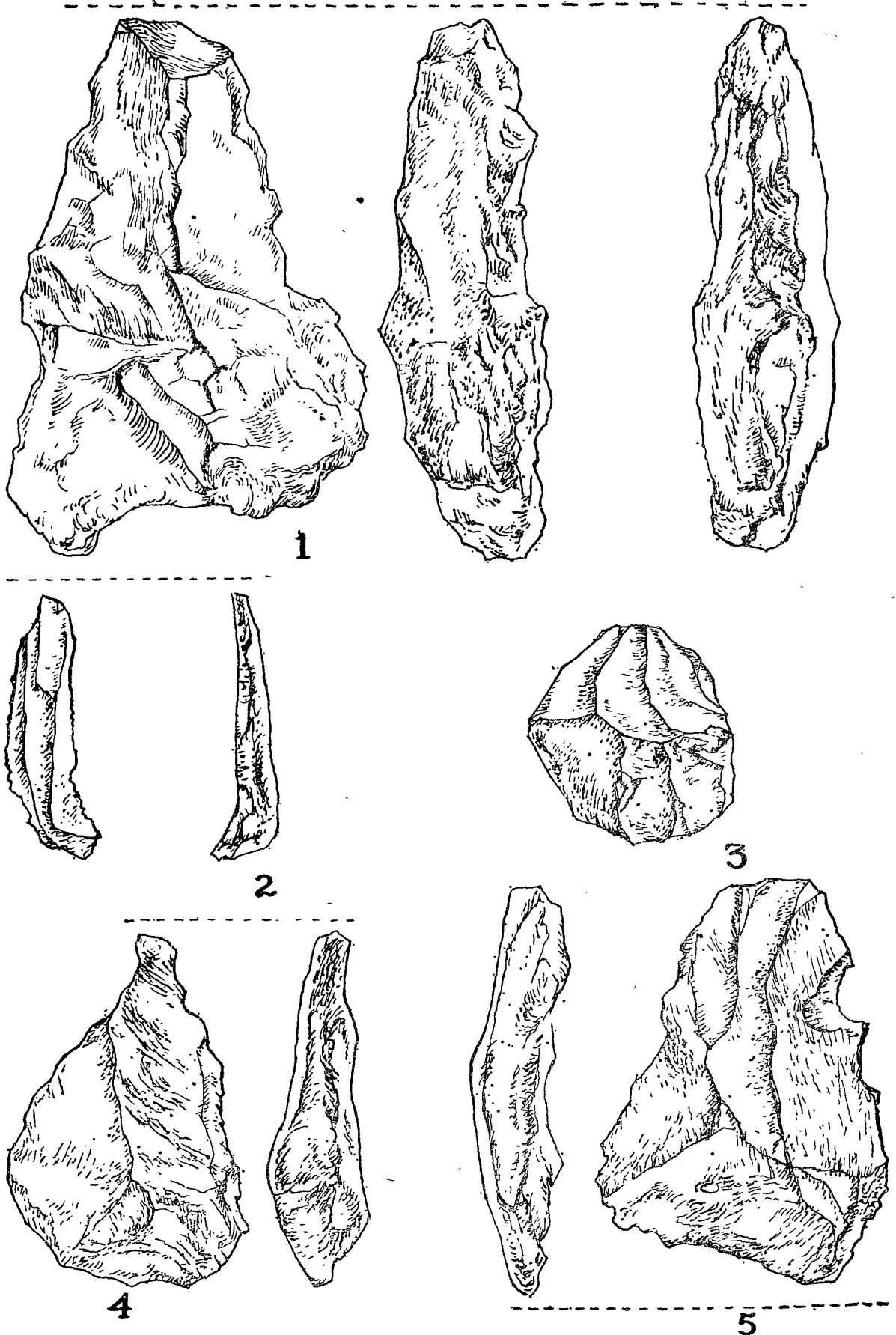
A small assortment of implements have been collected and this will not give a correct representation of the type of implement in dominance but only a preliminary assessment of some of the types of implements found in these sites.

