

Deccan College Dissertation Series : 25

**MARRIAGE REGULATIONS
AMONG CERTAIN CASTES
OF BENGAL**

by

Mrs. BELA GANGOPADHYAY, M. A., Ph. D.



392.5095414
G 155 M

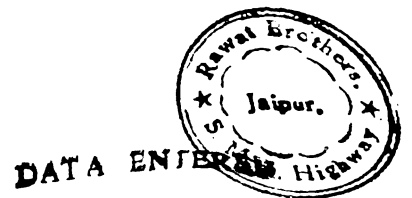
POONA
1964



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA**

*MARRIAGE REGULATIONS
AMONG CERTAIN CASTES OF BENGAL*

CATALOGUE



MARRIAGE REGULATIONS
AMONG CERTAIN CASTES OF BENGAL

by

Mrs. BELA GANGOPADHYAY

DECCAN COLLEGE
Postgraduate and Research Institute
POONA

MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AMONG CERTAIN CASTES OF BENGAL

by

- Mrs. BELA GANGOPADHYAY, M. A., Ph. D.



POONA

1964

Code No. : D 77

First Edition : 1000 Copies, April 1964



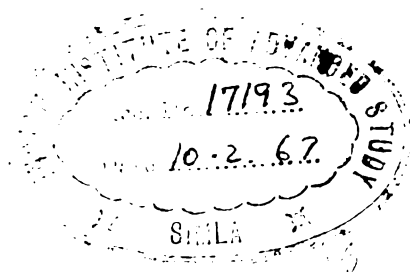
Library

IAS, Shirra



00017193

All Rights Reserved



Price Rs. 10.00

392.500 5614
GISM

Printed by M. H. Patwardhan at Sangam Press (P.) Ltd., Poona 2 and Published by S. M. Katre for the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Yeravada, Poona 6.

PREFACE

Marriage is never free in the sense that any man has got the freedom to marry any woman. Some bans and bars on marriage alliances are found all over the world both among the savage and the civilized.

The State and the society regulate marriage in various ways. There are endogamous regulations prohibiting the members of a particular group from marrying anyone who is not a member of the group, and exogamous rules forbidding the members of a particular group from marrying anyone who is a member of the same group. There is everywhere an outer circle out of which marriage is definitely banned and an inner circle within which no marriage is permitted. The modern civilization tends to pull down these outer limits which separate races, nations, the followers of different religions and the various classes of society.

The present study is an attempt to examine the impact of modern trends on such caste traditions as are associated with marriage and are the fundamental hindrances against caste-intermixture which is the best test of social equality. This is a factual study and involves both field survey and theoretical investigation.

The survey was carried out in a phased programme during the year 1953-55. The information regarding marriage regulations were collected following the method of oral written enquiry. The survey covered five castes inhabiting certain urban and rural areas of the districts of Birbhum, Hooghly and Calcutta in West Bengal. The source of information was the household family and the records included different generations as were available.

The study is primarily based on the broad generalized pattern of Kinship Organization in India envisaged by Dr. Mrs. I. Karve. I remain entirely indebted to my Professor Dr. Mrs. Karve, for the formulation of the problem and the guidance at all stages of the work. Most gratefully I would like to place on record the help and inspiration I have received from Prof. N. K. Bose and Dr. S. S. Sarkar of the University of Calcutta during the course of my study and especially in connection with the field work. I am aware that the monumental works like the Census of India, Sir H. Risley's 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal', Vidyasagar's 'Granthabali', Nihar Ranjan Roy's 'Bangalir-Itihas' etc. have certainly cast their irresistible influence on this thesis. A student need hardly emphasise the all-round helpfulness she has received from her guide or from such outstanding literature.

I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks and sincere gratitude to the Deccan College Post Graduate & Research Institute, Poona, for the generous grant and scholarship so kindly offered during the tenure of this study. The encouragement and the facilities rendered by the Institute together with the financial assistance have gone a long way for the completion of this project.

June 1957

BELA GANGOPADHYAY

CONTENTS

	Pages
<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	.. 1-17
The nature of the data and the method of collection	.. 3
Region covered	.. 5
Sampling procedure	.. 6
Experience of the survey	.. 8
Who answered the questions	.. 11
Characteristics of the castes studied	.. 11
The Plan of the thesis	.. 16
References	.. 17
<i>CHAPTER I</i>	
The concept of consanguinity and its application in actual selection of partner	.. 19-38
The details of the castes studied	22
References	.. 38
<i>CHAPTER II</i>	
Exogamous groups within a caste and the principles of caste endogamy	39-66
Characteristics of the Brahmans	.. 39
References	.. 66
<i>CHAPTER III</i>	
Age at marriage	.. 67-87
Age at second and subsequent unions	.. 82
Effect of habitat in selecting marriage partners	.. 85
References	.. 87
<i>CHAPTER IV</i>	
Prevalence of Dowry	.. 88-100
<i>Resumé</i>	.. 101-104
<i>Appendix I</i>	.. 105-110
<i>Appendix II</i>	.. 111-121

1

INTRODUCTION

India is divided into three main regions with different patterns of Kinship Organization — by Dr. Karve in her book Kinship Organization in India.¹

One of these regions is Northern India comprising the area from Sind in the West to Assam in the East, and from the Himalayas in the North to the Narmada in the South. She has given a generalized pattern for this vast region and it is necessary to fill in the picture by detailed studies of linguistic regions within this vast area. She states therein that the study of three factors viz., the linguistic region, caste and family organization are absolutely necessary for the understanding and appreciation of any cultural phenomenon in India.

This generalized pattern is slightly modified from caste to caste and region to region in Northern India. And it was expected that Bengal's position on the eastern boundary of ancient Aryanism and also a land where the Aryan, the Munda, and the Dravidian cultures had mixed together, would prove to be of great interest for a study of Kinship pattern. It was thought that it would be all the more illuminating to examine how far the northern Kinship structure and the inter-relation of Kinship system and religion is found to be effective in Bengal. Being a Bengalee, the present author enjoyed a special privilege regarding the know how of the subject and also felt particular attraction to investigate the problem with special reference to Bengal.

There are outstanding contributions regarding the social and cultural study of Bengal, viz. History of Bengal by J. N. Sarkar,² 'Grantha-bali' by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar,³ 'Bangalir-Itihas' by Nihar Ranjan Roy,⁴ Census of India,⁵ and the remarkable contribution — the Tribes and Castes of Bengal (Vol. I-II) by Sir Herbert Risley.⁶

It has been stated⁷ that "the caste making impulse has by no means spent its force and its operation can be studied in most Indian districts at the present day. In Bengal where the Aryan and Dravidian elements are in continual contact, it has created a series of endogamous groups, which may be classified as Ethnic, Provincial or Linguistic, Territorial or Local, Functional or Occupational, Sectarian and Social. In the first of these classes the race basis is palpable and acknowledged. The others have been generated by the fiction that men who speak a different language, who dwell in a different district, who worship different gods, who observe different social customs, who follow a different profession or practice, the same profession in a slightly different way, must be of a

fundamentally different race: Usually and in cases of sub-caste invariably the fact is that, there is no appreciable difference of race between the newly formed group and the aggregate from which it has been broken off."

He continues, "Seeing that the caste is mainly a matter of marriage, special attention has been paid throughout the enquiry to the marriage usages of the tribes and castes concerned." The importance of recording marriage practices and endogamous groups was first pointed out by Sir Henry Maine,⁸ who wrote "the other limit within which a man must marry has been overlooked through the interest excited by the long unnoticed exogamous prohibition . . . and the subject requires re-investigation . . . there are repeated indications of the outer or endogamous limit". Risley had elucidated in his book the endogamous and exogamous divisions of each of the numerous tribes and castes of Bengal.

After Risley's study many articles were published describing marriage customs and rituals of various castes and tribes in Bengal. All these studies were based on enquiry about different practices as also on personal observations about ritualistic performances. Few of them however, studied the marriages and genealogies by facts and figures to find out how an avowed pattern works out in actuality.

An attempt has been made in this context to find out the actual practice and the pattern pursued by a limited number of castes, inhabiting a definite region in a more detailed manner and thus may rightly be considered as an extension of the works so far done in this direction.

Bengal was one of the earliest regions where the British established their political supremacy. Calcutta was the Capital of Imperial India in the British days from 1774-1911. This city was also the trading centre of the British enterprise for jute, tea and rice. The first English schools and colleges were established in this city. The middle class Brahman and the Kayasthas enthusiastically entered these modern institutions of learning and took advantage of the employment offered by the fast expanding empire. Many of the richer people from Bengal sent their children to England for their education. These people came under the influence of Western Civilization and one can see that intellectual fervent in which Bengal was thrown by reading the literature of that period. Keshav Chandra Sen, the founder of the Brahma Samaj attempted to win Bengal from the ritualism and polytheism of traditional Brahmanism, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar advocated education for women. When one reads Bengali literature of those days one is impressed by the reformistic zeal of this generation.

This phase was followed by a phase in which the feelings of nationalism suppressed for the time being the tide of westernization. But the influence of the West continued to be very strong in Bengal. Bengal

has been in the forefront of all reformistic and revolutionary movements in India.

Perhaps more important than the impact of Western philosophy and education was the powerful current of new economic forces which altered the life of society. New industries, new ways of trade and commerce and a system of transport which penetrated into different parts of the country, combined to break down the isolation and seclusion of the people of all classes and bring them into the cosmopolitan environment of the city.⁹

This intense exposure to western influences was effective during the whole period from Risley's survey upto date. From this point of view it was thought that it would be worthwhile to make a numerical survey of certain castes of West Bengal to see how far the traditional pattern has been changed in contact with the western ideas. In the present study data on marriage for few generations have been collected in order to find out whether a change in the pattern is evident from generation to generation. Bengal, though a medium sized region as regards extent, has a relatively large population. The present population of West Bengal is about 2.5 crores and there are numerous castes. All these could not be studied by a student single-handed, so only a few selected castes distributed over certain regions of West Bengal were chosen. It is expected that the observations from these castes, spread over different regions and generations, under characteristic economic and social conditions will bring out the salient features of the study sufficiently.

2. *The nature of the data and the Method of Collection*

The data cover five castes of West Bengal which can be broadly grouped under three categories on the basis of their points of similarity with respect to economic condition, educational achievement, traditional status and social behaviour etc. specially in present age.

The groups are as follows:—

- (a) The Brahmans and the Kayasthas.
- (b) The Gandha-Baniks.
- (c) The Byagra-Kshatriyas and Hadis.

The Brahmans and the Kayasthas form the upper strata of the society and are well educated. The Gandha-Baniks are a caste of traders and merchants — financially better off but not so much educated as the other two castes stated above.

The Byagra Kshatriyas are now mainly agricultural labourers. They were formerly fishermen, palanquin bearers. Some of them still follow the traditional occupation. The Hadis were scavengers. Now most of them are working as agricultural labourers. A detailed description of the above castes are given in later paragraphs.

The observations were collected taking a family as a sampling unit. When several unrelated families lived in one big house all the families were interviewed as separate units. In each family, all the marriages which the members could remember were recorded. This record comprised of the names, the family names, the exogamous unit to which each partner belonged, the native village or town, the age at marriage and the dowry given.

The following Table gives the number of families investigated and the number of marriages recorded from the different castes.

TABLE NO. 1

Name of caste	No. of families	No. of marriages			
		Urban	Rural	Total	
(a) Brahman	42	370	338	708	
(b) Kayastha	19	333	185	518	
(c) Gandha-banik	25	753	—	753	
(d) Byagra-kshattriya	33	—	457	457	
(e) Hadi	39	—	418	418	
	Total	158	1456	1398	2854

In order to analyse the trend of historical period on social behaviour the data were classified into different generations. Usually the members of the families interviewed could specify the whereabouts of their ancestors upto two or three ascending generations. The members belonging to group (a) and (b) could specify the necessary information upto four or five generations and in greater detail than what could be received from the two lower castes. The Hadis particularly reported on most of the occasions only about their immediate family group, i.e. about brothers, sisters and children. They could not give any reliable information about father's collaterals, i.e. brothers, cousins and sisters. May be, it was because of their characteristic family set up, they were not very familiar with this bigger circle of kins.

The data have been divided into three or four classes on the basis of generation:—

- (a) Recent generation — Covers the marriages which had taken place approximately during the last 15 years upto the year of enquiry i.e. between 1940 and 1954-55.
- (b) First ascending generation — Includes marriage which took place approximately between 1920 and 1940,
- (c) Second ascending generation — Includes marriage which took place approximately between 1900 and 1920.

- (d) Third ascending generation—Includes marriages between 1880-1900.

There are certain cases of overlap in which members of two consecutive generations happen to belong to the same age group. The inclusion of such cases in the original generation has the chance of vitiating the findings pertaining to the particular group. These cases, therefore, have been grouped along with the next descending generation. Similarly there have been occasions when marriage in a particular generation have to be grouped under two different age groups when they have taken place at widely different period of time. Such cases are usually recorded where the different branches of a family are still staying together in the same ancestral residence, though they may not be labelled as joint family in the strict sense of the term. Such occurrences are quite common among the Brahmans, Kayasthas and Gandhabaniks. The Byagra-kshattriyas also could show familial ties to some extent but the Hadis could seldom narrate their ancestry beyond the second ascending generation.

3. *Region Covered.*

The families interviewed were distributed over urban and rural areas, the study of which was expected to show a difference in region, customs or practices regarding marriages and allied matters. The rural and urban areas where enquiry was made were as follows for all the five castes.

Name of caste	Urban	Rural
(i) Brahman	Calcutta Uttar Para, (Dist. Hooghly)	Dist. Hooghly (a) Shiakhala, Ilahipore, Madhupore and Patul. (b) Champadanga and adjacent villages, Shyampore, Parshyampore, Phulpore, Neota. Dist. Birbhum Bolepore and Goalpara.
(ii) Kayasthas	Calcutta Uttar Para, (Dist. Hooghly)	Dist. Hooghly Shiakhala and adjacent villages. Champadanga and adjacent villages.
(iii) Gandha-baniks	Calcutta only	
(iv) Byagra-kshattriyas		Dist. Hooghly Shiakhala and adjacent villages.

Name of caste	Urban	Rural
(v) Hadis		Champadanga and adjacent villages. Dist. Birbhum Bolepore, Bhubandanga, Bandhgora, Shuripara.

The District of Hooghly is known as the ancient abode of West Bengal's culture and is supposed to be least affected by the tribal population in Bengal. It is expected that it would reveal the traditional cultural pattern of the castes chosen and still be within my reach. Actually northern Bengal i.e. Bankura, Mymensingh, are supposed to be more orthodox, but I could not undertake personal enquiry there for lack of funds and time.

In the area chosen there was comparable material for urban and rural divisions only in case of two castes, viz., Brahman and Kayastha. The Gandha-baniks are a purely urban caste living in big cities. The present sample was restricted to Calcutta only. Byagra-Kshatriyas and Hadis could have been available in Calcutta but they are scattered in different areas where I could not contact them. In the district of Hooghly I could contact some influential people belonging to the Byagra-Kshatriya caste through the good offices of certain Congress workers in the area. This enabled me to take an adequate sample of Byagra-Kshatriya families. As regards Hadis I could not contact them either in Calcutta or Hooghly. But I was helped by the same social workers and introduced to Hadi families living in various villages in Birbhum district. Thus there is no urban sample for these two castes, nor do they belong to the same district.

4. *Sampling Procedure*

The sampling procedure adopted in the present investigation may be considered to be an intermixture of judgement and systematic sampling. To be more clear the commonly used procedures for sampling may be grouped into three broad categories :

- (i) Random Sampling,
- (ii) Judgement Sampling,
- (iii) Systematic Sampling.

In random sampling, which is also referred to as scientific sampling in some literature, an individual sampling unit has equal chance of being selected in the sample. In such type of sampling complete plan frame, from which the sampling can be made is a prerequisite. In judgement sampling, the selection of sample items is left to the judgement of the sampler, generally familiar with the characteristics of the population

that is being sampled and therefore expected to have basic knowledge while selecting representative items. In systematic sampling, some sort of system is resorted to instead of choose-as-you like method.

In the present case it was not possible to construct the complete plan frame for the families belonging to different castes. As a result random sampling system could not be resorted to. Moreover there were certain peculiar and characteristic features in this survey which demanded a deviation from a rigid scientific survey. The enquiry conducted involved disclosure of information of such personal matters and family traditions like acceptance of dowry, reaction to love marriage, inter-caste marriage, divorce etc., and also giving of genealogies. People were not too reluctant to furnish genealogies but were rather shy about information on other items. For such an enquiry one either needed to know the family well or to approach it through people who had influence with the family. The number of families investigated being very large (see page 7) the present investigator could not possibly know them intimately. It was necessary to have some person as intermediary and to move from one family to other families who were friends and intimates of the first family. So the principles of random sampling method could not be adhered to. Moreover during the course of survey many times it appeared that the requirements of accurate sampling would be antagonistic to the requirements for adequate reporting.

From all these considerations, we have resorted to oral written enquiry which can be considered to be a judgement-cum-systematic sampling. The merits of oral written enquiry is too well recognised to be repeated in detail. The specific advantages rendered by the procedure in the present enquiry, are :—

(i) A personal approach could be made to the interviewee explaining the object of the enquiry and thereby gaining confidence and good will of those sampled.

(ii) Social contact reduced the non-response rate to satisfactory level. In fact, the approach being made through proper social channel there was not more than 1% non-response from the samples designed to be contacted.

(iii) Incomplete replies or vague statements could be avoided by personal discussions etc. as also through indirect tactful questions put at the proper moment.

Thus in brief a proper quota from the various sectors and groups like Brahman, Kayasthas, Gandha-baniks, Hadis and Byagra-Kshatriyas in the urban and rural areas could be secured through suitable social approach to the interviewees. The sample is systematic in the sense that once a member of a family was contacted, care was taken to eliminat

deliberately the other members of the same patrilineage whose information had become already available from the first source.