S I T E No. 1

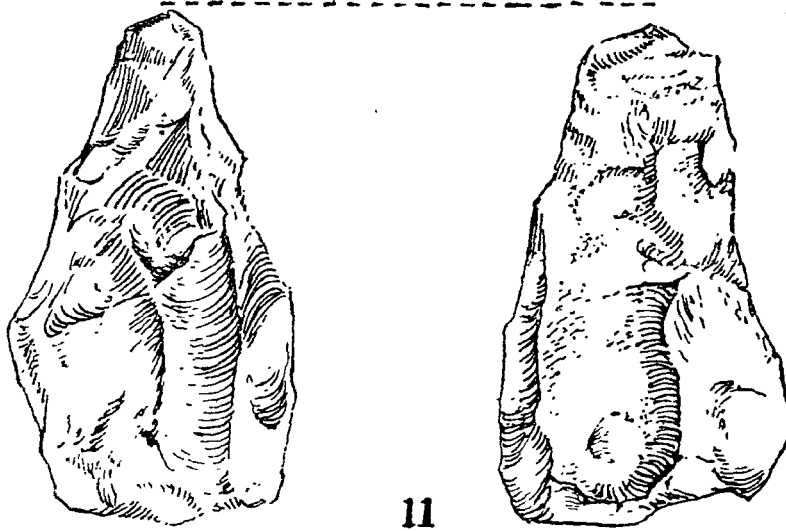
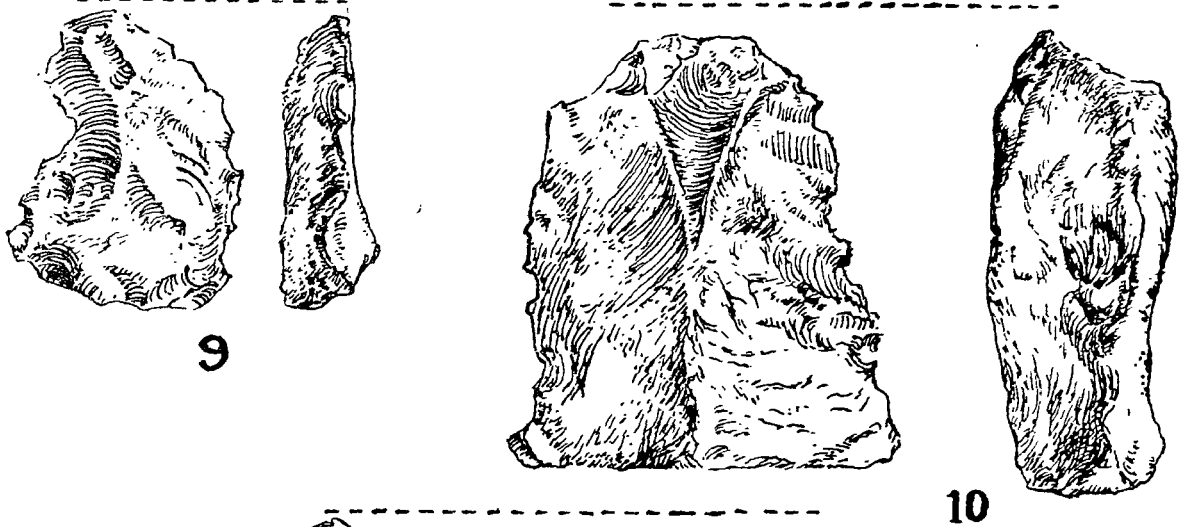
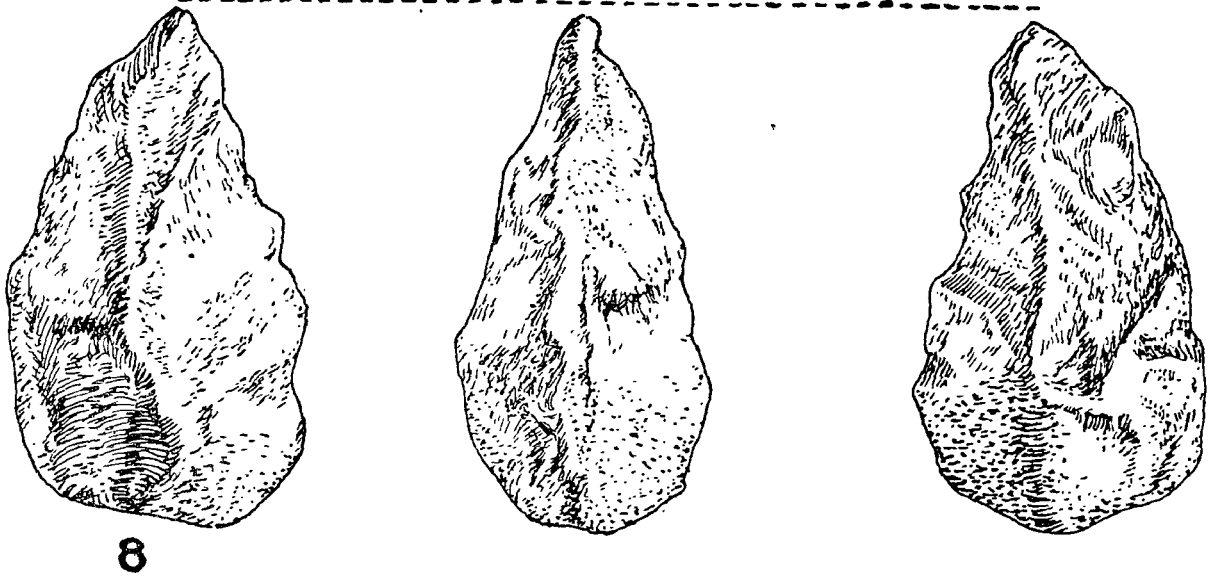
It is situated on a river terrace where the present stream has evidently cut through it and it is probable that the apparent material for the implements found in the stream bed may have been brought down from the river terrace. Middle and late stone-age implements were found in plenty spread over the surface of a large area of approximately 50 to 60 acres. Few implements were found in the lower grounds. If a detailed survey proves this to be a factory site, it is quite possible that stone age men may have occupied these terraces at different times over a long period.

CLASSIFICATION OF IMPLEMENTS ON SITE NO. 1

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------|
| (1) | Lower palaeolithic hand axe made of quartzite. Has an 'S' twist and is ovate. It is 6" in length and about 4" in breadth. (Fig. No. 8) Technique is Acheulean. (?) | |
| (2) | Blade cores | 24 |
| (3) | Unfinished core implements | 7 |
| | (Two spearheads illustrated—
Fig. Nos. 1 & 5
one of which is leaf-shaped with pressure flaking done on the edges). | |
| (4) | Burins (?) | 3 |
| (5) | Simple blades | |
| | (a) Below 1" in length | 17 |
| | (b) Above 1" in length | 3 |
| | (one of which is 1" broad and ½" thick made of quartzite—Fig. No. 19) | |
| (6) | Scraper | 1 (Fig. No. 9) |
| (7) | Arrow-head | 1 |
| (8) | Waste flakes | 20 |
| (9) | Awls | 3 (Fig. No. 4) |
| (10) | Uncertain | 5 |

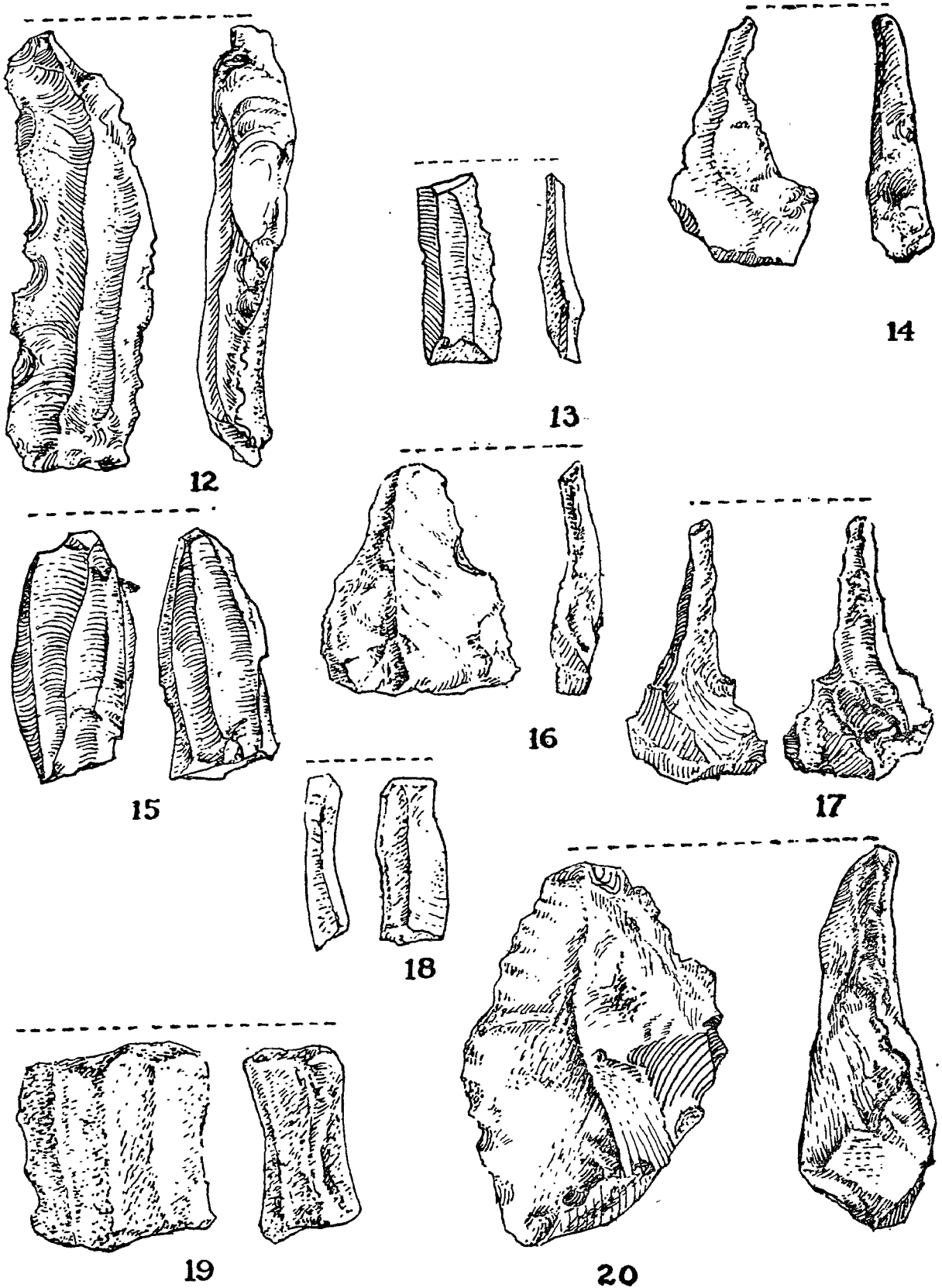


TOOL TYPES FROM SITE 1



TOOL TYPES FROM SITE 1

No.8. Early Stone Age hand axe,



TOOL TYPES FROM SITE 1

S I T E N O . 2

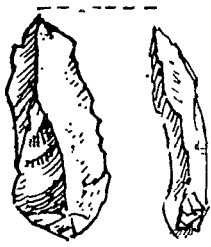
This site is situated on a high ridge overlooking a valley through which the stream is flowing very close to this ridge. This is Gondwana sandstone ridge which has been exposed due to constant erosion towards the stream side. The microliths have been found on these exposed sandstones in local concentrations along the edge of the ridge. None have been found on the level surface.

Could these sites have been local concentrations of implements worked by a family or a small group of people who had camped for a short period of time ?

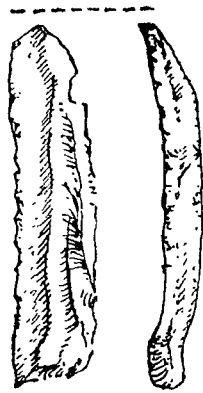
CLASSIFICATION OF IMPLEMENTS ON SITE NO. 2

(1) Simple blades:

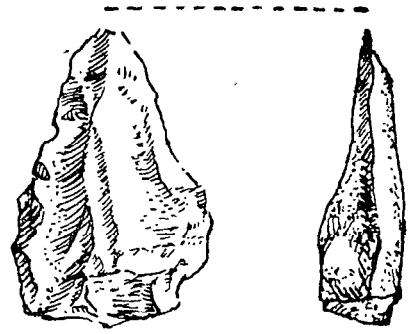
(a)	those longer than 1"	...	29	(Fig. No. 2)
(b)	those less than 1"	...	10	
(2)	Backed blades	... ..	6	(Fig. No. 7)
(3)	Blade cores (small in size)	... ..	3	(Fig. No. 10)
(4)	Triangles	... ..	11	(Fig. No. 5)
(5)	Lunates	... ..	2	(Fig. No. 4)
(6)	Points	... ..	15	(Fig. No. 6)
(7)	Trapezoids	... ..	13	
(8)	Awls	... ..	2	
(9)	Other flake implements	26	
Total number of worked implements			114	
Blade cores			3	