No doubt a scientific estimation of the error in the estimates obtained and the confidence in the conclusions arrived at, will not be above question. Still it may be said that, within the scope and practicability of a single-handed survey, keeping in view the broad purposes intended to be studied, the information collected will not fail to serve the fundamental objective. Moreover, seldom in such type of survey sampling is the only error introduced. In most surveys of the above type sampling error plays an insignificant role as compared to reporting error, non-response error etc. Special care has been taken not to neglect the other types of errors. So far as reporting error is concerned, in many cases the information furnished has been checked from another member of the same agnatic household or else occasionally from the affinal relations living in other houses. In the United States a very ingenious method was introduced in a similar enquiry.¹⁰ More than one member of the same family was supplied the same questionnaire and was asked by the investigator to reply in writing independently in his presence. The divergence in replies gave an estimate of reporting error. In India, in view of the illiteracy, particularly among the lower castes such a procedure would become unsuitable and as such we had to rely on informal enquiries of the above type. Regarding non-response rate, the social contact and personal appeal appear to be the most effective remedy in such enquiries.

The survey was carried out single-handed in a phased programme during March-April 1953 and January-April, 1954. It may be mentioned that agriculturally this is the slack season, when it is convenient to move around and to work for hours together. In the villages particularly where facilities for transport are not available and one has to walk from one village to another to contact people, these are the months ideal for such surveys. It is nearly impossible to work either in summer or in rainy season.

5. *Experience of the Survey.*

It was a novel experience to come in contact with different types of people having various ways of life.

The first thing found necessary was to convince the head of the families interviewed, about the aim of the project. It was easier to convince the educated, though on occasions, in spite of previous engagement some of them felt uneasy and did not like that any outsider should encroach on their family affairs which they felt should remain secret. Of course there was nothing in the question which on any ground, could bring disrepute to family prestige, but still the reluctance remained. There was another reason for their initial refusal, viz., they felt that there

might be some political motive behind such surveys, this suspicion was ultimately removed after a frank exchange of views.

The experience was somewhat different with the people of lower castes. There the first query was, — “what shall I gain by this survey?”. Each came out with his or her definite personal problem. One said that he needed some money, the other enquired if I could find out a suitable match for her daughter or else could reduce the amount of dowry demanded and so on.

Just at the outset I felt rather helpless and sorry as the aim of the survey was in no way associated with the immediate benefit of the masses. It needed further clarification and I explained that my object was to study their social life, the factors related to marriage, how far they were following the traditions of their fore-fathers and to what extent the recent problems were compelling them to deviate from the ways of their predecessors. Of course, this took some more time but ultimately they were convinced. And people not only gave information about their own family but also helped me to secure information from their neighbours.

There is another factor which needs mention viz., the time of approach to the interviewee. The time varied according as the survey was carried out in urban or rural area and the information was secured through the male or the female members of the family. Among the higher castes staying in urban areas whenever I filled in the form from the male members of the family, I had to utilize either the evening or the holidays. In the rural areas, usually there happened to be some elderly male members in most of the families whose main function was to look after the family holdings. It was possible to visit such persons at any time of the day by previous appointment. In case of female members, however, the elderly ladies in the family who were able to respond to such queries, were generally free in the afternoon between 2 P.M. and 5 P.M. after the lunch hour. This was the case in urban as well as in the rural areas.

It was easier to work among the higher castes specially in urban areas where it was possible to utilise the evening and to work till 9 o'clock at night. In the rural areas, however, the working hours were very limited as the activities came to a standstill with the approach of night. It was not desirable to be in distant places after dusk. So I used to keep the neighbouring area for my evening programme and go to the distant places by the day time.

I found it particularly difficult to work among the Hadis who work as labourers. Usually they start from home early in the morning at 6 o'clock and worked in the fields for the whole day. So they had to be contacted either in the early morning before 6 a.m. or in the evening. The additional disadvantage of working among these people was that after the day's work they go for drink. Their women never came forward to

answer the questions. So by previous engagement and with the help of two or three people of the locality I managed to secure the requisite data.

No questionnaire was printed. A list of questions had been prepared and answers were recorded on blank sheets along with the genealogies and records of marriages. So far as the questions were concerned care was taken to select the items which were expected not to provoke repugnance and at the same time were expected to fulfil the objectives of the survey. The following is the list of these questions,

(husband)	(wife)
1. Name,	1. Maiden Name,
2. Gotra,	2. Maiden Gotra,
3. Residence,	3. Residence,
4. Age at Marriage,	4. Age at Marriage.
5. Education,	5. Education,
6. Occupation,	6. Sub-caste,
7. Dowry,	7. Dowry or (Bride-price).
8. Sub-caste.	

It was observed in course of the survey that different castes react differently to specific questions. Men belonging to Brahman and Kayastha castes did not like to supply an exact answer to the questions about education in case they were not well-educated. The opinion as regards what constituted good education varied in Calcutta and outside. In Calcutta if a man of these castes was not University educated he was ashamed to state it. Outside, the school-leaving certificate examination was thought to be quite an adequate standard of educational achievement, but if a man had not passed it he was ashamed to state the fact.

The other question which was not answered in a straightforward way in the first instance was about dowry. The general tendency was to state that they do not accept or else took a very nominal amount as dowry in marrying their sons. But in case of their daughter's marriages they had to spend more since in that case they were to comply with the demands of other parties concerned. Such answers were obviously half truths in the majority of the cases. The amount of dowry received was generally never stated frankly at first. After some discussion and clarification of the objective one could explain the importance of the subject and extract the information to a reliable degree.

The people belonging to the lower castes fight shy of stating their sub-caste. They were quite conscious about the social hierarchy associated with caste and sub-castes. The general tendency was to state that he or she belonged to the higher group — *uchu-thak* but preferred not to mention the exact name of the sub-caste.

It was also experienced that they hesitated to confess about re-marriages -- both widow remarriage, and that of divorces i.e. *Sanga*. This was because these customs were felt to be not in conformity with the Brahmanical systems.

Otherwise all were hospitable and co-operative. It was because of their patience and forbearance that the survey was carried out successfully.

6. *Who answered the questions.*

My presence and the object of my visit to a family used to create a stir and arouse curiosity among the members of the family young and old. They used to sit all around and ask me questions before I could start my work, about my family status, whether I was married and had children and so on. The work could start only after such preliminary discussions. This doubled the time taken to write down the answers from a particular family. So I had to sit for hours together in a place if the family happened to be a big one. The male interviewees, were not so much interested in personal matters. They were more keen about the aim and object of the survey.

In the rural areas, generally the lead was taken up by the male members of the family.. The women could not give answers to the questions involving names of the husband, father-in-law etc. which are tabooed and so the men gave the information supplementing it from the women folk as and when needed.

While carrying out the survey there were situations when the lady concerned had to state the name of her husband. She did it indirectly by making the investigator utter it. For instance, when the name of the person was 'Timirbaran' — (Timir means darkness), she asked me to state different words for darkness. I went on enumerating words and ultimately got the desired one. This was the usual way of stating the names of elderly in-laws.

It may also be stated in this context that perhaps it is easier for the ladies to carry out such surveys than young men. The ladies have the privilege of getting information from both male and female members of a family. Whereas, male students' approach must be restricted to only the male members of the families. Few ladies will come forward to answer them. The fact that I was a married woman with a child also helped.

7. *Characteristics of the Castes studied.*

The Bengal Brahmans are divided into several sub-castes of which the most important from the point of view of number and status are the following :

- (i) Radhi, (ii) Varendra,
(iii) Vaidika, (iv) Graha-bipra.

The first two are based on habitat and the next two on professional details.

Radhi and *Varendra* are purely geographical concepts and refer to the *Radh* or high lying alluvial tract on the West bank of the river Bhagirathi, and *Varendra* to the tract lying to the north of the river Padma between Karotoya and Mahanada rivers, corresponding roughly to the districts of Pabna, Rajshahi and Bogra. The name *Vaidika* implies wisdoms in the Vedas. These are again sub-divided into territorial groups namely *Paschatya* (the Western) and *Dakshinatya* (the southern) *Vaidika*. Graha-Bipra is a branch of Sakdwipi-Brahmans. They came from outside and are considered low in social estimation because they served as priests to the lower castes.¹¹

Each of these sub-castes are further sub-divided into certain hypergamous groups. The structure of the caste under consideration may be illustrated through the following diagram :

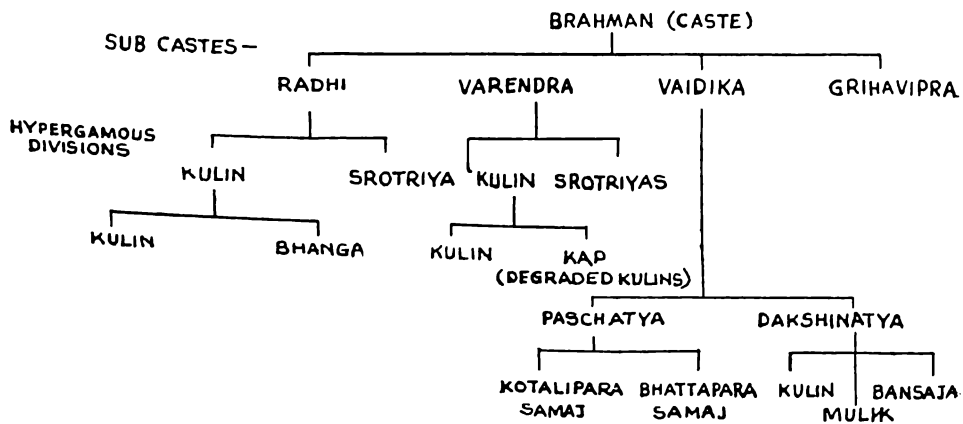


Fig. 1

The hypergamous divisions called Kulin and non-Kulin came into being in the region of the Sen Kings of Bengal in the 8th century A.D. It is said that these Kings examined the Brahmans with regard to nine virtues like learning, purity of ritual etc. and bestowed the title Kulin (high born) on those families who passed the grade. The Kulins accepted daughters from non-Kulins but did not give theirs in return. In this study only the Radhi Brahmans are represented.

The Kayasthas in Bengal are found to be well-established in society in the 5th or 6th centuries A.D. as writers and revenue officials.

From the inscriptions of the period it is learnt that the kayasthas formed a large percentage of the officials in the country and that no transfer of landed property could take place without their knowledge and permission.

The kayasthas of Bengal are divided into the following sub-castes :—*

- (i) Dakshina Radhi.
- (ii) Uttar Radhi.
- (iii) Bangaja.
- (iv) Varendra.
- (v) Golam or Slave Kayastha.

- (i) Dakshina Radhi refers to the Kayasthas inhabiting Southern Radh i.e. the southern part of Burdwan and are highly esteemed by the Brahmans.
- (ii) The social status of the *Uttar Radhi* or the kayasthas belonging to the northern portion of *Radh* is similar to that of the Dakashina Radhiyas. They are more numerous in adjoining portions of the Murshidabad district.
- (iii) The Bangaja, an equally important branch of the kayasthas, are numerous in the northern districts of Bengal.
- (iv) The name Varendra kayastha has been derived from *Varendra-bhumi* (See page 12). In culture and caste status they also rank equally with the other branches.
- (v) The Golam Kayasthas have originated mostly from the mixture of high born kayasthas with the sudra women working as slaves in the family.¹²

All these are divisions based on territory only. The last stated division ranked very low, and is not of territorial character.

Each of the sub-castes stated above (except the golams) is further classified into certain hypergamous divisions. As these sections are distributed over different regions the names of the hypergamous divisions and their respective manners and customs vary from one to another.

The following diagram shows the divisions of the kayasthas :

- N.B.* (a) Names of the hypergamous divisions of the Varendras were not known.
- (b) Divisions of Golam kayasthas, if there be any could not be traced.

* Another sub-caste viz., "Sylheti" has been referred to by J. N. Bhattacharya (1896) in *Hindu Caste and Sects*, Ch. 2, p. 178, but no detailed reference is available.

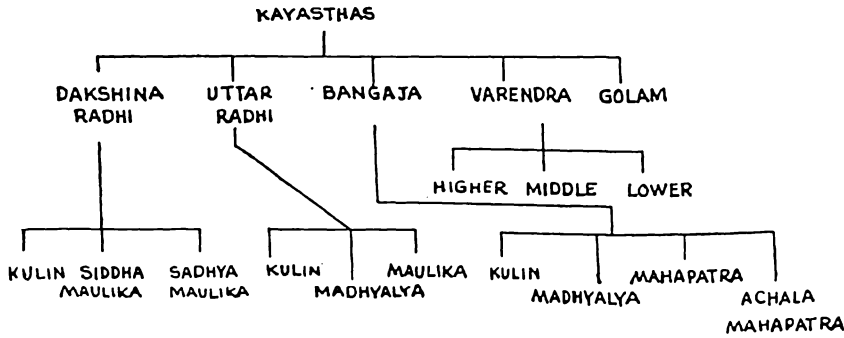


Fig. 2

The origin of Kulinism among the kayasthas is shrouded in mystery. High born kayasthas are mentioned in the inscriptions but few of them have surnames borne by the modern Kulin families.¹³ Probably the hypergamous division of Kulin and non-Kulin was fashioned in imitation of the Brahmans. One finds few Kulin families in Eastern Bengal, while the division of Kulin and non-Kulin is unknown among the kayasthas of North Bengal. This sample contains examples from the Dakshina Radhi only.

The Gandha-baniks as their name shows are merchants dealing in perfumes and scented articles like sandal wood, kasturi and spices. They belong to the *Vaishya Varna* and are not the original inhabitants of Bengal. According to tradition their ancient abode was *Sindhu-desh*,¹⁴ or the Punjab. Being a mercantile community they used to move around India and sail to distant regions of Burma, Malaya etc. from eastern harbours like Tamralipti, modern Tamluk.¹⁵ In this way bands of merchants came and settled in Bengal. There are references¹⁶ which indicate that perhaps some of the *Sahas* (another branch of the mercantile community) of Eastern Bengal and the Gandha-baniks of Western Bengal may have descended from a common stock and the separation took place not more than one thousand years ago. Traditions show that the forefathers of some of the *Saha* families of Eastern Bengal traded in those very articles, which are now-a-days regarded as the monopoly of the Gandha-banik caste.

The Gandha-baniks are most numerous in West Bengal. This caste is divided into four sub-divisions known as *Ashramas*, viz., *Desha*, *Sanlcha*, *Abot*, and *Satrish*. These names do not refer to any region nor to any occupation whatsoever. There are legends which point to the origin of these *ashramas* from the different limbs, of some god or goddess.¹⁷ The following diagram shows the division of the caste along with the hypergamous classifications as far as available —

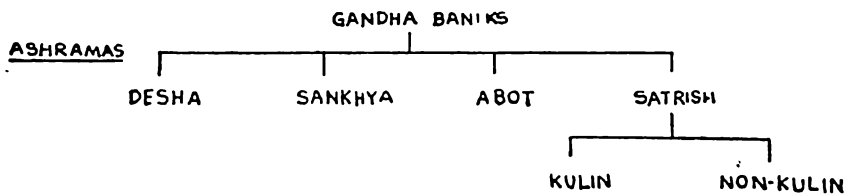


Fig. 3

There are references¹⁸ which illustrate that each of these *ashrams* are again divided into various small groups which act as closed units so far as marriage is concerned. The data include families belonging to Desha and Satrish Ashrams.

The Bagdi or Byagra-kshattriya belong to a caste which held a low position in the caste hierarchy. They are found in large numbers in Western and Central Bengal. Traditionally they were fishermen, palanquin bearers and earth workers. They together with the Hadis and other lower castes constitute a considerable proportion of the total Hindu population (37% of the total Hindu population in United Bengal as per Census of India, Bengal 1931. In some of the districts they are more than half of the Hindus). The Byagra-Kshattriyas are mainly concentrated in West Bengal and specifically in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly.

The sub-caste divisions are not so fully developed among the Byagra-Kshattriyas like the other three castes. They Byagra-Kshattriyas¹⁹ have certain divisions based on the type of hereditary profession Dulia, Machhua, Matialy etc. The Dulia bear the viz. *Doli* or palanquin, the Machhuas are fishermen (machh = fish), the Matial are earth workers (matti = earth). There are other divisions which from their name seem to be like totemic clans, e.g. *Tentulia* derive their name from the tamarind tree. The Kashai-Kulia take their name from a river. Each division is endogamous. As regards social status there is no clear recognition of higher and lower divisions but still there is a hierarchy according to which these divisions can be arranged in a descending order as follows :—

- | | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1. Tentulia, | 2. Dulia, |
| 3. Kashai-Kulia, | 4. Matial, |
| 5. Machhua, | |

The present sample is made up mostly of Tentulia.

The Hadis belong to the group of low castes from whom water is not accepted by the higher castes. Thus they are the lowest in the social status of the groups treated in this thesis. Their original occupation was that of sweepers. The only division which could be recorded

from the Hadis was called Hazra and included the following family names —

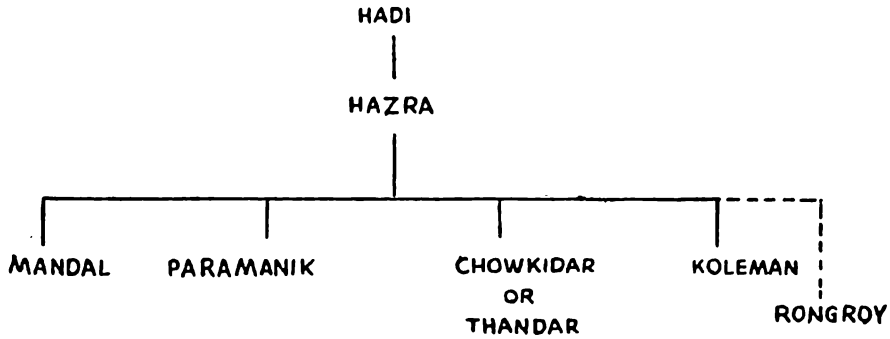


Fig. No.4

These divisions are based on definite functions performed at particular times. Mandal implies headman of the group and naturally he has the power of decision on all social matters. Similarly Paramanik is the cook and arranges the meals of the invitees at a social gathering. The other two groups do work under the supervision of the above two divisions. The Hadis are found in large number in the district of Birbhum. The sample is made up mostly of Mandal and Paramanik, there are also a few Koleman. I could not get any Rong Roy.