1



2



3



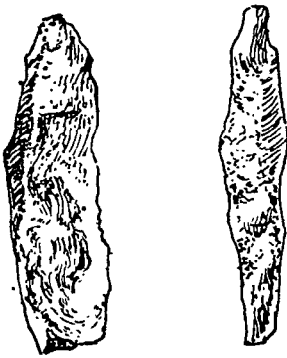
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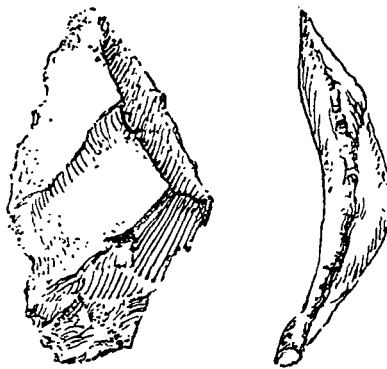
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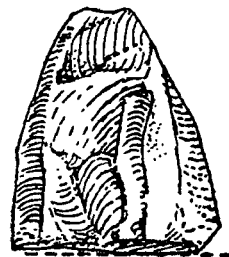
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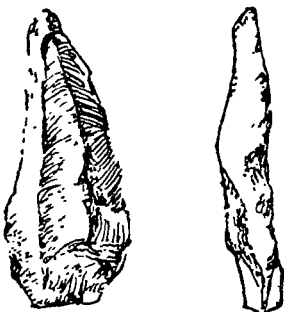
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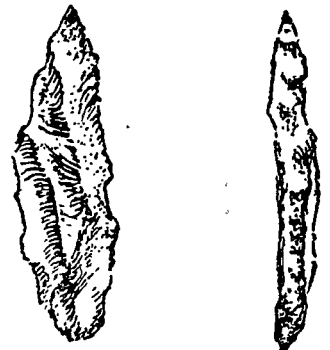
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11



12

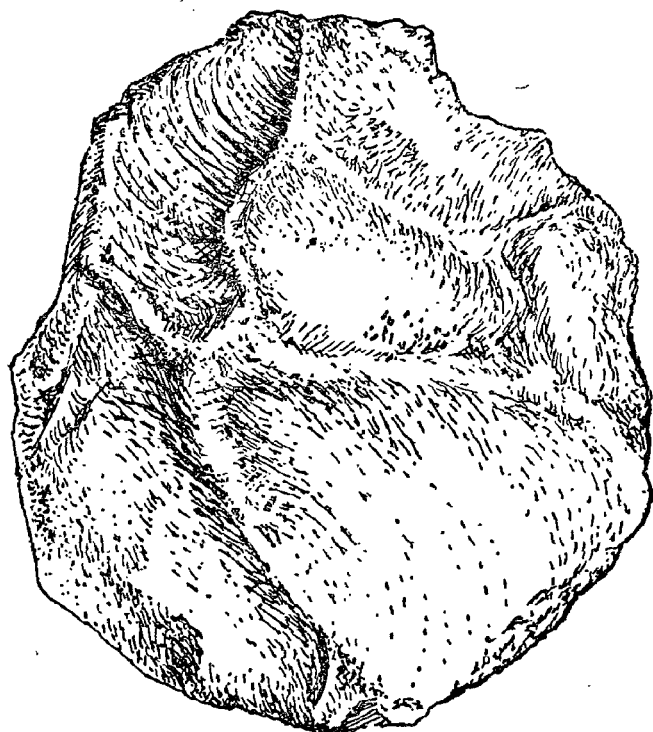


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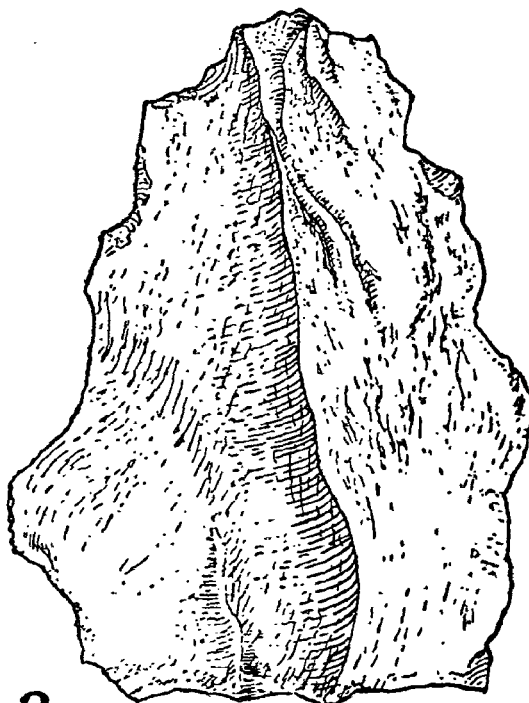
MICROLITHS FROM SITE II

S I T E No. 3

It is situated close to a stream bed on a steep ridge. Sandstone has been exposed and some of the stone implements have been seen to be sticking to these eroded surfaces. Others have been found lying alongside the stream bed. Much of unworked material of crypto-crystalline silica (chert, agate, chalcedony and flint) and a little of quartzite are seen lying in large quantities. (Personal communication with Dr. Supriyo Sengupta of Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta).