8. *The Plan of the Thesis*

There are four chapters in all. Chapter 1, deals with the actual operation of the principles and concept of consanguinity and the analysis of the salient features e.g., the rules of avoidance of certain kin etc., in selecting partners. This analysis is carried out in order to find out how far the northern pattern enunciated by Dr. Karve holds good as regards the five castes of Bengal. The variation in the behaviour of different generations is also noted in order to find out if any change is taking place in the traditional pattern of avoidances and preferences within the kin group.

Chapter 2, deals with the second set of rules which restricts the choice further and narrates the broad outer limit within which marriage should take place. These are the exogamous divisions within a caste and are described for all the five castes. In this Chapter the working of hypergamy from the record of actual marriages, is also scrutinized. The formation of new endogamous clusters on the basis of education, economic position etc. have also been noted.

Chapter 3, deals with another condition of marriage viz., age at marriage and how it changes from generation to generation and from caste to

caste. This chapter also deals with the privilege enjoyed by different sections of our societies with regard to remarriage. Further the distribution of marriages over different regions has also been studied with a view to examine if there is free mixing among people of the same caste throughout Bengal or whether there is regional concentration.

In Chapter 4, the question of dowry and bride-price has been discussed in detail with reference to different castes studied.

Lastly in the Resume, the findings of the enquiry are summarized.

Appendix 1 :—The genealogies referred in the chapters are presented in Appendix 1. The genealogies are grouped into five classes on the basis of the number of castes studied. The members in the genealogy are numbered as 1, 2, 3, 4 and so on, continuously for that particular caste. Numbers start from the ascending generation referred to at the top of each genealogy.

Appendix 2 : A register of the people included in the genealogies referred to in Appendix 1 is given in Appendix 2.

References :

1. Karve, I., Kinship Organization in India (1953), Poona.
2. Sarkar, J. N., History of Bengal, Vol. 1 and II (1948), Dacca University Publication.
3. Vidya Sagar, I. C., Granthabali (1345) B. S., Calcutta.
4. Roy, N. R., Bangalir Itihas, (1356) B.S., Calcutta.
5. Census of India — 1931, (1933).
6. Risley, H. H., Tribes and Castes of Bengal (Ethnographic note), Vol. I and II, (1891), Calcutta, Secretariat Press.
7. *Ibid.*, (6).
8. Maine, H., Early Law and Customs, p. 223.
9. Backward Classes — The Eastern Economist — Annual Number — 1951, Vol. XVII, No. 24, p. 1045, New Delhi.
10. Ferber, R., On the Reliability of Responses Secured in Sample Surveys — Journal of the American Statistical Association September, 1955, Vol. 50, No. 271, pp. 788-810.
11. Ghose, S. K., Bangali Pati Parichaya (1363 B.S.), Vishwa-Vidya Sangraha, Calcutta.
12. Bhattacharya, J. N., Hindu Caste and Sects (1896), pp. 170-190, Calcutta.
13. Census of India — 1931, Vol. V., Part I (1933), Bengal and Sikkim, p. 524.
14. *Ibid.* (11), p. 52.

15. Cunnigham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, London, Trubner (1871).
16. *Ibid* (13), p. 540.
17. *Ibid.* (11), p. 53.
18. *Ibid.* (11).
19. *Ibid.* (6).

THE CONCEPT OF CONSANGUINITY AND ITS APPLICATION IN ACTUAL SELECTION OF PARTNER

Human beings everywhere appear to select their partners in accordance with certain principles some of them negative and some positive. Normally mates are chosen from those groups which have some degree of cultural affinity. There are two sets of rules restricting the choice of partners. There is everywhere an outer circle out of which marriage is definitely banned and an inner circle within which no marriage is permitted.

In India this outer limit is set primarily by the caste. Within this group there are certain regulations which exclude some members from marrying others. These principles are broadly classified under the following two heads —

- (a) Some form of social mechanism consisting of clans or similar social groups. Within a caste these rules may also be distinguished according as they prohibit or enjoin certain union. An analysis of such mechanism is undertaken in Chapter 2.
- (b) Regulation by Kinship or genealogical relationship.² The present section deals with this principle.

The family consisting of a man and woman and their offspring is the smallest social group. Upto a certain limit, the character of the family determines the character of the wider society. The relation or the ties existing between the members of a family can be determined and defined in several different ways. For instance by —

- (a) Consanguinity,
- (b) Genealogy,
- (c) Terminology,
- (d) Function.

Any description of kinship must take into account the social functions and psychological ties which exist between kins, but they cannot be used as a means of definition. The genealogical mode furnishes the most exact and convenient method of defining kinship.³

Genealogical relationships arise from the family but are not entirely identical with physiological relations. For instance, adopted child-

ren may have no biological or physiological tie with the parents but they would be shown in the genealogy. Kinship is traced through both males and females and is thus bilateral in character. The bilateral kingroup includes blood relations, as well as those having affinal ties. Blood relations are termed as consanguineous kin who are bound together through some common ancestor. There is, some difference between the principle of unilateral descent and genealogical relationship. Descent generally refers to a cultural principle which specifies the position of an individual within a definite group of unilaterally descended kinsmen. This group is known as a lineage. The exogamous group is composed of persons who are or consider themselves to be related by blood or of the same kin; and the nearer the relationship, the more frequently it is a bar to intermarriage, at least within the same line of descent.

It appears that from the earliest times Aryan marriage was strictly exogamous. This is narrated by the marriage ceremony laid down in the Rigveda and enunciated in Grihya Sutras. As the Vedic village was strictly agnatic, it was imperative that marriage should take place in some other village.⁴ It is not definitely known how far other relations are excluded from marriage.

The law as it developed early in the age of Smriti restricted marriage between Sapindas both from the father and mother's side. A *Sapinda* means one who has the same particles of the body. And *Sapinda* relationship (between two persons) arises from their being connected by having particles of the same body either directly or mediately. The word thus has a very wide connotation and later on the Brahman writers limited the scope of *Sapinda* relationship in their exogamous rules.⁵

The marriage rule as regards *Sapinda* relationship or consanguinity emphasises that a man should not marry a girl who is related to him through a common male ancestor upto 7th generation in the father's line and 5th generation in the mother's line. Thus for marriage, two persons are not supposed to be *Sapindas*, if they have a common 8th ancestor in the father's line or a common 6th ancestor in the mother's line.⁶

Thus there is a large number of people related to each other through descent and marriage. Within this kin group there are lineages counted through male and female succession. A lineage excludes relations by marriage as also blood relations of certain type. The smallest unit in a kin group is the family. It is made up affinal kin as also of blood kin and consists of man, wife and children.

The present study narrates the extent of the kin-group and enumerates the rules related to consanguinity. The actual operation of this rule has been studied with reference to the marriages recorded from amongst the five castes. At the outset it may be stated that among all the five castes there is a very strict taboo against marriages and sex rela-

tions within the small unit called family. As regards other kins it would be best to treat each caste separately. As regards Brahmanical marriage practices there are five principles and those are stated below —

- (a) There shall be no marriage within one's own patrilineage.
- (b) There shall be no marriage with father's sister's or female cousins' children, mother's brother, sister or cousins' children.
- (c) (i) There shall not be more than one marriage with one and the same patrilineage.
(ii) There shall not be any exchange marriage.
- (d) There shall not be any marriage with affinal kins — wife's sister or cousin sisters which may be termed as Sororate.
- (e) There shall not be any marriage with husband's brother or other kins, i.e. they shall not practice Levirate.

It is intended to examine how far these rules are adhered to by the five castes studied. A little clarification is necessary with regard to the first rule stated above. Before the Middle Ages it did not appear that the Brahman families had any surname. In present day Bengal Brahman patrilineages have certain surnames like — Ghosal, Ganguli, Chatterji, Bhattacharya and so on. There is not always a one to one correspondence between the surnames and gotra. For instance Bhattacharyas may belong to different patrilineages and may marry among themselves if the patrilineages belong to different exogamous units viz., gotra (See next Chapter). The fact should be kept in mind while referring to the genealogies.

Before proceeding further it is also necessary to have an idea of the procedure followed in arranging the genealogies. In order to show the mode of selection certain genealogies illustrating an extended network of affinal ties and at the same time indicating the ultimate exogamous unit, were presented in the chart. The genealogical data grouped according to generation showed the extent of intermarriage among definite families, i.e., how the families already having affinal ties with one another, were acting in the different generation. And in cases of marriages within a family (patrilineage), it would illustrate the relation between the bride and the groom and their distance from the common ancestor.

In this particular study generations were arranged on the basis of birth, i.e., individuals were grouped with reference to their degree of difference from the common ancestor and were counted in the descending order. The female lineage or the descendants of daughter had not been mentioned as they belonged to a different patrilineage, except on certain occasion when these were to indicate cousin marriages of the second or third order. The patrilineage was differentiated by alphabetical index, viz., A, B, C, D, etc.; marriages which took place within definite patrilineages were clearly pointed out with reference to the alphabetical index,

generation and serial number of the individual within that generation. As for example, if the bride belonged to family A in the 2nd generation, having the serial No. 4, and the groom in the 2nd generation of family D, having the serial No. 24, both were pointed out in the genealogy in the following manner :—

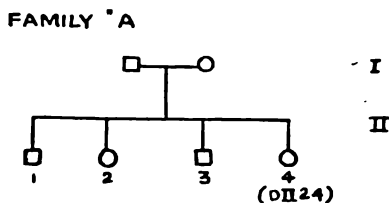


Fig. 1:1

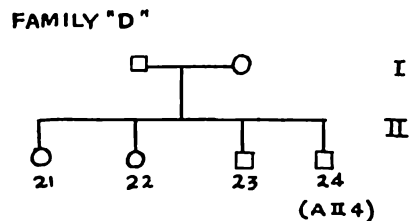


Fig. 1:2

The number mentioned at the bottom was that of the other partner, so that when one partner was found that would at once indicate the position and location of the other in the genealogies. Besides in case of exchange marriages where both brother and sister or brothers and sisters, uncle and niece etc., were married to the same family, small units were interpolated within a detailed genealogy. Any abrupt beginning within a detailed genealogy detached from the main generation lines of the same indicated the interpolated unit, for instance —

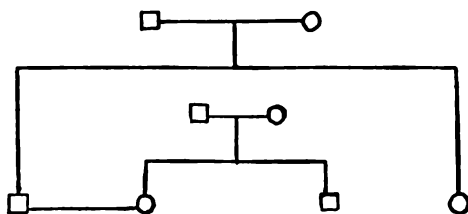


Fig. 1:3

2. The details of the castes studied.

(a) *Brahmans* :—A scrutiny of the 708 marriages recorded from the Brahman families showed that there was not a single marriage among the people belonging to own patrilineage. So the first rule was strictly followed by the Brahman families of the sample.

(b) The second rule actually refers to *Sapinda* rule of marriage. As had already been stated common descent was considered to be a bar for marriage for as many generations as one can remember. Because of this

rule no marriage was allowed even among distant cousins related through the brother, sister and cousin of father and mother.

In examining the entire data (708) it was found that there was not a single case of marriage of cousins however remotely connected by blood. There were however, two very curious cases occurring in a family No. Br.—1, where two persons chose partners who were their cross-cousins on the principle of genealogy though there was no biological relationship.

The genealogy is reproduced below —

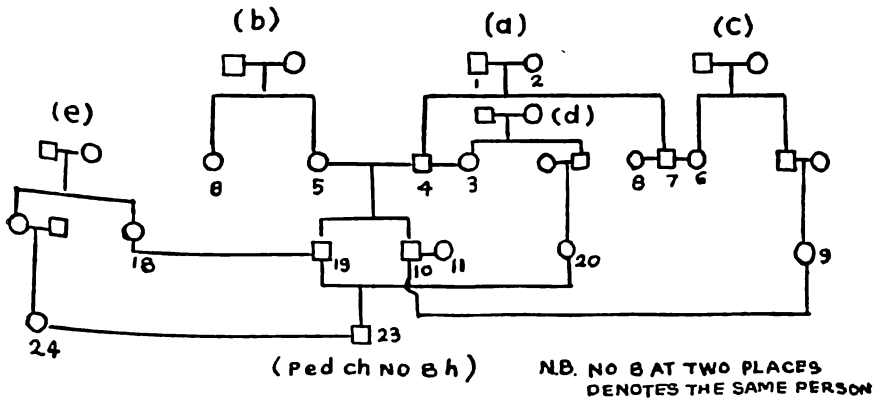


Fig. 1:4

In this genealogy there were five different patrilineages bound by marriage. The lineage (a) referred to the family visited in course of the survey and the other interpolated units were the affinal groups. No. 4 of family (a) had two wives — 5 and 3, belonging to family (b) and (d). He had two sons by the second wife — Nos. — 10 and 19, each of whom again had two wives respectively, viz., 19 — 18, 20, 10 — 9 and 11. No. 18 belonged to family (e) and No. 20 was from family (d) and was No. — 3's Brother's daughters (Br. Da.) i.e., No. 19's step-mother's brother's daughter, thus the bride was the groom's step-mother's brother's daughter. She was a step-cross-cousin of her husband.

Again in the same genealogy No. 19 had a son (23) from No. 20. This son No. 23 married 24 from family (e) who was the daughter of his step-mother's sister and thus his step-parallel cousin.

These two marriages were not the union of real parallel or cross-cousins as the relationship was only through the step-mother. Generally relationship through step-mother is held to be on par with relationship through mother. These two examples may be cited as exceptions to the taboo of cousin-marriage.

(c) As regards the third regulation of marriage viz., not to establish more than one affinal tie with one and the same patrilineage the genealogies showed that this injunction was not observed as rigidly as the previous two regulations. There are two ways by which this taboo can be broken, viz., —

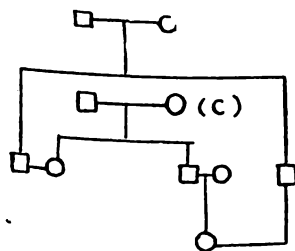
- (i) Repeated affinal relations of non-reciprocal kind among two patrilineages. (One are givers and the others receivers of bride).
- (ii) Repeated affinal alliances of reciprocal type among two patrilineages.

In the first type of marital alliance a patrilineage receives brides from another patrilineage without giving their brides in return. In the second type of marital alliances two patrilineages exchange daughters.

Out of the 708 marriages the first type of marital alliance was recorded in case of 27 marriages. Whereas there were 10 cases in which the second type of practice was observed. So that it was found that in this particular respect the actual behaviour was slightly at variance with the avowed pattern. It must be noted however, that (C i) type of marriage is far more than (C ii). This practice is not in conformity with the northern pattern where receivers of daughters do not give daughters in return. Thus it has been stated by Dr. Karve while dealing with the practices of northern zone that "if a daughter is given into a certain family of a certain village, a second daughter is generally not given into the same family or village in that generation and, not even in the next two generations. Also there is a prejudice against exchanging daughters."

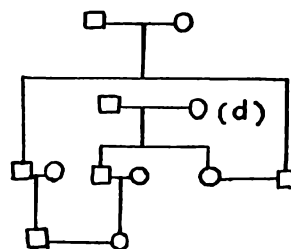
A few instances extracted from the original genealogies (given in the Appendix 1), illustrating the C i, and C ii, type of marriages are narrated below. (a) refers to the family visited during the survey and (b), (c), (d) etc. imply the affinal groups.

C i. Type —



(Ped Ch. No .22)

Fig. 1:5

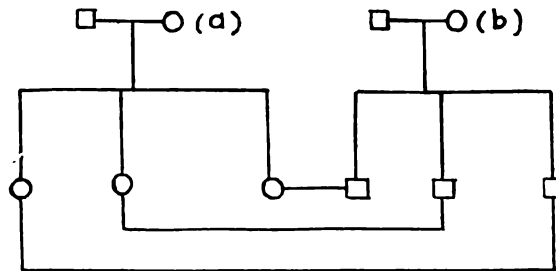


Ped.Ch.No 22.

Fig. 1:6

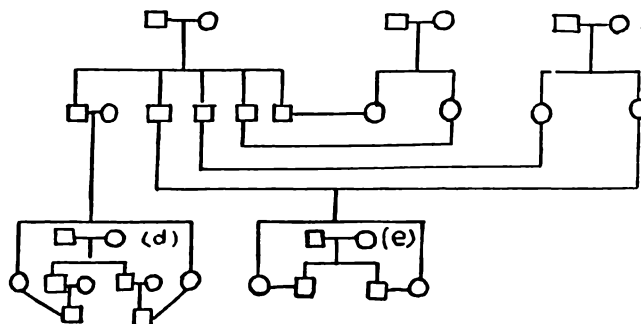
Both these examples occurring in the figures No. 1.5 and 1.6 showed one way transaction. The lineages (a) and (b) had received brides from the (c) and (d) but had not given any in return. In the example 1.5 two brothers married in the same lineage, the brides being related as aunt and niece and therefore belong to two generations.

In the example 1.6 uncle and nephew (Ego. and Fa. Br. = Father's Brother) were married to the same lineage. The brides were related as aunt and niece (Ego and Fa. Sis. = Father's Sister) and thus belong to two different generations. Few more illustrations of the non-reciprocal type of transaction are given below.



(Ped Ch No - 15)

Fig. 1:7



ped Ch No 38

Fig. 1:8

In the Fig. No. 1.7 all the three sisters belonging to family (a) were married to three brothers of family (b). This is not a very common practice. Unless the two families feel an extra-ordinary attraction to one another, no one likes to marry all the sons and daughters in the same family. Sometimes too much intimacy through several marriages, creates unhealthy relation between the two families.

In the Fig. No. 1.8 five lineages were involved. In the first ascending generation in family (a) four brothers married in two different lineages (b) and (c), two brides being taken from each. In the recent generation there were four daughters. They were married to two different lineages (d) and (e), two being taken by each lineage. Thus in one generation brides were taken from other families and in other daughters were given but there was no exchange, in the sense that bride and groom were not taken simultaneously from the same patrilineage.

C ii, Type — These were the few examples which showed the reciprocal transaction or the exchange marriages in which brides were not only married to a definite patrilineage but had also been accepted in return.