1

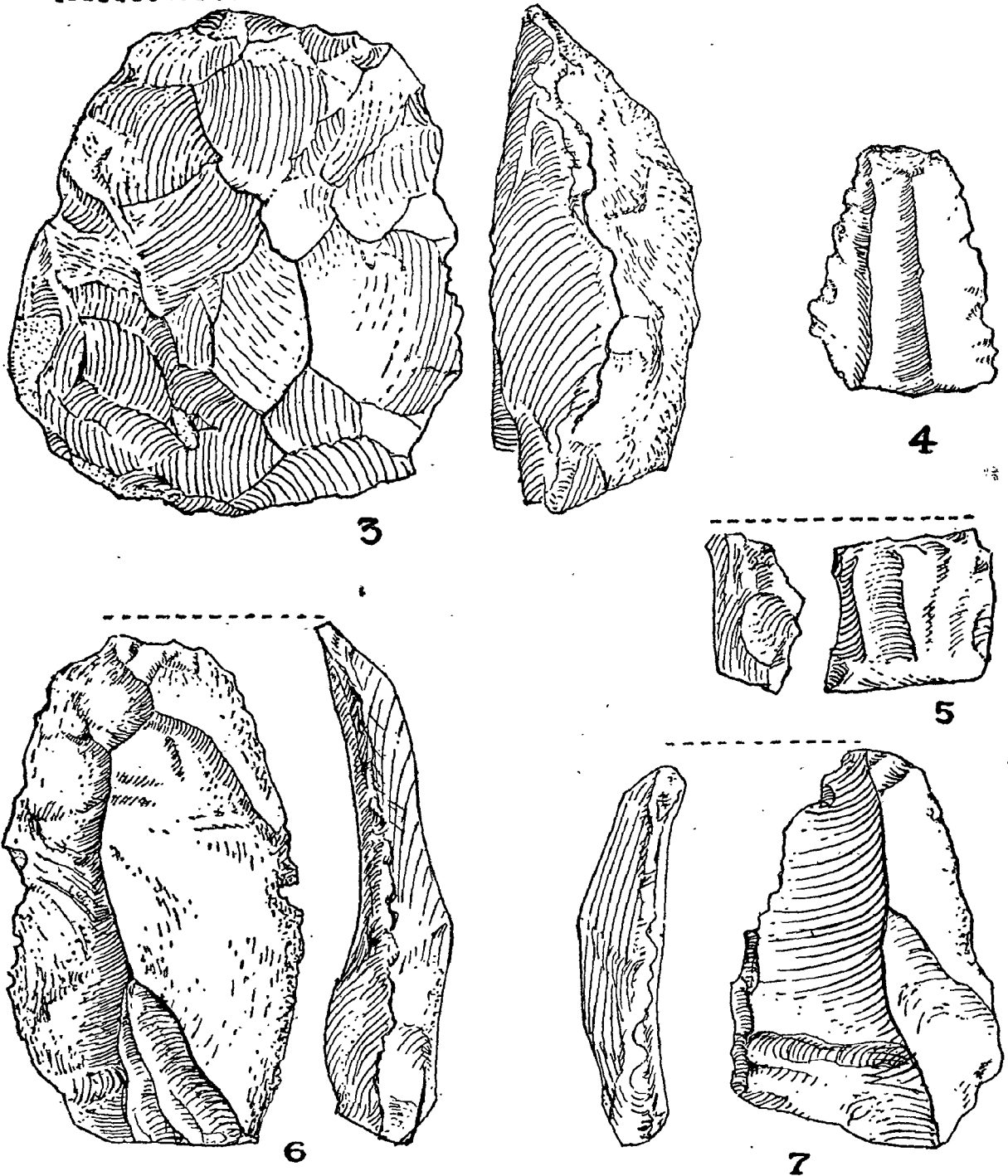


2

TOOL TYPES FROM SITE III

CLASSIFICATION OF IMPLEMENTS ON SITE No. 3

(1)	Big cores	...	...	11	(Fig. Nos. 1 & 3)
(2)	Blade cores	...	...	2	
(3)	Blades (all above 1")	...	...	3	(Fig. no. 4)
(4)	Waste flakes (big)	...	...	15	
(5)	Spearheads (made of flakes)	...	...	3	(Fig. No. 2)
(6)	Other flake implements	...	...	4	
(7)	Scraper ( ? )	...	...	1	(Fig. No. 6)



TOOL TYPES FROM SITE III

CONCLUSION

Only a preliminary survey of the three sites with a classification of a small assemblage of implements from these three sites has been carried out.

This survey gives an idea of :

- (1) The type of middle and late stone-age sites in this area.
 - (a) No. 1 site on river terraces.
 - (b) No. 2 site on high ridges (today difficult of access).
 - (c) No. 3 site alongside the stream bed.
- (2) Was there a continuous development of middle stone-age into late stone-age in these three sites? Middle stone-age elements survived in late stone-age industries all over India, but on present evidence it appears that they are more pronounced in the South and in certain isolated parts in the North (Bridget Allchin).
- (3) A small quantity of red pottery has been found in site No. 1. But there is an absence of animal and human remains on the surface in association with these stone implements.
- (4) It has yet to be demonstrated whether these sites are the factory sites or whether the implements have been brought down by the stream and deposited in these areas.
- (5) Type of material used for implement making seems predominantly to be of crypto-crystalline silica (chert, agate, chalcedony and flint). Negligible quantities of coarse grained stone (quartzite). Late stone-age industries so far recorded in the southern part of Indian peninsula are predominantly based on milky quartz. This was first noticed in Mysore when the change takes place between the districts of Raichur and Bellary (Allchin and Allchin).
Site No. 3 is close to the trap hills. This perhaps accounts for the abundance of chert, flint,

chalcedony and agate. Trap hills do not extend as far south as Madras. (Personal communication with Mr. Shankaran Kutty of Indian Statistical Institute Calcutta). Very little quartz is used in the North. Mostly jasper, chalcedonies due to volcanic rocks (exception is Birbhanpur in the north where quartz implements are plenty). Cammaiede's collections of lower Godavari sites yield implements made mostly of crypto-crystalline material (jasper and agate) and a little of quartz. This fits in with the present sites dealt with in this paper.