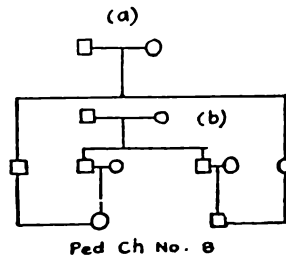


Fig. 1:9

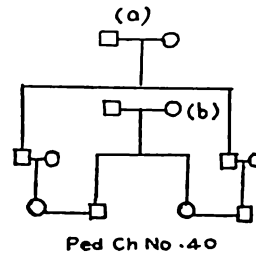


Fig. 1:10

In the first example (Fig. No. 1.9) brother and sister belonging to lineage (a) were married to the parallel cousins (brother and sister) of the lineage (b).

In the second example (Fig. No. 1.10) parallel cousins (brother and sister) of (a) were married to the brother and sister of the lineage (b).

Few more such instances are given below —

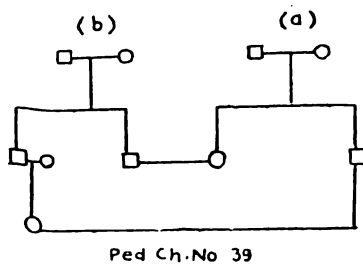


Fig. 1:11

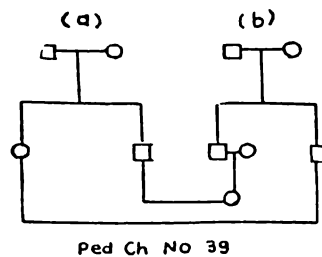


Fig. 1:12

In the Fig. No. 1.11 brother and sister were married to the niece and uncle of the lineage (b). In the Fig. No. 1.12 brother and sister

from (a) were married to niece and uncle of the lineage (b). More such instances can be found in the Appendix I where the detailed genealogies are given.

(d) As regards the fourth regulation of marriage relating to the repeated alliance with wife's kins (either sisters or cousins) it may be stated that out of the total number of marriages (708) there was only 1 case where the man married during the life time of his first wife and there were 29 cases where he married for the second time due to the untimely death of the first wife. The former practice was common some 2/3 generations ago, while in recent generations men do not go for second wife unless otherwise compelled by some inevitable occurrence. The author was told, in case of the first wife's death the first choice is to marry either her sister (if there be any) or her cousins. From the wife's family they also try to marry one of their daughters to the same son-in-law particularly if he happens to be well settled in life. Only one such case, so inspite of people's bias in favour of such marriages apparently they are rare.

There were few instances in which the man married for the second time. In the Fig. No. 1.13 he married for the second time during the life time of the first wife. The wives belong to two different lineage and both

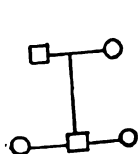


Fig. 1:13

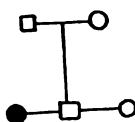


Fig. 1:14

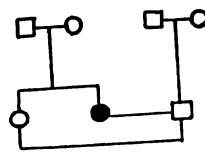


Fig. 1:15

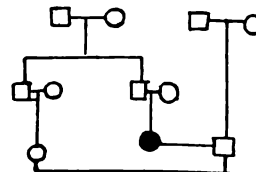


Fig. 1:16

are alive. In the Fig. No. 1.14 the man married for the second time after the death of his first wife. The wives came from two different lineages. In the Fig. No. 1.15 the man married for the second time after first wife's death. The wives were two sisters and therefore belonged to the same lineage. In the Fig. No. 1.16 the second marriage took place after first wife's death. The wives were parallel cousins and therefore belonged to the same lineage.

(e) So far as the fifth regulation of marriage is concerned [viz. there shall be no marriage with husband's brother or relations,] it may be stated that since the Brahmans do not practice widow remarriage the question of marrying husband's brother or relations does not arise at all. Neither was such a case found.

Kayasthas — Total cases 518 — So far as the Kayasthas are concerned it is found that they observe the same rules of marriage as the Brahmans

do. Over and above the rules stated for the Brahmans, they are reported to have another convention which is the method of counting generations and is termed as "*Paryay*". It acts as a check in selection as it needs that the bride and the groom must belong to the same generation or alternate one but should not be from the two consecutive generations. The generation is counted from the founder of a patrilineage and proceeds on male line. As the members of two consecutive generations are usually related as parent and child and are not expected to have joking relationship, it is thought objectionable to have marriage between people separated by only one generation. Since the relation between the members of two alternate generations is that of grand-father and grand-child whose relation is not so much reserved as that of the parents and child, it is permitted that the bride and the groom may belong to two alternate generations.

This practice is not found among the members of any other caste studied. I was told that even among the Dakshina Radhi Kayasthas the system is disappearing and is pursued only by the well-to-do orthodox families.

(a) As regards the first regulation of marriage it may be stated that there was not a single case of marriage within the same patrilineage.

(b) As regards the second rule of marriage there was only one instance out of the total of 518 cases, where the bride and the groom were related and had common ancestor in the third ascending generation. The example given below shows the actual relation existing between the bride and the groom. The Fig. No. 1.17 shows that the bride and the groom had a common great grand-father. The bride's mother and groom's

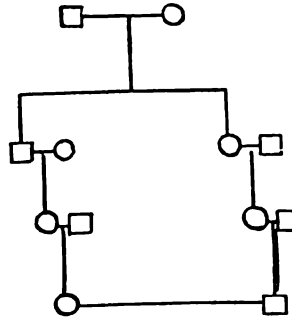
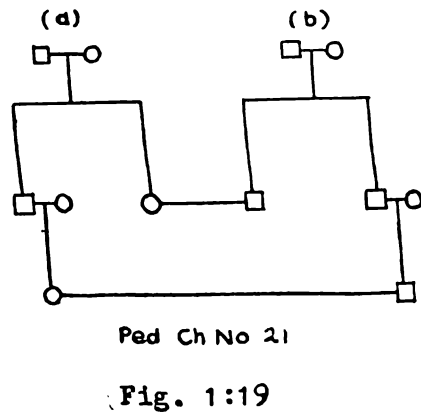
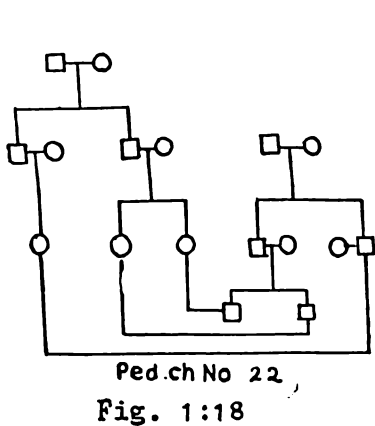


Fig. 1:17

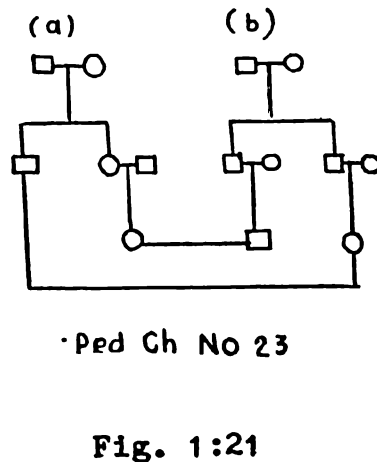
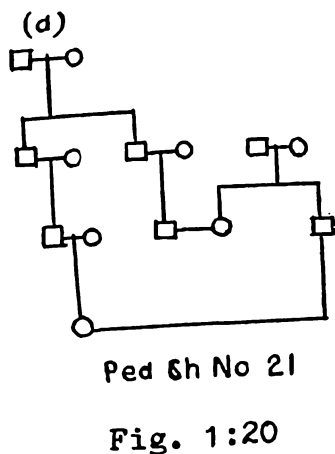
mother were cousin sisters. They had a common grand-father, one being in the direct line connected through her father and the other through her mother. This being the only instance out of 518 cases studied may rightly be considered as an exception to the taboo of cousin marriage.

(c) There were quite a number of cases of C type. Of the two varieties of C, there were cases where the non-reciprocal one directional alliances were established. Two such examples are given below —



Both the examples illustrate one way transaction. In the Fig. No. 1.18 three sisters (2 siblings and 1, parallel cousin) were married to three persons of the same lineage (two brothers and uncle). In the Fig. No. 1.19 aunt and niece, (ego and Fa. Sis. = Father's Sister) were married to uncle and nephew (ego and Fa. Br. = Father's Brother) of the same lineage. Other cases of this type are given in the Appendix 1.

As regards C ii, type i.e. reciprocal relationship the number seems to be relatively more than among the Brahmins. Few examples illustrating the type are given below —



Both these examples show that either brother and sister or cousin brother and sister were married to the same lineage. They were married to the members belonging either to the same generation or to two consecutive generations, thus having the relationship of uncle-niece i.e. ego and Br. Da. = Brother's daughter; Ego and Sis. Da. = Sister's Daughter. More such instances are given in the Appendix 1.

With regard to the special convention of counting generations or "Paryay", it may be stated that though they had the practice a few generations ago, it was not possible to secure in course of survey a single complete genealogy where the generations of the bride and the groom in case of each marriage had clearly been stated.

It may be mentioned that this very curious type of marriage is — never a marriage between blood relations, otherwise it would have been in the same category as the grand-father — grand-daughter marriage of the primitive tribes of eastern India. The reason for allowing marriages of people removed by two generations is however almost identical with that given by the primitives. One wonders whether this peculiar Kayastha custom is due to culture contact or a curious phenomenon of convergence.

(d) With regard to the fourth injunction of marriage it may be stated that the Kayasthas also pursue the same practice as that of the Brahmans. Nobody goes for the second wife unless otherwise compelled by the inevitable situation. In such case the man may choose to marry one of his wife's kins (sister or cousin) or he may select one from different lineage. There is no such binding. The number of marriages in which the man chose wife's kin was one and the cases where he chose from other family were 22. The instances are given in the Appendix 1.

(e) Like the Brahmans, the Kayasthas do not practise widow remarriage. So the question of marrying husband's kins does not arise at all. Gandha-Baniks — Are a small trading caste locally concentrated in Calcutta city. The Gandha-baniks observe similar rules of marriage as those of the Brahmans. But as they have small population compared to those of the Brahmans and the Kayasthas they could not follow those principles as rigidly as was done by the first two castes.

Out of the 753 marriages there was only one instance where the first rule was violated. In this particular instance the bride and the groom were related as uncle and niece and were removed by two and three degrees respectively from the common ancestor. They were related through male line. The genealogy showing the relationship between the groom and the bride is stated below —

The marriage though sanctioned by the Pandits was not looked upon favourably by the caste people and groom's paternal relations, particularly his grand-mother. As his mother was not alive the groom stayed

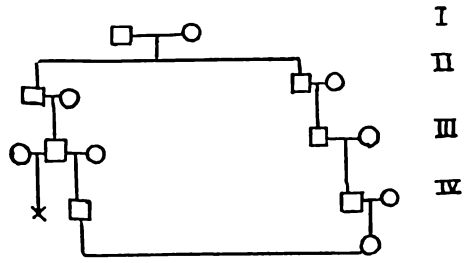


Fig. 1:22

with his grand-mother. Though the marriage was not welcomed, still the patrilineages involved were neither excommunicated nor fined by the caste Council. The groom was supported in his effort only by his friends and maternal uncles. The marriage ceremony took place outside Calcutta and the marriage was announced only when the ceremony was over. At the time of the inquiry the groom's grand-mother was not at all willing to welcome the daughter-in-law who was also her great-grand-niece. So the groom and the bride were then staying with their respective parents. At the time of investigation the groom was continuing his University studies and it was reported that he intended to set up a separate home as soon as he could secure a job after the completion of his studies.

This being the only instance of marriage within a patrilineage available in course of the inquiry, may be considered as a rare exception.

(b) As regards the second rule of marriage there were four cases where cousins and kins were married. In each of these cases the bride and the groom though related belong to two different patrilineages. The genealogies are given below

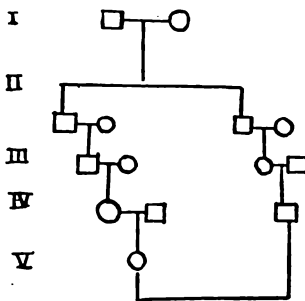


Fig. 1:23

Fig. No. 1.23 illustrates marriage between uncle and niece. The groom and the bride's mothers were cross-cousins. The groom and the bride were removed by four and five degrees respectively from the common-ancestor and both were related to him through their mothers.

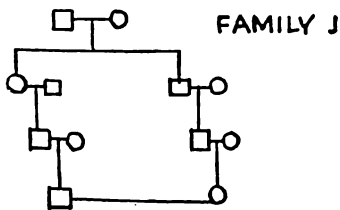


Fig. 1:24

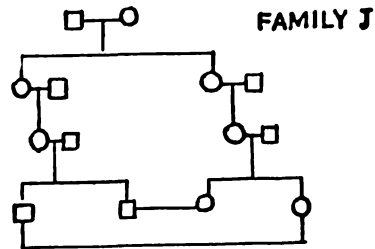


Fig. 1:25

Fig. No. 1.24 illustrates the marriage between cross-cousins removed by two degrees from the common ancestor. The bride and the groom had common great-grand father i.e. the groom's grand-mother's father and the bride's grand-father's father was the same. They were cross-cousins and belong to two different lineages.

Fig. No. 1.25 illustrates the marriage between parallel cousins removed by two degrees. Both the groom and the bride were related to, the common great grand-father through their respective mothers. The groom and the bride's mother were first parallel cousins, their mothers being siblings (sisters). As the relation was through female line they belonged to two different lineages.

These were the few instances where near kins were united and which were admitted by the interviewees in course of the survey.

(c) So far as the third rule of marriage is concerned it may be stated that such marriages are common and occur frequently (a) and (b) types. This is common among all the three castes, but the proportion is relatively more in case of the Gandha-baniks as they have smaller field of choice.

Such cases were observed in bigger families where 15/20 marriages were to be arranged in each generation. As a result when two families with equal economic and social status came in contact they continued to establish affinal ties either with this lineage or others connected to it. Multiple marriages were mostly due to close proximity and restricted scope of choice. It was further observed that at least on one side the candidates were either siblings or cousins and that all these marriages took place in the same generation or there was the difference of one generation only. On the whole the candidates were contemporaries and were known to one another. This restricted approach in the selection of mates,

led to the formation of a sort of group consisting of several lineages related to each other.

It appears from the data that Ci, type of marriages are more common and occur frequently than the C ii, type. Out of the total marriages there were only 33 cases where Ci, type i.e., non-reciprocal and one directional marriages took place. Few more instances are given in the Appendix 1.

It appears from the repeated occurrence of affinal alliances between two lineages that perhaps there may be marriage of kins and cousins. But the extracts from the detailed genealogies given below, show that there was not a single case of marriage between the direct descendants of any of the lineages, back again to their respective mother's lineage. So the second rule of marriage i.e. (b) had not been violated in spite of repeated exchanges extended over even two or three generations.

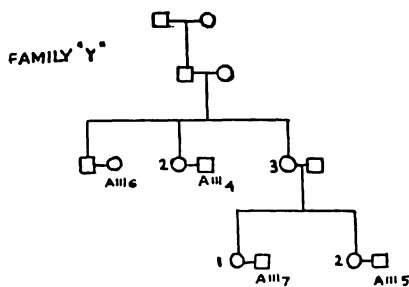


Fig. 1:26

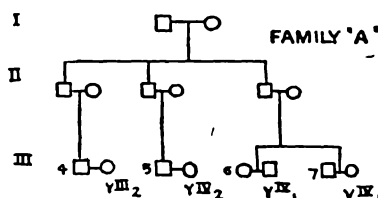


Fig. 1:27

In the above examples four marriages took place between the two families (not restricted to two definite lineages only and includes daughter's children also — Fig. No. 1.26). In the family 'Y' marriages were distributed over two generations, while in the family 'A' the marriages occurred in the same generation. Brother, Sister and their sister's daughters (Y) were married to the four cousin brothers and sisters of the family (A).

Two more genealogies are given below showing the repeated practice of exchange marriage extending over more than one generation.

In the above examples (figs. 1.28 and 1.29) five marriages took place between two families (not restricted to lineages since 'W' included female lineage). Both sons and daughters from one family were married to the other and brides and grooms from the latter were accepted in return. The members from 'A' viz., III 1, 2, 3 and II 2, were married to the members of 'W' viz., IV 1, 2, 3, 4 and III 2. No. II 2, in the family 'A', married twice. After the death of his first wife he chose her parallel cousins' daughter ('W' IV 3).

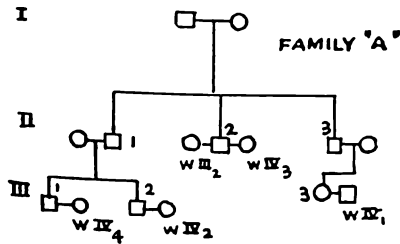


Fig. 1:28

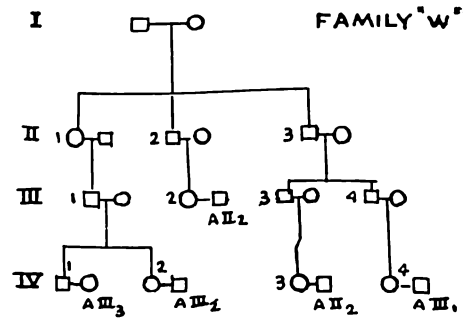


Fig. 1:29

The pattern followed by the Gandha-baniks is definitely different from those observed in case of the Brahmans and the Kayasthas who do not practise exchange marriage to such an extent. Few more instances are given in the Appendix 1, p. 5.

(d) With regard to the fourth regulation of marriage it may be stated that there is no difference in the practice followed by all the three castes. It was found from the genealogies that people did not marry for the second time unless the first wife died untimely. In that case generally they preferred the deceased wife's sister or her cousins.

Cases are given in the Appendix 1.

(e) Like the other two castes the Gandha-baniks do not practice widow remarriage, so the question of marrying husband's brother or his Kins does not arise at all.

The Byagra-Kshattriyas: The Byagra-Kshattriyas though ranking low in social status, try to follow Brahmanical practices by giving up those customs which are not favoured by the Brahmans, viz., divorce, widow remarriage etc. Evidences at our disposal are not, however, sufficient to warrant that they reckon prohibited degrees upto seven and five generations as is done by the Brahmans.