- (6) Awls, points and burins (?) are few, but are significant on account of the specific functions. These are present in large numbers in site No. 2. Very few middle stone-age implements are seen to be found there.

Sites Nos. 1 and 3 have relatively more middle stone-age implements than site No. 2, though counts have not yet been made.

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5. 'The Stone-tipped Arrow' by Bridget Allchin.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Mr. Shankaran Kutty (Geologist) of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, for the help and advice he gave regarding the location of these sites. I am indebted to Mr. N. V. Raja Reddy of Bheemaram, for the encouragement and help he rendered during my work. My thanks are also due to—Mr. Seshagiri Rao, Lecturer, Govt. College of Fine Arts, Hyderabad, who gave a lot of his time in illustrating the implements. I am grateful to Dr. Helen Spurway for perusing through my paper and making useful suggestions.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Politics of Untouchability/Social mobility and social change in a city of India. *By Owen M. Lynch/with a Foreword by Conrad M. Arensberg/Columbia University Press, 440 West 110th Street, New York U. S., 10025/1969/Pp. XX + 251/10 dollars.*

The author presents an anthropological description of the Jatavs of Agra city, who are a community of leather-workers. The field investigation has been carefully done, and various movements through which the caste has passed in course of the last nearly thirty or forty years have been described with care and supported by convincing evidence.

The author is however not merely interested in ethnographic description. He is more interested in the application of the role-and-status concept, and of the theory of reference-groups to an analysis and understanding of the phenomenon which he studies. In course of that endeavour, in which he examines the changes from a structural rather than from a cultural point of view, he brings refinement in the concept of Sanskritization as originally enunciated by Srinivas. We believe Professor Lynch has indeed been very successful in that task.

In regard to the ethnographic description, it is, however, necessary to point out that the image of the Jatav community, as it emerges from the author's field involvement, has resulted in a rather subjectively oriented account. The fault is not the author's. He has apparently depended very heavily on the testimony of his subjects—mostly belonging to the Republican Party—rather than having tried to verify the accuracy of their statements by reference to current political history or the evidence of those of their neighbours who might hold different views. A singularly wrong stereotype has thus emerged about the development of nationalism in India, and also about the exaggerated role played by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly. A conspicuously loaded account has also been built up about the successes of the 'satyagraha' movement of the Jatavs.

Another example may also be cited of what is evidently a mistake. Gandhiji never claimed that he was a leader of the

Harijans in opposition to Dr. Ambedkar. He was a leader of Indian nationalism, and looked at the problems of the Harijans, from a 'national' rather than an exclusively sectional or communal point of view. In regard to the role played by either Dr. Ambedkar or Gandhiji in connexion with the question of the 'Depressed Classes' in politics, the role and performance of the British Government of those days has also been completely overlooked. And this has given rise to a very one-sided picture of the political developments in question.

But one can overlook these descriptive lapses, for the principal task which the author set before himself was the refinement of his analytical and theoretical tools, rather than the presentation of an *objective* account of what had been happening by way of social change in any part of India. Accepting this limitation of objectives, one should congratulate the author on the success which he has indeed achieved.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Naked Ape or Homo Sapiens? *John Lewis and Bernard Towers.* Published by The Garnstone Press Limited, 59 Brompton Road, London S. W. 3., 1969. Pp. 134. No price.

This book is written in criticism of Desmond Morris's *The Naked Ape*, the main thesis of which stresses the innate aggressiveness of man, a thesis which would seem to encourage social and political pessimism. Lewis and Towers reiterate (for this is not a new discovery) that the major qualitative distinction between animals and man lies in the factor of cultural development, a factor which is absent in the animal kingdom. They follow an approach made familiar to readers of the works of the French palaeontologist and philosopher Pere Teilhard de Chardin. According to the latter, man is not a helpless pawn in the evolutionary process but the self-conscious vehicle of further advance in the social and technological spheres.

Desmond Morris, Konrad Lorenz and Robert Ardrey receive support from Freud, for in his *Civilization and its discontents* Freud pointed to the aggressive element in man's nature. To Lorenz, love and comradeship and the feeling of moral obligation are derived from aggression by the operation of natural selection. Ardrey extrapolates the 'territorial' instinct of birds and certain other animals to man and finds herein the cause of modern war.

The 'nakedness' which is the theme of Morris's book is interpreted in the following way by Lewis and Towers. 'Skin has become, in man more than in any other animal, a vast receptor-organ for information from the environment ; and his receptivity means increased awareness and freedom'. Such a biological trend '.....should lead logically to increased co-operative activity, to love and respect amongst human beings'. The apparent gap in the argument is filled out by a detailed analysis of the nature and purpose of human body-hair. The authors gain support from Prof. Ashley Montagu for their view that mutual aid in the activities of hunting and food-gathering was as indispensable to survival for early man as it is to his descendants. Dobzhansky has spoken of 'the emergence of a whole new evolutionary pattern, a transition to a novel way of life which is human rather than animal.....'. Man is not simply a very clever ape. 'Man's basic nature is plastic ; not inherited genetically but established culturally and transmitted by education'. In other words, there is a third alternative in addition to the two views propagated by the Victorians, i.e. that man is either a little lower than the angels or a little higher than the monkeys.

Indian readers will be interested in a curious comment made by the joint authors about the Pathans. 'It was environment that shaped the character of the Pathans, not inherited instinct. Why could we not have attempted something like the vast irrigation projects carried on in the adjoining Republic of Tadjikistan, just over the mountains, where in exactly similar circumstances racially similar (sic) frontier tribes are now living in peace and prosperity' ? This is a book which those interested in the biological and social foundations of war and peace will find stimulating.

Margaret Chatterjee

An Anthology of Indian Literatures : Edited by K. Santhanam.
Gandhi Peace Foundation, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. Pp.
V + 724. Rs. 50.00.