(a) So far as the first rule of marriage is concerned an examination of the 457 marriages recorded from the Byagra-Kshattriyas show that there was only *one instance of marriage between persons belonging to the same patrilineage*. The example is given below —

In this particular instance the bride and the groom were related as parallel cousins and were removed by three degrees from the common ancestor. They were related through male line.

It appeared in course of the enquiry that they were quite conscious about the *gyat-sambandha* i.e. blood-relationship, and irrespective of their actual practice they felt shy to admit any such cases of marriage within the same patrilineage.

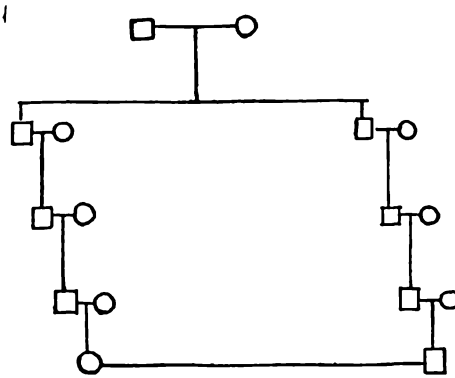


Fig. 1:30

(b) With regard to the second rule of marriage it was not possible to secure a single instance where this rule was violated.

(c) So far as the third regulation is concerned they were found to practice both the types; i.e. they contracted more than one affinal tie of non-reciprocal nature with the same family, as well as they practised exchange marriage. Out of the total 457 marriages, there were 14 cases of Ci, type and 4 of the Cii, type. The few simple instances available are given in the Appendix 1.

(d) Just like the other castes they also marry after the death of the first wife and prefer to have one from the previous in-laws' house. There are 13 cases where the man married for the second time.

(e) The data do not reveal any case of widow remarriage so in this respect also they can be placed at par with the three higher castes.

Hadis: In case of the *Hadis* it was not possible to secure detailed genealogies extending over three/four generations as was available in case of the other castes. They could narrate the genealogies only upto two/three generations and could inform properly only with regard to their immediate family group. In few cases they could furnish the necessary information with regard to their parallel or cross-cousins. It might perhaps be due to a great extent to their unstable family structure. Repeated practice of divorce and *sanga* weakens the family stability and kinship ties.

An illiterate people who are out for work the whole day. This data was collected when they came.

(a) and (b) As regards the first regulation of marriage it may be stated that out of 418 marriages recorded from the *Hadis*, there was not a single case of marriage within the patrilineage. It was reported during the survey that in case of their first union which they termed as marriage, they avoid their own patrilineage, — their siblings, and cousins both

parallel and cross. So that the second regulation of marriage equally holds good in their case.

(c) So far as the third rule of marriage is concerned only a few cases of repeated affinal alliance of either C i, or C ii, type could be recorded from them.

It is mostly because they stick to their caste practices and their pattern of selection is different from those of the other four castes studied. Whenever they find any difficulty they take recourse to divorce. Usually their marriage takes place at an early age, and the entire procedure occurs under parental supervision. So that it remains uncertain whether they would like each other in later life. Moreover, as they have the freedom of divorce and to choose as they please, they do not bother much in selecting the marriage partner. If they find it difficult to pull on with the wife they part with her and seek a new partner. The wife also chooses somebody else. In such cases the natural tendency is to select somebody previously known. So that it is not unlikely that some of the relations — either own cousin brothers or sisters or husband's brothers or Kins; wife's sisters or cousins (according as the person is a male or a female) may have the chance of being chosen for *sanga*. Some such unions may be of the type of levirate marriages but the data do not lend support to any such instances.

It may be mentioned here that in spite of the best effort, it was found extremely difficult to ascertain how far the facts, particularly in this respect, were reflected in the data. May be it is because of their freedom of choice and at the same time the complicated situation created by repeated practice of divorce and *sanga* they prefer to keep silent and usually do not try to elaborate the relation existing between the partners involved in *sanga*.

(d) With regard to the fourth regulation of marriage it may be stated that because of their characteristic caste convention, few instances could be recorded where a man married his first wife's sister or cousin. The total number of such marriages is 2.

The Hadis have a different conception of marriage. They allow their men to marry more than once, whereas the women can marry only once. The subsequent union of the woman are termed as *sanga*. Whether a man will marry or not depends on his liking whereas the action of a woman is determined by social injunction. And if a union is a marriage or *sanga* can be easily decided from the status of the woman — if she is a virgin or not.

The difference between marriage and *sanga* is that the former is associated with rites and rituals whereas the latter needs only the local support. The *sanga*-wife may or may not use the iron bangle and vermilion, the symbols of marriage recognized in Bengal. Generally the

widows do not use these two symbols even after *sanga*, as they believe that with the death of first husband they have lost the pride of using them. Sometimes the women do not use these two symbols after separation from the first husband. In case of separation the children may live either with the father or the mother. In case of death of one they live with the living parent. Among the higher castes the children always belong to and live with the father's family. The Hadis live a precarious and unstable life so that the father's Kin is not always in a position to support the children who live with her and follow her to a second home if she does *sanga* again.

The occurrence of few sorrorate marriages may be attributed to the following fact —

The Hadis (men), though having the freedom of marrying more than once, prefer *sanga* to marriage. It is because they are thereby doubly benefited. First they get a matured woman belonging almost to the same age group and capable of economic labour. And secondly, in case of *sanga* the question of bride-price does not arise at all.

In summing up it may be stated that the analysis shows the following —

(a) The first rule prohibiting marriage within the patrilineage had been observed by all the five castes. The few caste recorded and narrated in the body of the chapter may be considered as exceptions.

(b) The second rule prohibiting marriage with parallel and cross-cousins through both the parents was equally obeyed by all the five castes. The few deviations may be treated as exceptions.

(c) The third rule of marriage was not so rigidly practised as the former two, and the following table shows the number of Ci, and Cii type of marriages recorded from the five castes.

TABLE No. 1.1
Showing the Number of Ci and Cii type of Marriages.

Castes	NUMBER OF MARRIAGES		Total	TOTAL NO. OF MARRIAGES
	Ci Type	Cii Type		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahman	27	10	37	708
Kayastha	17	8	25	518
Gandha-banik	33	18	51	753
Byagra-Kshatriyas	14	4	18	457
Hadi	7	2	9	418

Generally exchange marriages are few. And Ci type of marriage was preferred by all the castes to Cii Type.

TABLE No. 1.2
Second marriage and Sorrorate Marriages.

Castes	SECOND MARRIAGE		Total	TOTAL NO. OF MARRIAGES
	First wife's family	Out-side		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahman	1	29	30	708
Kayastha	1	22	23	518
Gandha-banik	7	20	27	753
Byagra-Kshattriya	2	11	13	457
*Hadi	2	4	6	418

* Cases of Sanga being distinct from remarriage, had not been included in this table.

Sorrorate marriages though few are present, the number being highest among the Gandha-banik. Not more than 2 cases could be recorded from the Hadis.

(d) Since the higher castes particularly the Brahmans, Kayasthas and Gandha-baniks do not practise widow remarriage, the question of levirate marriage does not arise at all. The Byagra-Kshattriyas may practice widow remarriage, as the practice is common among other lower castes, but the genealogies do not show any such instance.

The Hadis allow their widows to do *sanga*, and they are free to choose as they like. Usually they chose somebody previously known to them. Under such circumstances it is not surprising to find some of the widows selecting their first husband's brother or cousin as the future partner. They, however, are not found to be agreeable to admit such cases and so the genealogies do not reveal any such instances.

References :

1. Mardock, G. P., *Social Structure* (1949), Chap. II, p. 314, New York.
2. Rivers, W. H. R., *Marriage — Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics —* (1915), Vol. 8, p. 424, New York.
3. Rivers, W. H. R., *Kinship — Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics —* (1914), Vol. 7, p. 700, New York.
4. Sen, N. C., *Evolution of Ancient India Law*, pp. 94-99.
5. Kapadia, K. M., *Hindu Kinship* (1947), pp. 61-62, Bombay.
6. Karve, I., *Kinship Organization in India* (1953), p. 55, Poona.
7. *Ibid* (6), p. 124.

EXOGENOUS GROUPS WITHIN A CASTE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF CASTE ENDOGAMY

In the last chapter marriage regulations based on Kinship have been considered. This chapter deals with the principles or regulations based on the existence of certain exogamous groups called gotra. Though the word used by the five castes for exogamous divisions within a caste, is identical, the actual structure and function of the group called gotra, differs from caste to caste, as will be seen from the analysis below.

It may be mentioned here that exogamy as it exists in Hindu society has two aspects. One forbids marriage between persons connected to each other within certain generations (cf. Chap. 1), and the other bars marriage between members belonging to the same gotra¹ (to be dealt in the present chapter). As regards endogamy it may be stated that there is scarcely a single caste in India whose members as a whole intermarry. Each caste is divided into a number of smaller groups who marry only among themselves. These endogamous groups are known as sub-castes. There are thus two opposing tendencies. The consciousness of caste status restricts marriage territorially and genealogically within a group, while taboo on the marriage of near Kin extends the affinal group.²

Dr. Karve, in her book has defined caste as an extended family or an extended Kinship group. In the same context gotra may be defined as extended patrilineage. It is stated therein that Gotra is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the 'seven sages' or Agastya.³ All those who belong to one gotra are supposed to have descended from one Vedic Rishi whose name is given to that gotra. Thus the circle of affinity which each gotra encloses is an extremely wide one and includes persons whose relationship cannot be traced through genealogies.

2. *Characteristics of the Brahmans.*

(a) *Gotra and Family name* : Out of the different sub-castes of the Brahmans stated in Introduction, the present data consist of only the Radhiya sub-caste. This is an endogamous group, and the people belonging to it, marry only among themselves.

So far as the exogamous groups of the Brahmans are concerned, it was reported by the caste elders during the enquiry that there are eight gotras or exogamous units among the Brahmans, out of which the sample represents only five, viz.,

Radhiya Brahman gotras	1. Bharadwaj
	2. Sandilya
	3. Kasyap
	4. Batsya
	5. Sabarnya.

It has been noted in the Introduction, that this sub-caste is further sub-divided into groups like Kulin and Non-Kulin. The gotras enumerated above are found in all these groups. Thus in the sample there are the following divisions —

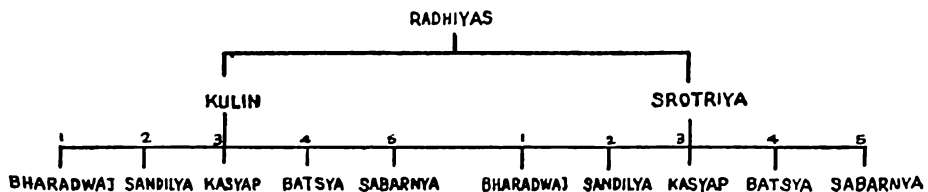


Fig. 2:1

In Bengal each Brahman besides having a gotra also possesses a family name which is handed down from father to son in patrilineal succession. Sometimes one family name may be connected with one gotra. In such cases people bearing the same family name cannot marry each other. The family name then functions in the same way as the patri-clan gotra does. In other cases the same family-name may be found among people of different gotra. Where such is the case, people bearing the same family name may intermarry.

It may be mentioned here that there are certain surnames which distinctly signify and differentiate the caste. Usually the surnames prevalent among the Brahmans are not found among other castes. But there are number of surnames common among the Kayasthas, Gandhaniks and other *Naba-sakha* castes.

The table of surnames and gotras recorded from the Radhiyas when studied will show that out of the eighteen surnames there is one to one correspondence between family name and gotra only in case of five. For instance, (Ref. Table 2.1 below)

1. All Mukherjis belong to Bharadwaj gotra
2. All Banerjis belong to Sandilya gotra

3. All Chatterjis belong to Kasyap gotra
4. All Ghosals belong to Batsya gotra
5. All Gangulis belong to Sabarnya gotra

TABLE No. 2.1

Showing the association of surname with the gotras.

S.No.	Surname	BRAHMANICAL GOTRAS				
		Bharadwaj (3)	Sandilya (4)	Kasyap (5)	Batsya (6)	Sabarnya (7)
1.	Mukherji	*				
2.	Banerji		*			
3.	Chatterji			*		
4.	Ganguli					*
5.	Bhattacharya	*	*	*	*	
6.	Chakravarty	*	*		*	
7.	Ghoshal				*	
8.	Munshi				*	
9.	Sharma	*				
10.	Roy	*		*		*
11.	Acharya			*	*	
12.	Choudhari			*		*
13.	Goswami	*		*		
14.	Sarkar	*		*		
15.	Mazumdar	*				
16.	Misra		*			
17.	Deb Roy		*			
18.	Adhikari				*	

N.B. * indicates the association of a surname with the gotras specified.

It may also be mentioned here that the five surnames which have got one to one correspondence with gotras are the typical Radhiya surnames. Among the other family names though in the sample Munshi, Misra, Deb Roy, Adhikari and Mazumdar has one gotra each, there are be noted that the first five family names are found only among the Kulin and Bhanga division of the Radhiyas. As regards the rest of the surnames some are found among the Brahman sub-castes and some among other castes.

Given the five gotras, it is expected that marriages will be uniformly distributed over these gotras. The table given below shows the distribution of marriages over different gotras.

In the left hand vertical column i.e. (Col. 1) are stated the gotras of the families visited and in the other columns are stated the percentage distribution of marriages which these families had contracted with the other gotras.

TABLE No. 2.2
Distribution of marriages over different Gotras

Gotras of the family visited (1)	Gotras of the affinal group				
	Bharadwaj (2)	Sandilya (3)	Kasyap (4)	Batsya (5)	Sabarnya (6)
Bharadwaj	—	49.5	40.3	3.5	6.7
Sandilya	59.1	—	34.3	2.9	3.5
Kasyap	50.8	41.6	—	3.7	3.7
Batsya	29.3	28.0	42.6	—	—
Sabarnya	—	—	—	—	—

The table shows that marriages are not uniformly distributed over all the gotras. There is a clear tendency among Bharadwaj, Sandilya and Kasyap gotras to contract most of their marriages within themselves. It may also be stated here that though I did not choose the samples either by surname or by gotra it is found that the Sabarnyas are not found in large number like Bharadwaj, Sandilya and Kasyap. Batsya though represented by various family names, is still less numerous compared to the first three gotras.

(b) *Relation of Gotra and Surname to Hypergamous divisions*

It has already been stated in the Introduction, that the Radhi Brahmans are divided into the following hypergamous divisions.⁴

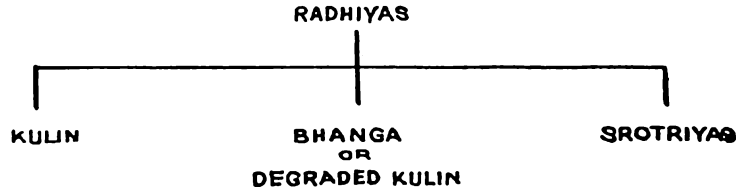


Fig. 2:2

These are purely social groupings distinguished according as the families of higher lineage could pursue and practice the nine virtues assigned to them. Higher social status was thus associated with virtue and was not merely a question of descent.

The Kulins were stated to be those who had observed the entire nine counsels of perfection.⁵ Bhangha literally means a break and connotes those families who belong to Kulin sub-division but lost the status owing to the marriage of their daughters to non-Kulins. In course of time Bhangha became a separate division with a number of families and practise marriage among themselves; or else, if they were rich enough to pay a heavy dowry, they tried to find a Kulin groom for their daughters.

The srotriyas represented from the very first those who never had Kulinism conferred on them.

The extraordinary feature of Kulinism as observed in Bengal was mostly due to the great re-organisation of marriage regulations by one Devivara Banerji in 1480. First he divided the Radhiya families into Kulin and Bhanga. He enjoined that as far as possible the Kulin girls should always marry Kulin grooms. He further divided the Kulins into 36 divisions of equal status called Mels, each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or village, e.g., Pandit-ratni, Sarbanandi, Khardaha and so on. In each Mel were several families belonging to different gotras. It was further stated that daughters should be married to the same Mel whereas sons could marry in other Mels as well. A Mel was thus in a sense an endogamous unit. Though marriages were restricted within the same Mel, care was taken not to establish more than one affinal tie with the same patrilineage as far as possible. This restriction created a sort of three cornered alliance called Palti-Prakriti i. e. Preservation of type through mutual exchange.⁶

Before proceeding further with the discussion of Kulinism one point needs to be clarified. It has been stated in the last Chapter (1) that Brahmans do not like multiple affinal relation between two patrilineages within four or five generations. It was also found that in actuality there were few exchange marriages. How this is possible in spite of the Mel system will be clarified in the following paragraph.

For instance it was found that in spite of preferential marriages among Mukherji, Banerji and Chatterji, there were very few exchange marriages. It was because under each surname there were several patrilineages, viz.,

1. Mukherji $M_1, M_2, M_3, M_4, \dots, M_n$
2. Banerji $B_1, B_2, B_3, B_4, \dots, B_n$
3. Chatterji $C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, \dots, C_n$

and so on. So that if M_1 marries his son or daughter to B_2 , next time M_1 will try to avoid B_2 , and contract marriage with other B lineages or C. Similar is the case with C. It clearly shows that though they marry in the same surname and gotra they do not establish affinal tie with the same patrilineages.

This system of Palti-Prakriti and Mel brought about many complications. For example, if at a given time the Mukherji happened to have a marriageable son and a Banerji or Chatterji more than one marriageable daughters, then the Mukherji male had to marry all those daughters for fear they would remain spinsters for want of suitable bride-groom. In olden days if a girl remained unmarried after attaining puberty, in a Brahman family, the whole family was disgraced losing

not only their Kulin status but sometime their status as Brahmans. This led to a competitive endeavour for securing husbands.

Under these circumstances marriage became a very lucrative trade⁷ for a Kulin man. Many illiterate sons of the Kulin families who could not earn their living by doing an honest job, earned enough through multiple marriages. Cases were recorded of men who had a hundred wives. Only one or two of these wives lived in the husband's house; all the others lived with their fathers. The man kept register of such marriages and visited the house of his wife's fathers by rotation. On each such visit he was expected to be fed and honoured by his father-in-law and collected money gifts before leaving. This extortion went by the name of *Kulamaryada* i.e., payment done to honour a Kulin. Side by side with this extortion the amount of dowry to be paid to the groom also rose to such an extent that poor families found it very difficult to find suitable grooms for their daughters.