An Anthology of Indian Literatures is a commendable attempt to present the histories of fifteen Indian literatures, along with selections from each. It also includes a selection of English contributions by Indian authors. The volume claims to be a panoramic survey of Indian literatures, its uniqueness resting on

the fact that it is the very first attempt of its kind. Published with a view to celebrating the Gandhi Centenary, it seeks to focus attention on his ideal of national integration.

The representations, however, are of varying merits—some suffering from significant omissions, others overburdened by unnecessary repetition. It is certainly unfortunate that Bengali, in spite of being one of the richest of Indian literatures, has been deplorably represented and contains the minimum number of selections. Important authors like Bankim Chandra, Madhusudan Dutt, Dwijendra Lal Roy ; people's poets like Kashi Ram Das and Krittivas Ojha ; devotionals like Vidyapati and Gyan Das ; short-story writers like Banaphul and satirists like Sukumar Ray and Parasuram and many many others of unquestionable significance have been ignored, obviously not due to lack of space, since five poems of Chandidas, three of Nazrul Islam and two of Vishnu Dey's have been included where only one would have sufficed. They have also been lumped at random without any chronological, logical or thematic consideration.

With the exception of Sanskrit, where Dr. V. Raghavan has made a really brilliant job of it, Malayalam and a few others, this is true of most other literatures. There are significant omissions in nearly all of them—Narasimhamurthy in Kannada, Avvaiyar in Tamil, Neela Kantha Das in Oriya, Sahr Ludhianvi and Shakeel in Urdu, Manomohan Ghose and Mulk Raj Anand in English and so on. Hindi, on the other hand, seems to be over-represented, including several contributions by each poet.

The lack of uniformity in the pattern of selections, the absence of order, chronological or otherwise, the unbalanced representation of some literatures and the poor quality of most of the translations (reducing a good many gems into vague meaningless nothings) has not only given the volume an air of clumsiness but has also made it unprofitably bulky. It is also unfortunate that the Editor, seemingly unaware of several existing brilliant translations, has been content to include second and third rate ones.

The volume, however, is certainly useful in giving a general idea of Indian literatures and the very object aimed at deserves the unstinted praise and admiration of readers. As a first attempt, it is certainly a welcome contribution.

Swapna Dutta

The Anglo-Indian. By V. R. Gaikwad. Pp. x+300. Asia Publishing House, Calicut Street, Ballard Estate, Bombay - 1. Rs. 25.00.

The book under review is a major work on the Anglo-Indian community of India and its problems of cultural and emotional integration with the larger Indian society. It contains eight chapters including an Introduction and three appendices.

Tracing the history of this marginal group, which has a foreign origin, the author places before the reader an analysis of the developing trends of opinion and attitude over a period of nearly about three decades. Their orientation was originally in the direction of the British but subsequently developed in consonance with the altered conditions in independent India.

The author describes the different aspects of their life from the point of view of material culture, language, education, occupation, economic condition, recreation and so on. The succeeding chapter portrays the interaction patterns as observed through conflict, competition, co-operation and assimilation with the larger Indian society. The dimensions of integration have then been dealt with in detail. It appears that the general tendency towards integration is highest among elderly, educated persons belonging to the upper strata of society while it is lowest among the young illiterate members of the upper middle classes. In the concluding chapter the author has summed up his findings about this community which forms, more or less, a compact and to some extent closed group living in urban areas. He describes their feelings of insecurity and fear and the areas of conflict and tension with the larger society by which the Anglo-Indians are surrounded.

In regard to methodology, the author has in the main depended upon responses to questions derived from members of the community living in towns, separated from one another by fairly long distances. The questions were properly designed, and the analysis satisfactory. On the whole, therefore, the book presents an objective view about an interesting minority community in India.

Jyoti Sen

La Theorie du Tathagatagarbha et du Gotra. *Etudes sur la Soteriologie et la Gnoseologie du Bouddhisme par David Seyfort RUEGG.* Pp. 532. Paris : Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient 1969.

It is not easy to define Buddhism and authors are not agreed as

to whether it is a religion, or a Way or a Philosophy of Life.....etc. It is definitely a *Dharma*, but a pluriform one. Buddhism is perhaps not concerned about ultimates, but in its scriptures there is much speculation about the recondite nature and ways of final deliverance.

The book under review deals with the theory of *Tathagatagarbha* and of *Gotra*, especially found in the Mahayana literature of India and Tibet. As the sub-title of the book tells us, this volume gives us only studies on these abstruse notions found in many *Sutras* and *Sastras*, but does not offer a synthesis of the Soteriology and Gnoseology of Buddhism. The layman will get lost in this forest, but the specialist of Buddhism may revel in it.

F. E.

Anthropologie des Cambodgiens, par le Dr. Georges Olivier avec la collaboration du Dr. Jean Moullec. Paris : Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient—1968 Pp. 430.

Nearly fifteen years back the author published an anthropological study on the population of Cambodia ; it was his doctoral thesis. Since then he has had opportunities for further study of the land of the Khmers ; and the present book is the result.

It is not easy to write a review or give a summary of this book packed with facts and figures, with tables and lists, sc. the careful tabulation of the findings of extensive investigations and minute study and measurements of the various types of the Cambodian people. The population of Cambodia is predominantly of the Mongoloid racial type, which, according to anthropologists, is about the most complex type. Besides this Mongoloid strain, there is a sprinkling of other races. In spite of a certain amount of miscegenation, the Khmer type has maintained itself wonderfully. On the whole the population of Cambodia can be said to form a distinct group which can be qualified as Khmer. But ethnologists are not agreed as to the origin of the Khmer race. The introductory outline of the geography and the prehistory of Cambodia, the land of the ancient Khmer empire and civilization, is a helpful feature.