This system of Kulinism was condemned strongly by all educated people of Bengal and the general enlightened public all over India became particularly aware of this system by an incident early this century. A girl called Snehalata aged 13/14, belonging to a Kulin family committed suicide by pouring kerosene oil on her body and burning herself to death.

The constant attack of the reformers, education of women and improvement in the economic status and prestige of the lower divisions like Bhanga and Srotriya eradicated many of the evils of Kulinism. To-day there are many marriages among the Kulin and the Bhanga. Old prejudices however, die hard and one still finds that old Kulin families though receiving girls from Bhanga families, are very reluctant to accept the brides from Bhanga families. Even the last barrier of Kulin and Bhanga union was breaking down. During the period of enquiry people were indifferent to state whether they were Kulin or Bhanga. Though the Kulin and Bhanga divisions were losing their distinction, the attitude towards Srotriyas was very little modified. The Srotriyas are those who never had a Kulin status. So neither Kulin nor Bhanga gave their daughters to the Srotriyas. This prejudice continues even to the present day.

Out of the 708 marriages there were only 11 cases recorded from the Srotriya families where a Kulin girl was married to a Srotriya boy. In one such case the father of the Kulin girl received an enormous amount as bride-price from Srotriya groom's father. The other type of cases where Srotriyas gave daughters and dowry to Bhanga and Kulin grooms were nine.

It was found from the record that the rule of gotra-exogamy had not been broken in a single case, and the sub-divisions of Kulin, Bhanga and Srotriya were still status-group upto the time of enquiry. Every

Kulin was proud to state that he was a Kulin. The Bhangas were not very anxious to reveal the fact of their being Bhanga. And Srotriyas being from the very first a much lower group could not hide their identity.

As regards marriage practices each group was largely endogamous. The disgrace felt in post-puberty marriage had vanished among the Brahmans of the present ages. The age at marriage had gone up. Consequently the fantastic polygynous practices also vanished. It was easier, therefore, for the Kulin girls to find Kulin grooms. The practice of Kulin and Bhanga marriages was also growing. So that Kulin families who marry their daughters to Bhanga families did not lose their prestige in doing so. For the reasons stated above it was not possible during investigation to find out precisely who were Bhanga and who were Kulins. But of those who freely confess to be Bhangas it was found that there were many marriages contracted with the Kulins. Though it was stated that Mel System was going out of vogue there was an example where the gentleman interviewed was particular enough to state the Mels in each marriage. It was found that they observed Mel-regulation upto the first ascending generation which is as late as 1940. The genealogy stating the sub-caste and Mel, is given below—

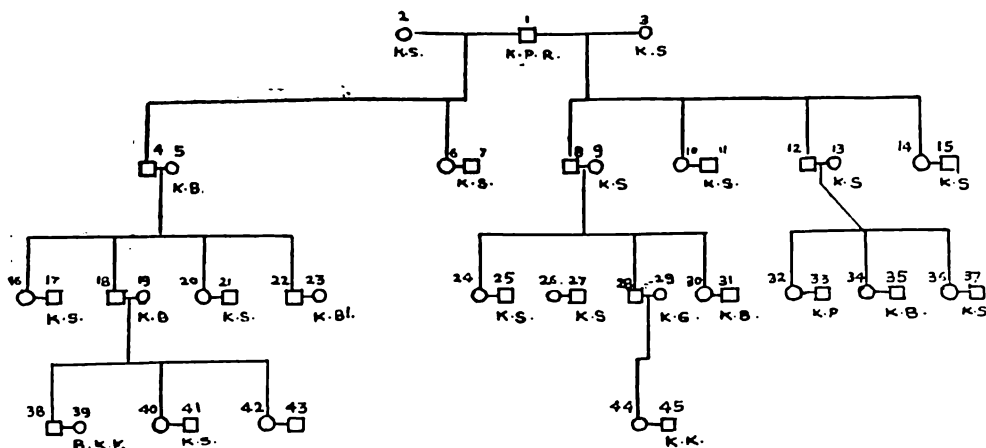


Fig. 2:3

N.B. This is a Kulin family staying in Calcutta. In the genealogy the hypergamous divisions and Mels are stated. The abbreviations are illustrated below—

K = Kulin

P = Phulia Mel. It may be noted here that within Phulia Mel there are divisions where the different sections have adopted the names of their ancestors. On this basis Phulia Mel is sub-divided into—

- R = Rudraram — the descendants of — Rudraram, founder of the family.
 S = Sridhar — the descendants of — Sridhar founder of the family.
 B = Balaram — the descendants of — Balaram, founder of the family.
 B1 = Ballavi — the descendants of Ballav, founder of the family.
 G = Abasuti-Gandananda — the descendants of Gangananda, founder of the family.
 B. K. = Bhanga-Kulin. K = Kardaha Mel
 K.S. = Kulin Sridhar Phulia
 K.K. = Kulin = Kardaha
 In one case Mel was not known.

The marriage regulation was that all marriages should be restricted within Phulia Mel and among the sub-sections. It was difficult to observe this regulation, so in recent generations they have broken the convention.

The genealogy given below was recorded from a Srotriya family staying in the village Goalpara District — Birbhum.

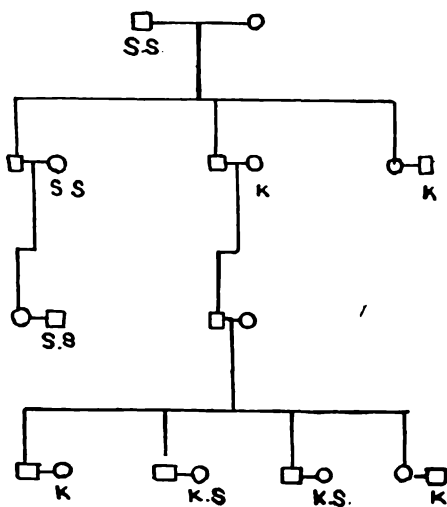


Fig. 2:4

Kulin-Srotriya marriage, no such case was reported by the Kulins themselves nor could be traced from their genealogies.

Kayasthas—

Of the different divisions of the Kayasthas stated in the Introduction the data represent only the Dakshina Radhi Kayasthas. This is an endogamous group, so the people belonging to this section marry only among themselves.

There were ten marriages distributed over four generations. They belonged to Suddha-Srotriya group. There were only three marriages which occurred in Kulin families. Two daughters were married to the Kulins and one bride came from the Kulin family. Besides, two marriages were recorded in recent generation, which were contracted in Kasta-Srotriya families. On the whole the genealogy shows inter-marriage among all the three groups, with the only difference the daughters from Suddha-Srotriya family were not given to the lower section called

The Kayasthas are supposed to have many gotras but the sample contains only ten. The names of gotras recorded from the Brahmans were eponymous — being either a Vedic Saint as with the Brahmans or a Chief as with the Rajputs. The eponyms of the Brahmanical gotras were necessarily Brahman themselves. On that ground other castes could have no gotra of their own. But by a sort of authorised fiction these castes were permitted to adopt the gotra of the family priests of their ancestors. Thus the Kayasthas and other castes from whose hands a Brahman may take water, have exogamous sections having the same name as the Brahmanical gotras and based upon similar traditions.⁸

Like the Brahmans the Kayasthas have certain family names which are handed down in the male line from generation to generation. The hypergamous divisions of the Kayasthas are based on these family names. Each of these family names are found to be associated with certain

TABLE No. 2.3

Showing the association of surname with the gotras

S.No.	Surname	KAYASTHA GOTRAS										
		Soukalin	Gautam	Biswamitra	Kasyap	Moudh-Galla	Sandilya	Alman	Saupayan	Basuki	Parasar	Bharadwaj
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1.	Ghose	*										
2.	Bose		*									
3.	Mitra			*								
4.	Dutt				*		*		*			*
5.	Das											
6.	Deb				*							
7.	Sarkar				*							
8.	Sinha						*					*
9.	Aich											
10.	Som											
11.	Roy											
12.	De Sarkar					*						
13.	Kar											*
14.	Sen									*		
15.	Brahma											
16.	De											
17.	Pal											
18.	Mazumdar		*		*			*				
19.	Niyogi											
20.	Choudhry	*	*				*					

N.B. Blank column means that gotras for those surnames were not available.

gotras. The table No. 2.3 shows the correspondence of gotra with family names.

Out of the twenty family-names stated above Ghose, Bose, Mitra are supposed to denote Kulinism while the rest refers to the non-Kulins. These three family names are associated each with one gotra. Thus some of these gotras stated in the table are found to be common to both Kulins and non-Kulins, whereas some others found only among the non-Kulins. For instance the gotras Biswamitra, Gautam and Soukalin are found among both the Kulins and non-Kulins, while the rest belong only to the non-Kulins.

The division of the Kayasthas into Kulins and non-Kulins, is as follows —

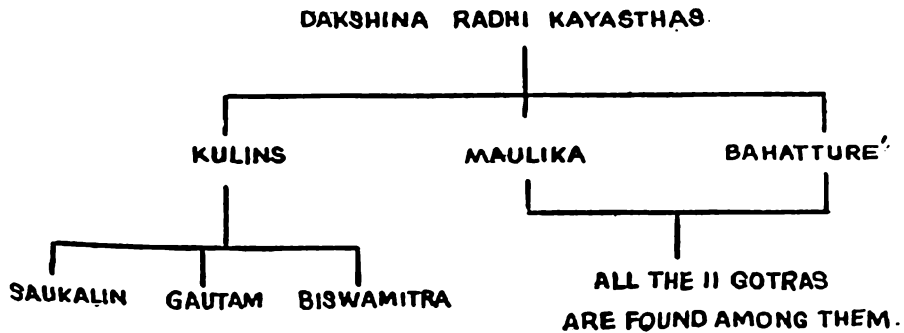


Fig. 2:5

Among the Kayasthas, as with the Brahmans the Kulins have the highest status. The marriage regulations are also equally complicated as those of the Radhiyas. The only difference is that Kayastha Kulin girls can be married in any of the groups, without bringing disrepute to the family, but the Kulin boys should be married to Kulin families. Thus the status of the family depends on the marital behaviour of the son. This system of reckoning family status through the marriage of the male members is termed as "*Putra-gata-Kula*", while that of the Brahmans is known as "*Kanya-gata-Kula*". This conception of the Kayasthas is opposed not only to that of the Radhi Brahmans but also to the hypergamous practices prevalent in Northern India.⁹

Though the conception is unique and exceptional the logic behind it is not so difficult to understand. The purity of a patrilineage would depend on the purity of the blood of those who bear the name of the patrilineage. As the succession is in the male line the purity of blood and status of a child would depend upon both his parents belonging to the Kulin branch. On the other hand, girls of a family go out on marriage and their children do not bear the name of the father's family. It was

stated by the caste elders that in olden days all the sons of a Kulin family would marry Kulin girls. But as it was not always possible to find Kulin brides the status of the family was kept by the eldest son by contracting the orthodox type of marriage.

The marriage regulation as regards the Kulin, Non-Kulin sub-divisions of the Kayasthas is found to be the following —

- (1) Kulin — At least the first son should marry in a Kulin family, other issues may marry in either group — Kulin or Maulika.
- (2) Maulika — At least the first son should marry in a Kulin family; other issues may marry either within their own group or sometimes in *Bahatture* family.
- (3) Bahatture — (72 houses) — may marry among themselves or at least in the Maulika family.

Out of the 475 marriages recorded from (gotra not available in 43 cases) the Kayasthas, 274 cases were taken from the Kulin families, 160 from the Maulikas and 41 from Bahatture, families. In order to avoid confusion and to understand the behaviour pattern followed by the families belonging to different hypergamous sections independent of each other the marriages were sorted and grouped separately with reference to their sources. The distribution of these marriages shows a tendency towards diffusion and not in the least any sign of concentration within one group.

The system of Kulinism as practised by the Kayasthas did not seem to have created any social complication as those of the Radhiya Kulin Brahmans. The analysis of the marriages revealed the gotra rule had not been broken in any single case.

The 274 marriages recorded from the Kulin families have the following distribution over the different hypergamous sections. The Table given below shows the distribution of marriages —

TABLE No. 2.4

Distribution of marriages recorded from the Kayasthas over the different hypergamous groups.

Families visited 1	Married to			
	Kulin 2	Maulika 3	Bahatture 4	Total 5
Kulin	120	114	40	274
Maulika	138	21	1	160
Bahatture	36	2	3	41
Total	294	137	44	475

M.R....4

The table No. 2.4 shows that there were frequent marriages among all the three hypergamous sections of the Kayasthas. The Kulins and Maulikas appeared to be the two most important inter-marrying groups. The marriage regulation stated above insisted on the practice of establishing affinal ties between Kulin and Maulikas. Kulin marriages were found to be distributed more or less equally between the Kulin and Maulika families. While the Maulika and Bahatture families were going out of their own group and establishing affinal ties in significant proportion with the other hypergamous sections.

From this point of view there was marked difference in the practices followed by the Radhiya Brahmans and the Dakshina Radhi Kayasthas. The tendency observed among the Radhiya Kulin Brahmans was to restrict their marriages within a preferred group consisting of Kulins and Bhangas who were themselves Kulins at one time. Whereas the Kayastha Kulins had the dominant tendency to mix with the non-Kulin families in considerable proportion. Similar pattern was observed among the Gandha-baniks who were also found to practise inter-marriage between the Kulins and non-Kulins in significant proportions. Their actual behaviour in facts and figures are discussed in subsequent sections.

The above table is further sub-divided in order to show the practices followed by these hypergamous sections with respect to their sons' and daughters' marriages.

TABLE No. 2.5

Distribution of Sons' Marriages over different Hypergamous Sections.

Families visited 1	Married to			Total 5
	Kulin 2	Maulika 3	Bahatture 4	
Kulin	64	57	22	143
Maulika	70	9	—	79
Bahatture	17	—	1	18
Total	151	66	23	240

TABLE No. 2.6

Distribution of Daughters' marriages over different Hypergamous Sections.

Families visited 1	Married to			Total 5
	Kulin 2	Maulika 3	Bahatture 4	
Kulin	56	57	18	131
Maulika	68	12	1	81
Bahatture	19	2	2	23
Total	143	71	21	235

The two tables stated above confirm the findings already discussed viz., there was frequent inter-marriage between the different hypergamous sections. The tables 2.5 and 2.6 further clarify that the Kayasthas do not follow any special convention in marrying their sons and daughters. So the marriages were found to be distributed more or less equally within and outside their own.

The genealogies narrated below were recorded from Kulin and non-Kulin families, inhabiting different urban and rural areas. These few instances illustrate the pattern of selection i.e., the tendency to establish affinal ties with the different hypergamous groups, as well as the distribution of sons' and daughters' marriages. The genealogy given below was recorded from a Kulin family from the District of Hooghly —

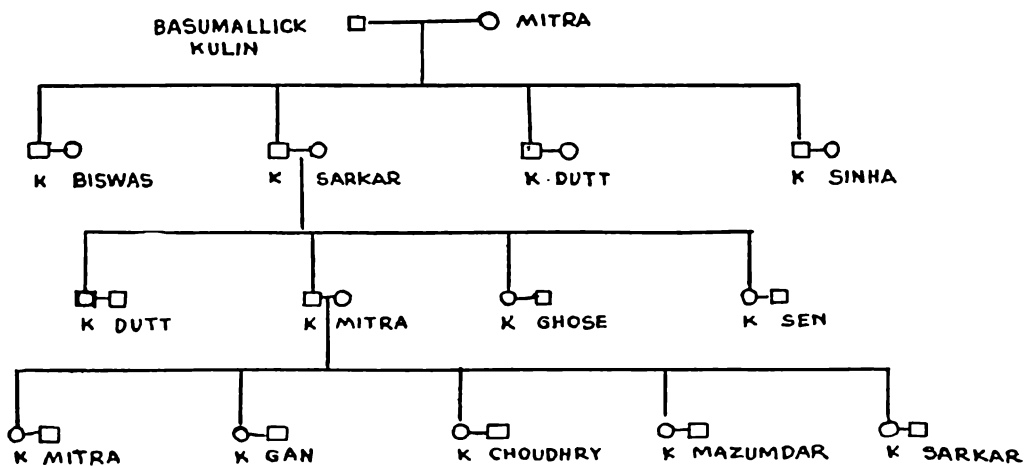


Fig. 2:6

N.B. K. = Kulin. The genealogy shows that marriages were distributed over all the three hypergamous groups. The fourteen marriages recorded were distributed over the Kulin, Maulika and Bahatture families. Sarkar, Biswas, Mazumdar belong to Bahatture group — while the rest in Kulin and Maulika sections.

Below is given another sample recorded from an educated Kulin family of Calcutta —

N.B. K = Kulin. This genealogy also shows that marriages were distributed over all the three hypergamous groups.

The third genealogy given below was recorded from an educated Maulika family of Calcutta —

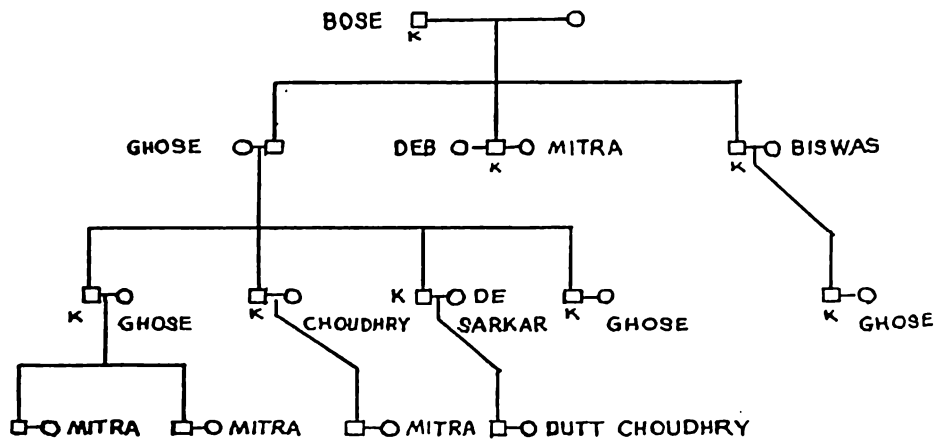


Fig. 2:7

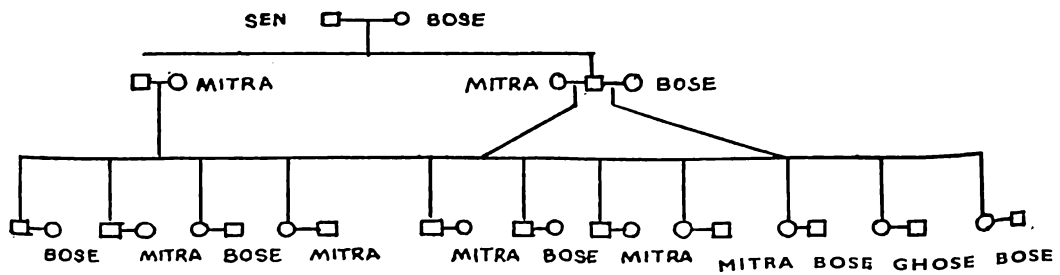


Fig. 2:8

N.B. M = Maulika. This genealogy shows that all the marriages took place in Kulin families. Though Maulika, this was a well-to-do Zamindar family and could easily establish affinal ties with Kulin families.

It is clear from the above examples that both the Kulins and Maulikas were eager enough to establish affinal ties with each other. This tendency was recorded in all the three generations, and might be attributed to the liberal attitude of the people. In recent years particularly, when people are more concerned with education, economic condition and culture, there is every possibility that families belonging to different hypergamous sections may come up in greater proportion and unite because of their similar cultural background. This is perhaps the most plausible explanation of the inter-mixture of different hypergamous sections.

The Gandha-baniks — The Gandha-baniks were divided into four subdivisions (Introduction) out of which the data represent only the two sub-castes called ashramas. These were Satrish and Desha. Inter-marriage between these groups were neither sanctioned nor allowed.

Violation of this custom was highly condemned and deplored by the society in old days.

This restriction of sub-caste endogamy created a very difficult problem specially for those sub-castes having a small population as it became extremely difficult to find suitable partner for the marriageable sons and daughters. It was observed that with the spread of education and change in the general outlook, a new measure of social status developed on the basis of education and wealth. Some of the families belonging to the lower sub-castes were gradually raised to an equal footing with families formerly considered higher. Leaders with progressive outlook were consciously trying to break down the artificial restrictions and to introduce marriages between different sub-castes. These reform movements originally caused great agitation and the reformers were outcasted. Eventually the orthodox people had to give way and marriage between the sub-castes was introduced. Of course the actual practice of this new measure depended on individual choice and family tradition.

Out of the total number of marriages recorded from the Gandhaniks viz., 753, in some of the cases the details of gotras could not be secured. So those cases were excluded from the present section. The 640 marriages in which the details of gotras were available are dealt with here. There were 31 cases of marriages where the bride and the groom belonged to two different sub-castes or ashramas. These 31 cases were recorded particularly from the families belonging to Desha ashrama. The number of sons and daughters involved in such marriages were more or less equal. Besides, four more cases were recorded from Desha-families where they married their sons and daughters to the other two ashramas viz., Sankha, and Abot. These marriages created commotion in society in early days. Now that feeling was reported to have disappeared, though even now the orthodox and well-to-do families try to restrict their selection within the sub-caste. It may, therefore, be stated in this context that the sub-caste endogamy was not so rigidly practised as the Brahman and Kayasthas used to do.

Like the Brahmans and the Kayasthas the Gandhaniks possessed exogamous divisions based on gotra. An examination of the gotras and surnames which occurred in the sample and their correspondence clearly showed that each gotra was associated with more than one surname and each surname in its turn was related to more than one gotra. There were certain cases where the interviewee could not specify the gotra but merely stated the surname. The blank spaces in the following table illustrating the gotra surname association imply that the information regarding gotra could not be secured in those cases.

From practical point of view this multiple correspondence between gotra and surname created considerable inconvenience in recording pro-

TABLE No. 2.7

Showing Gotra Surname correspondence

S.No.	Surname	GANDHA-BANIK												
		KULIN				NON-KULIN								
		Ourbarishi	Durbarishi	Bhimrishi	Kausik	Sandilya	Sabarnya	Gautam	Moudhgulla	Kasyap	Gargarishi	Parasar	Kapil	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
1.	Pal				*				*	*				
2.	Dutt		*	*		*			*					*
3.	Daw		*	*		*	*	*	*		*			
4.	Laha	*		*	*					*				
5.	Haldar			*	*									
6.	Saha						*		*	*	*			
7.	Sadhu				*	*			*	*				*
8.	De					*	*	*					*	
9.	Das		*			*								*
10.	Sinha								*					
11.	Chandra					*			*					
12.	Nag			*										
13.	Kundu								*					
14.	Mullik				*									
15.	Kar													
16.	Bindh									*				
17.	Pramanik													
18.	Shno													

N.B.* shows association between gotra and surname.

per information about gotra. The person interviewed could not always specify the gotra of his or her relations though in most of the cases the surnames were known.

The Gandha-baniks were divided into hypergamous divisions of Kulin and non-Kulin. It was noted before in dealing with Brahman and Kayasthas that Kulinism was based on family names and not on gotras. Among Gandha-baniks Kulinism was found to be based on gotras only. There were four gotras viz., Ourbarishi, Durbarishi, Bhimrishi and Kausik, which constituted the highest group. Families with these four gotras were considered as Kulins while the families with other gotras were regarded as non-Kulins. So the Kulins and non-Kulins had common surnames but not the common gotras.

The divisions of the Gandha-baniks which have been studied along with the gotras are given below —

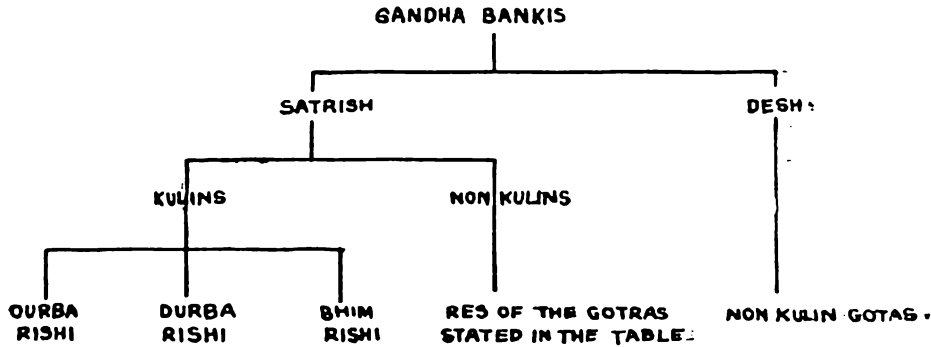


Fig. 2:9

Like the Brahmans and the Kayasthas the Kulins among the Gandha-baniks also enjoy the highest social status. But the marriage-regulation was simple in the sense that there was no rigid restriction with regard to the marriage of Kulin sons and daughters to non-Kulin families.

Out of 640 marriages recorded from the Gandha-baniks 166 cases were taken from Kulin families and 474 from the non-Kulins. There was not any preference in selecting either Kulin or non-Kulin families. Only the area was chosen on the basis of the availability of samples. In order to study the characteristic practices of Kulins and non-Kulins, marriages recorded from each of these groups were arranged separately. Thus Kulin and non-Kulin; non-Kulin and Kulin marriages were stated in two different columns. The table given below shows the distribution of Kulin and non-Kulin marriages over the hypergamous divisions. —

TABLE No. 2.8

Distribution of Kulin and non-Kulin Marriages.

Family visited	Married to		
	Kulin	non-Kulin	Total
Kulin	52	114	166
Non-Kulin	116	358	474
Total	168	472	640

The table shows a marked tendency on the part of the Kulins to go out of their own group and to establish affinal ties with the non-Kulins. Whereas the non-Kulins prefer to concentrate within their own group. So there is significant difference in marriage practices followed by these

two groups. One more important point needs mention here is that it is clear from the above analysis that Kulins and non-Kulins were mixing up at a very fast rate. Kulins were found to marry in non-Kulin families in greater number. The same tendency was expected to be found in non-Kulin families as counterpart. And if the number of Kulin and non-Kulin families were of the same order, the same proportion of outgroup marriages could be expected in both the groups. In spite of the considerable number of Kulin and non-Kulin marriages the tendency reflected by the non-Kulins was to concentrate within their own group. This appears to be paradoxical. Such disparity in behaviour was possible only when the two groups were of unequal size. The data showed that the number of Kulin families was far less than those of the non-Kulins. The following example clarifies the situation in a better manner. For instance, suppose there are 200 Kulins and 2000 non-Kulins. Now if we take an extreme case and presume that all these 200 Kulins are marrying in non-Kulin families, the Kulin families will show cent percent Kulin and non-Kulin combination. Whereas the same situation when viewed from the standpoint of the non-Kulins will give a different picture. It will be found that in spite of 200 Kulin and non-Kulin marriages there will remain 1800 more cases for which they will be concentrating within their own group. And as such they will show relatively low proportion of outgroup marriages. This explains the apparent contradiction observed in the table.

The facts thus revealed in course of the study have double implications. It implies that Kulins are far less in number compared to the non-Kulins and secondly out of these few numbers again Kulinism in the sense of hypergamous grouping, is fast disappearing among the Gandhaniks.

The above discussion though reveals the general tendency of Kulin and non-Kulin families do not show whether the Kulin boys were marrying outside of their own group in greater proportion than the Kulin girls or *vice-versa*. It remains to be seen.

(i) If the Kulins are going out specially in case of sons' marriages and getting good amount of dowry as a token of social reverence; (ii) if because of the huge amount of dowry demanded within the group, the Kulins are becoming somewhat liberal in case of daughters and marrying them with the non-Kulins who in their turn being associated with the former are raised in social status; (iii) if because of their smaller population, and the social prominence of some of the non-Kulin families they are dragged towards them.

The table given below shows the number of Kulin and non-Kulin boys and girls marrying outside or inside their own group.

TABLE No. 2.9

*Distribution of Kulin sons' and daughters' marriages***SONS AND DAUGHTERS**

Kulin families visited	Married to		Total
	Kulin	Non-Kulin	
Sons	30	56	86
Daughters	22	58	80
Total	52	114	166

TABLE No. 2.10

*Distribution of Non-Kulin sons' and daughters' Marriages***SONS AND DAUGHTERS**

Non-Kulin families visited	Married to		Total
	Non-Kulin	Kulin	
Sons	181	54	235
Daughters	177	62	239
Total	358	116	474

The table No. 2.9 shows the practices followed by the Kulin families with regard to their sons' and daughters' marriages. The Kulin marriages recorded has more or less equal distribution viz., Kulin boys = 86 and Kulin girls = 80. Out of these numbers 86 and 80 more than 2/3 (i.e. the total number) of the marriages took place in the non-Kulin families, the number being slightly higher in case of girls. It is difficult to state definitely from these few numbers (which again include data from all the four generations) that the Kulin girls marry outside their own group, in greater proportion than the Kulin boys. But this much was clear that the general tendency amongst the Kulins was to marry in greater proportion outside their own group.

The table No. 2.10 shows the distribution of sons' and daughters' marriages recorded from the non-Kulin families. The proportion of non-Kulin boys and girls was almost equal, the numbers being 235 for boys and 239 for girls = 474. Out of 235 non-Kulin boys, 181 i.e., about 3/4 of the total number of boys married within their own group and only about 1/4 (i.e., 54 cases) married outside. Similarly in case of girls, 177 marriages out of the total of 239, occurred within their own group. So the dominant tendency of the non-Kulin families was to marry both their sons and daughters in greater proportion within their own group.

So was clear from the above two tables that the practices followed by Kulin and non-Kulin families were different. It was intended

to examine further if this tendency was of recent origin or else it was found in other generations in the same order. So the data were divided into two broad groups — one showing the pattern followed in recent generation, and the other showing the same for the rest of the generations taken together.

The tables for the Kulin and non-Kulins families are given below —
Distribution of Marriages of Kulin Sons and Daughters over the generations.

TABLE NO. 2.11

Generations	Sons Married		Total
	Kulin	Non-Kulin	
Recent	7	20	27
Other Generations	23	36	59
Total	30	56	86

TABLE No. 2.12

Generations	Daughters Married to		Total
	Kulin	Non-Kulin	
Recent	8	36	44
Other Generations	14	22	36
Total	22	58	80

Distribution of Marriages of Non-Kulin Sons and Daughters over the generations

TABLE No. 2.13

Generations	Sons Married to		Total
	Non-Kulin	Kulin	
Recent	50	19	69
Other generations	131	35	166
Total	181	54	235

TABLE No. 2.14

Generations	Daughters Married to		Total
	Non-Kulin	Kulin	
Recent	60	32	92
Other generations	117	30	147
Total	177	62	239

The tables nos. 2.11 and 2.12 show the distribution of sons and daughters' marriages recorded from Kulin families over the two broad generation groups. The number of marriages for all other generations showed that the tendency to go out and to establish affinal ties with non-Kulin families was present in earlier generations. A detailed study of the data also revealed that as early as the fourth ascending generation i.e., during the period of late 18th and early 19th century the tendency of outgroup marriage amongst Kulins was perceptible.

Out of the 59 marriages of Kulin sons recorded for all other generations 23 marriages occurred in Kulin families, whereas 36 marriages took place with the non-Kulins, i.e., Kulin and non-Kulin combination was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times more than that of the Kulin and Kulin. Similarly in case of Kulin daughters 36 marriages were distributed over Kulin and non-Kulin families in the following manner —

Kulin and Kulin = 14; Kulin and non-Kulin = 22 Here also the Kulin and non-Kulin combination was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times more in those of the Kulin and Kulin.

But this tendency to establish affinal ties with the non-Kulins had increased significantly in recent generation. The Kulin and non-Kulin combination in recent generation for sons, was about three times more than the Kulin and Kulin union for the same period and same sex. The Kulin and non-Kulin marriages of daughters in recent generation was about four times than the Kulin and Kulin union. So the proportion of out-group marriage was slightly higher for the Kulin daughters than those of the Kulin sons.

The table nos. 2.13 and 2.14 show the distribution of sons and daughters marriages recorded from non-Kulin families. The tendency of the Kulin families to marry outside their own group which had been illustrated in the previous two tables was corroborated in the present two tables. Increase in Kulin and non-Kulin marriages naturally imply increase in non-Kulin and Kulin combination. It was found that the non-Kulin families established affinal ties with Kulin in greater proportion in recent generation.

The number of out-group marriages had increased in both the groups, though the rate of increase was found to be different. There were indications that daughters were perhaps marrying outside their own group in greater proportion than the sons. This *prima facie* appeared to be confusing as one did not imply the other. For instance, if Kulin daughters married in non-Kulin families in greater number, it was expected that non-Kulin sons would also show the same tendency and the number of their out-group marriages should be higher than those of non-Kulin daughters. This apparent anomaly in two findings could be explained, if we divided the data into finer homogeneous divisions separating each generation. In fact then the sampling fluctuation would come into prominence and would explain the anomaly. As the number of marriages for each of these generations under Kulin; non-Kulin divisions were small, these were not treated separately and the tabulations were not reproduced. But it may only be indicated here that if these generations were treated separately it would be observed that neither Kulin nor non-Kulin sons or daughters were consistently marrying in greater proportion outside their own group in each of these generations. That is to say, in some generation Kulin boys were found to marry in non-Kulin families in greater proportion, while in some others Kulin girls were found to predominate. Similar was the case with the non-Kulins. It means that there was no difference in the marriage pattern followed by Kulins and non-Kulins in marrying their sons and daughters. This behaviour reduced the significance of dowry as an inducement for the Kulins to go out. It also implies that Kulin and non-Kulin divisions as observed among the Gandha-baniks, did not function as hypergamous divisions in the strict sense of the term, as were observed in case of Brahmans and Kayasthas.

It was observed in dealing with the first two castes viz., Brahman and Kayasthas that there was a sort of preference for certain family names. Kulinism as observed among them was associated with family names. Since Kulinism among Gandha-baniks was based on gotra, it was intended to examine if there was preference for any gotra either Kulin or non-Kulin. The tendency towards out-group marriage was not found uniformly in different Kulin and non-Kulin gotras. The number of such marriages was significantly high in certain gotras.

The table given below shows the behaviour of different Kulin and non-Kulin gotras.

TABLE NO. 2.15
General distribution of marriages over the different gotras

(1)	Gotra of the family visited (2)	Married to		Total (5)
		Kulin (3)	Non-Kulin (4)	
KULIN	Ourbarishi	18	75	93
	Durbarishi	17	21	38
	Bhimrishi	16	19	35
NON-KULIN	Sandilya	45	136	181
	Sabarnya	17	16	33
	Moudhgulla	33	89	122
	Kasyap	7	52	59
	Gautam	14	65	79
Total		167	473	640

The table stated above shows that out-group marriages were significantly high in Ourbarishi Gotra, whereas in other two Kulin gotras there was about 50/50 distribution of marriages. Similarly the tendency was not found to exist uniformly in all the non-Kulin gotras. Out of these gotras Sabarnya accounted for the highest number of marriages with Kulin gotras. Then in order of preference were Moudhgulla and Sandilya. The marriages of the remaining two gotras were mostly concentrated within their group. It is thus clear that certain Kulin and non-Kulin gotras prefer each other and thereby form a sort of cluster.

These practices viz., increasing tendency towards out-group marriage as well as preferential selection of gotras, were further illustrated with the help of two genealogies stated below. The genealogies show the actual distribution of marriages over the Kulin and non-Kulin families.