F. E.

Socio-cultural implications of Industrialization in India : A case study of Tribal Bihar/L. P. Vidyarthi & A Research Team/sponsored by Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi/1970/Sole Distributor : Council of Social & Cultural Research, Bihar/Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi (Bihar), India/Pp. xxiv + 552/Rs. 60, \$ 10.

In the words of the author, the book presents 'an exhaustive and elaborate study of the impact of industrialization on the Hatia region (near Ranchi) caused due to the emergence of the Heavy Engineering complex. Following up a longitudinal study, the report, at a descriptive level deals with the career of an industrial complex right from the pre-industrial setting to the selection of site for the installation of the industrial units, to the acquisition of land, to the problem of rehabilitation of the indigenous population, to the phases of construction of the various industrial units, to the study of the process of emergence of a new industrial society, to the analysis of the various phases of cultural transformation in and around the industrial zones, to the detailed study of the slum labourers and such other social and economic implications of the process of industrialization' (p. 450).

The poor residential quarters in which immigrant labourers live, as well as eight villages inhabited by the indigenous tribal people were chosen as samples. Many people were interviewed, standard questions were asked about income and expenditure; observations were made about what they ate and drank before and after 'industrialization', what their opinions and feelings are about 'industrialization', and so on. Percentage calculations were made as to how many *felt* one way or the other, how many *behaved* one way or the other, and all the information has been presented, along with broad observations and generalizations, in eighteen chapters and several appendices.

One cannot however escape the feeling that the entire work is of a rather pedestrian quality. Every fact does not necessarily yield information for a proper understanding of economic or cultural change. Even from the mass of information supplied, it is obvious that the quality of change in the villages in question has been rather superficial. In the opinion of the author himself,

the indigenous people have remained, as before, tied up with their agricultural economy (p. 455), although even within that economy, the pressure of the market and of money has begun to be felt, particularly among the younger generation. If that is so, the effect of 'industrialization' has been obviously superficial. The author also says that before the emergence of this industry in Ranchi, unemployed people used to migrate to mines and factor's and tea-plantations outside the State. Evidently, the influence of 'modern' non-traditional economy, and of the pressure of population on land started early enough.

A keener and more penetrating comparison between that slow process and the modern rapid process of change brought about by throwing up new opportunities of employment nearer home would have been more rewarding. As this opportunity of analytical comparison has been largely missed by, obviously, 'the research team' which was apparently tied down to the Schedules printed in the appendix, the whole study, as we have already said, has remained at a pedestrian level.

One would have been happy if the printing had been attended to with greater care.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Matriliney and Islam/Religion and Society in the Laccadives/By Leela Dube/with the assistance of Abdul Rahman Kutty/1969/Monographs in Anthropology and Sociology, University of Saugar/National Publishing House, 2/35 Ansary Road, Daryagung, Delhi-6/Pp. x-125/Rs. 15, \$ 4.00, Sh 33/6.

The book presents an interesting account of the interplay between a matrilineal social system, evidently brought from the neighbouring coast of India into the island of Kalpeni, and the patriarchal form of society associated with Islam, the religion which the inhabitants of the island now profess. The author describes with considerable skill how the social structure of the Taravad has persisted with many of its associated practices on this island; and how on account of the duolocal system of residence, family life of the usual kind prevalent in a patriarchal society has also failed to grow up here in spite of the influence of Islam. An attempt has been made to examine if and how divorce rates are related to Islamic law; and for this purpose, a comparison has

been made between the society of Kalpeni with that of several matriarchal communities elsewhere. The conclusion reached is that the correlation is not positive; and the prevalence of the practice in Kalpeni may more reasonably be due to certain local ecological causes.

The island has hitherto been comparatively isolated; but after the administration was taken over more fully by the Indian Government in 1956, and new opportunities of economic development and political participation thrown open, there is a possibility that the social structure of Kalpeni will be subjected to considerable modification.

It is notified in the blurb that the present monograph will be followed by another study 'of the patterns of marriage and kinship in depth' in the same island. We are looking forward to its publication with interest.

Jyoti Sen

Cultural configuration of Ranchi/Survey of an Emerging Industrial City of Tribal India (1960-62)/L. P. Vidyarthi assisted by R. B. Lal and a research team/Foreword by S. N. Sen/J. N. Basu & Co. 80/6 Grey Street, Calcutta-6/Distributor: Book Land Private Ltd/1969/ Pp. xii + 412/Rs. 40'00.

In the book under review Prof. L. P. Vidyarthi has tried to present a comprehensive, factual description of the city of Ranchi. He begins with a geographical and historical account and then analyses the demographic, occupational and civic features of the city. Then he proceeds to describe the quality of life which has emerged, by means of an analysis of religion and festivals, leisure and recreation, class and caste, the growth of tribal leadership and the social pattern of urban tribal life. The influence of the city on neighbouring villages is thus analysed; and this is followed by a description of the attitudes of women in regard to social intercourse, fertility, sterility etc. This is followed in the end by a summary of observations and recommendations as to how to improve life in this fast-growing and already over-crowded city.

The study has been based on a sample survey covering about 10 per cent of the holdings under the municipality. With regard to certain questions, like women's attitude towards various problems, the samples have become substantially reduced, coming down

occasionally to less than half a hundred subjects. Questionnaires were used throughout, but it is not quite clear why other types of data like assessments in municipal records, income-tax figures, proportion of different communities in urban professions like law, reduction of medicine, trade or transport or even in labour were not called into service. An inordinate importance seems to have been given to the method of 'sample survey'. Yet, one must gladly admit that a fairly comprehensive composite picture has emerged from this study. One however wishes that a fairly large amount of redundant material could have been weeded out in order to make the title of the book a little more appropriate.

N. K. Bose