(1) This genealogy was recorded from a Kulin family — -

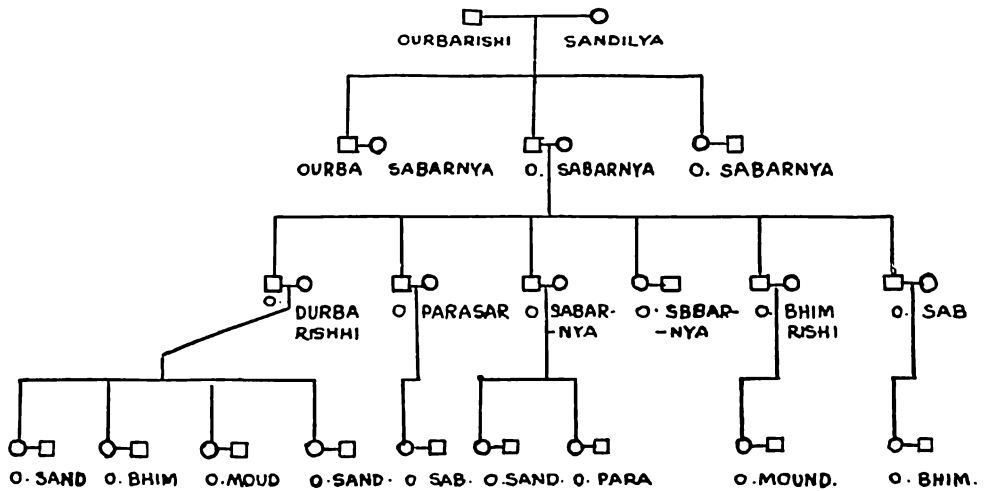


Fig. 2:10

N.B. Abbreviations —

Kulin gotras

O = Ourbarishi

D = Durbarishi

B = Bhimrishi

Non-Kulin gotras

San = Sandilya

Sab = Sabarnya

P = Parasar

M = Moudhgulla

Out of 19 marriages only 5 were contracted with Kulin families. The tendency to establish affinal ties with the non-Kulins is evident in all the generations.

(2) This genealogy was recorded from a Non-Kulin family —

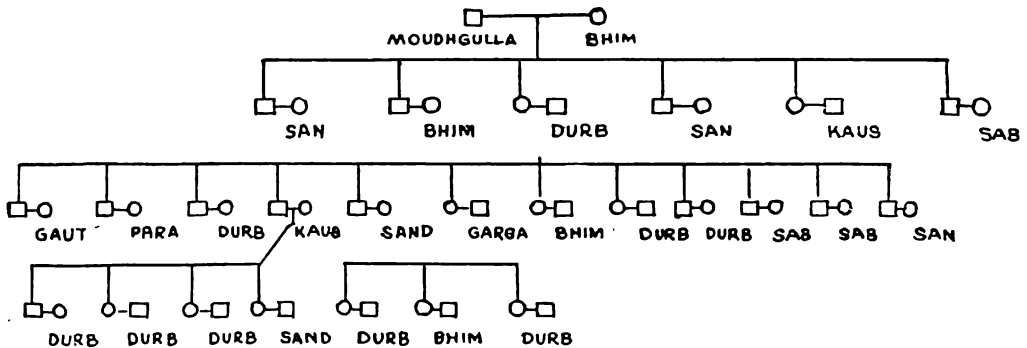


Fig. 2:11

N.B. Abbreviations

Kulin gotras

B = Bhimrishi

Non-Kulin gotras

San = Sandilya

D = Durbarishi	Sab = Sabarnya
Kau = Kausika	G = Gautam
	Gar = Gargarishi
	P = Parasar

The genealogy shows that out of 26 marriages, Kulin families were selected in case of 14 only and 12 marriages were restricted within their own group.

Before taking up the other castes it may be mentioned here that the three castes viz., Brahman, Kayastha and Gandha-banik, though they practise gotra exogamy there was no such indication of observing Four Gotra Rule of Exogamy¹⁰ by which a person has to avoid in marriage (i) his father's i.e. his own gotra, (ii) his mother's gotra, (iii) Dadi's i.e., father's mother's gotra, and (iv) Nani's i.e., his mother's mother's gotra. The rule of gotra exogamy as observed among the three castes is very simple — one marries outside one's own gotra. The four gotra rule was not in operation among the Bengal castes. Instead of avoiding gotras it was found that patrilineages of near kin were avoided (cf. chap. 1 first rule of marriage).

Byagra-Kshattriyas — Of the different divisions of the Byagra-Kshattriyas stated in the Introduction the data represent mostly the Tentulia sub-caste. This is an endogamous group, so the people belonging to this section marry only among themselves.

The Byagra-Kshattriyas were reported to have only one gotra viz., Ong Rishi. Instead of being an exogamous unit the gotra turned to be an endogamous one. Though they professed to practise exogamy of the Brahmanical type, they necessarily and habitually transgressed the exogamous rule by marrying within the same gotra.¹¹ Acquisition of a gotra implied only an attempt to lay claim to practices similar to those of the higher castes. They were fully aware of their conduct of violation of the gotra rule and used to pay at the time of marriage at least five annas, as a sort of appeasement to perform certain special rites so that their conduct would not incur any penance.

Like the other castes the Byagra-Kshattriyas possessed certain family names which were like patrilineages. The real exogamous units within a sub-caste were patrilineages. The names of the patrilineages recorded are given in the next page.

The following table shows that all the family names or surnames were associated with one gotra. The analysis also revealed that they did not have hypergamous divisions within a sub-caste based either on gotra or surname, as was observed in case of the first three castes. While describing their caste and sub-caste divisions it was found that some of the sub-castes consider themselves to be higher than the others and termed the divisions as 'uchu-thak' and 'nichu-thak'. It would have been

TABLE NO. 2.16

Indicates the correspondence between Gotra and family names.

S.No.	Surnames	Byagra-Kshatriyas Ong Rishi Gotra
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	Malik	*
2.	Satra	*
3.	Dhara	*
4.	Payal	*
5.	Patra	*
6.	Snash	*
7.	Roy	*
8.	Gharui	*
9.	Majhi	*
10.	Pandit	*
11.	Porel	*
12.	Bag	*
13.	Moshel	*
14.	Karak	*

interesting to find out if there was any hypergamous relationship between these higher and lower groups. Unfortunately it was not possible to find out traces of any such practice. It was experienced at the time of enquiry that the tendency was not to mention the actual sub-caste.

It was simply stated that people belonging to the 'uchu-thak' do not establish affinal ties with the lower group. But it was difficult to show whether this rule was rigidly followed in actual practice or not. People were not willing to mention if the two groups inter-marry.

Hadis — The Hadis as a caste form the broad endogamous unit. The data did not show traces of sub-caste divisions as were found among the higher castes.

It was reported that there were exogamous divisions of gotras. The names of the gotras sounded like those of the Rishis. These were Palashi, Sandilya and Kasyap. These names seem to be however, Sanskritised version of totemistic names. Out of these three Palashi or Palash Rishi seemed to be the most popular gotra in the sense that it occurred more frequently in the data than the other two. Marriage within the so-called gotra was practised though there were cases of inter-gotra marriages. The significance of the totemistic taboos said to be observed by these people could not be understood in the context of the present practices of the caste.

These gotra names were imitations of the prevalent gotras of the Brahmans. The original sections in the form of tabooed totems were stated to¹¹ be of the following nature —

(a) Palash Rishi or Palashi — It was stated that people bearing this section name should neither cut nor burn the Palash wood.

(b) Sandilya — People bearing this particular section name were prohibited from killing or eating sal-fish.

(c) Kasyap — The group of people bearing this section name were prohibited from killing or eating Kachhap (tortoise).

The division called Hazra represented in the sample had the following family names which were handed down from father to son and were associated with the totems stated above, viz.,

(a) Mandal

(c) Chowkidar or Thandar

(b) Paramanik

(d) Koleman

An examination of the genealogies showed that these were not exogamous divisions — that is to say, Mandal could marry Mandal and also could establish affinal ties with others.

It was reported by the elders that in olden days the Mandal was the headman, the Paramanik was the cook, Koleman and Thandar worked under their supervision as watchman and messenger etc. These functional divisions sound like the functional divisions of some of the Primitive Tribes of Eastern India. This together with the totemistic practices recorded above might mean that Hadis were formerly a tribal people who at some time became incorporated into the Hindu Caste society and were given a very low position in the caste hierarchy.

It is clear from the above analysis that the sub-group Hazra within the Hadi caste had no exogamous division based on gotra or patriclan. The only principle regulating marriage seemed to be that the near kin should be avoided. The exact degree of avoidance could not be determined as the people could not state the exact genealogy beyond 2/3 degrees.

In conclusion it may be stated that the Brahman caste under review was divided into different gotras and hypergamous divisions. The hypergamous rules introduced so much hardship and chaos that it had been given up gradually and fast disappearing in recent years. The traces of hypergamy could be seen from the fact that there were very few marriages between Kulins and Srotriyas i.e., the higher and the lower groups.

The section of the Kayasthas investigated were also divided into exogamous and hypergamous groups. But the hypergamous divisions were not very distinct and particularly in recent years the differences were fast disappearing. The distinctive feature of the Brahman and the Kayasthas was explained to be the considerations related to the practice of Kanya-gata-kula and Putra-gata-kula.

The ashramas of the Gandha-baniks studied were also divided into exogamous and hypergamous divisions. In case of the first two castes the hypergamous divisions were found to be based on family names whereas in the present case the same were based on gotra. Unlike the Brahmans there were frequent marriages between the two divisions of Kulins and non-Kulins. In this respect there was similarity in the practices followed by Kayasthas and Gandha-baniks. The difference being that in case of Kayasthas there were certain restrictions on sons' marriages as they considered Putra-gata-kula, whereas there was no such bar among Gandha-baniks against sons' or daughters' marriage in either of the groups viz., Kulin and non-Kulin.

So it may be stated that in case of these three castes gotra constituted the ultimate exogamous unit. The rule of gotra exogamy was strictly observed by these castes. The few cases of Sva-gotra marriage narrated in the body of the note (chap. 1.) may be treated as exceptions. The gotras of the Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis had nothing to do with exogamy. The principle regulating their marriages appeared to be the avoidance of one's patrilineage and near kins.

As regards endogamy it may be stated that in case of Brahman and Kayasthas the sub-castes constituted the broad outer limit within which marriage should take place.

In case of Gandha-baniks, it was observed that there was conscious endeavour among the caste patrons to introduce marriage between different sub-castes. Instances of such marriages had already been stated.

In case of the last two castes the sub-caste divisions were not very clearly reported. So caste may be considered as the broad endogamous limit.

It may be stated in this context that out of 2854 marriages the rule of sub-caste and caste endogamy was found to be violated in 31 and 9 cases. The following is the distribution of marriages outside one's own caste —

TABLE NO. 2.17
Distribution of inter-caste Marriages.

Castes	No. of Inter-Caste Marriages
Brahmans	2
Kayasthas	3
Gandha-baniks	1
Byagra-Kshattriyas	2
Hadi	1
	Total
	9

The number of marriages stated in the table shows that there is disparity between the actual fact and the verbal response recorded in course of the enquiry.

The usual answer of the elderly people when questioned about their views regarding inter-caste marriage, was — “Oh ! now it is a very common practice, and these educated boys and girls bother little for old customs and traditions.” This shows that there is good deal of disparity between the verbal response and actual fact. It implies perhaps that the public sentiment undergoes earlier modification than the actual change in social behaviour.

3. References

1. Riskey, H. Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1891), Ethnographic Glossary. Vol. 1. Introduction, Calcutta Secretariat Press.
2. Karve, I., Kinship Organisation in India (1953), pp. 125, Poona.
3. *Ibid.*, (2), pp. 59.
4. Ghose, S.K., Bangali-Jati-Parichaya (1363, B.S.), pp. 17, Vishwa-Vidya Sangraha, Calcutta.
5. *Ibid.*, (1), pp. 147.
7. Dutt, G.N., The Brahmans & Kayasthas of Bengal, (1906), pp. 52.
8. *Ibid.*, (1), Introduction.
9. *Ibid.*, (2), pp. 115.
10. *Ibid.*, (2), pp. 118.
11. *Ibid.*, (1), Introduction.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

The injunctions laid down in the Hindu Law Books, emphasized early marriage, specially that of girls, where it is stated that if a girl attains puberty before marriage her parents would be outcasted. It appears from the various prescriptions that people were generally in favour of early marriage. It is, however, not known how far these prescriptions were actually followed in practice by different classes of people.¹

Though the practice of child marriage was prescribed in Brahmanical Law Books, it appears from the available data that probably during the middle ages and certainly at the beginning of the British period almost all the castes followed this practice. In the most ancient texts it appears that among the Aryans the girls married when they were adult at least above sixteen. In the later books the injunctions about early marriages occur. These books are certainly pre-Muslim and so the contention that 'child' marriage was a consequence of Muslim invasion seems to be without foundation. We have no written data about the other castes. On the present data one cannot say why the Brahmans enjoined pre-puberty marriages at a certain period of Indian history. One can also not say whether the custom of pre-puberty marriage among other castes was an imitation of the Brahmans or whether the whole complex of ideas was taken up from some indigenous stratum of society. By the 19th century the custom of 'child' marriage was followed without any exception by almost all the castes of Bengal. The girl's age used to vary from 5 to 12, the fundamental idea being to marry the girl before they attained puberty. Meanwhile there was a gradual change in the economic environment due to the introduction of English education, specialized professions and modern technique of production. A visible change started as leaders of thought in the country came in contact with the Western system of education and philosophy. In glaring contrast with obedience to religion and tradition these systems brought revolutionary and democratic ideas of equality of individuals and choice of vocations. It is the progressive penetration of these secular and liberal ideas that helped speed up the tempo of social change.

Under the influence of these circumstances a demand for the reform of the social system was created by the enlightened ideas introduced by Western thought. Different organizations were set up in different provinces viz., Brahma Samaj in Bengal, Arya Samaj in Northern India,

etc. which set on foot a social reform movement by advocating along with other measures the removal of the ban on widow remarriage and the prohibition of child marriage. This movement was confined mainly to the educated classes and even among them propoganda had little appreciable effect on questions connected with marriage. It took quite a long time for the people to accept and appreciate these ideas and the change was reflected in behaviour according as the new conceptions were gaining ground in public sentiment. In spite of that the effects were strikingly meagre and confined mostly to the higher castes viz. The Brahmans, the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas, who were the first to become familiar with the European ideas through law-courts and governmental offices.²

The Widow Remarriage Act of 1856 was passed in response to a humanitarian movement headed by Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar which was intended to improve the lot of the child widows.³ The Act merely allowed the widows to remarry if they so desired and declared the legitimacy of their issues if they did so. Remarriage was allowed by many of the lower castes, so the law affected only those who followed the Brahmanical canons. Women themselves were opposed to it. Later on different associations were formed to advocate the cause. Though such marriages do take place at the present date, they are still exceptional among higher castes. The fact that not a single case of a remarriage of widow recorded in 1979 cases gathered in the present enquiry, for the three higher castes viz., Brahman, Kayastha and Gandha-banik, shows that the law of widow remarriage has remained practically a dead letter in Bengal. Even those lower castes which allow them tend to give them up in order to rise up in caste status.

In order to understand the impact of Western culture and economy on social behaviour through the ages, the data have been classified into different generations. Usually the members of the families visited could give information about their ancestors upto two or three ascending generations. Accordingly the data were divided into three or four classes on the basis of generations.

- (a) Recent Generation — Covered those marriages which took place approximately during the last 15 years i.e. say upto 1940.
- (b) First ascending generation — Included marriages of the two decades from 1920 to 1940.
- (c) Second ascending generation — Included marriages between 1900-1920.
- (d) Third ascending generation — Included marriages which took place between 1880-1900.

There were certain overlapping cases in which members of two consecutive generations happened to belong to the same age group. The

inclusion of such cases to the original generation might vitiate the findings pertaining to that particular group. Such cases, were grouped along with the next descending generation. These cases occurred only where the different branches of a family were staying together in the same ancestral residence, though they might not be having joint family in the strict sense of the term. Such occurrences were common among the Brahmans, the Kayasthas and the Gandha-Baniks. The Byagra-Kshattriyas also could show familial ties to some extent, but the Hadis could seldom narrate their ancestry beyond the second ascending generation.

As regards the economic condition of the sample population, it may be stated that the Brahmans and Kayasthas were the most educated and represented the middle-class as well as the well-to-do aristocrats. The Gandha-baniks were not very advanced in education but extremely well placed in respect of economic condition. The Byagra-Kshattriyas were poor. Both Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis were illiterate.

The extent to which different castes in different generations have resisted or yielded to the changing forces was viewed in facts and figures in course of the detailed analysis. For this particular study the data for all the castes were presented together as it gave a better insight into the caste practices at different times.

The table stated below shows the total number of marriages recorded from the five castes and their distribution over different generations —

TABLE NO. 3.1
Distribution of Marriages over different generations

Name of the Caste	Recent	1st ascending	2nd ascending	3rd ascending	Total
Brahmans	241	206	155	77	679
Kayasthas	139	187	142	50	518
Gandha-baniks	252	211	108	67	638
Byagra-Kshattriyas	180	176	75	—	431
Hadis	130	155	104	—	389
Total	942	935	584	194	2655

It may be mentioned here that the number of marriages stated in this table for each caste is not identical with those stated in the introduction. This is due firstly to the fact that certain marriages in which the age was not stated have been excluded from the present treatment. Secondly the ages of second marriages, widow marriages and sanga have

been omitted for separate analysis. Besides these factors the inequality in sample size has occurred mostly for want of samples in the area visited. Usually it was found that as we came down from the ascending generation towards the recent one the number of marriages increased in each step. There were exceptions only in two cases. The number of marriages recorded for recent generations from the Kayasthas and Hadis were less than the number recorded for the first ascending generation of each of the two castes.

With regard to the Kayasthas it may be stated that besides the sharp increase in their age at marriage (to be seen in course of the analysis) there was a tendency not to marry at all. So there were quite a number of persons in educated families aged 35/40, who had not married as yet, So instead of increase the number of married persons in the recent generations recorded a decrease.

The decline in the number of marriages for recent generation, recorded from the Hadis, was due to a great extent to the fact of inadequate reporting, i.e., they could not supply necessary information regarding their parallel and cross-cousins.

The figures presented in the first table had been re-arranged and regrouped under different age-groups in order to study the range of marriagable age observed among different castes as well as to show their preferred ages i.e., the central tendency. While dealing with the data (Vide Tables 3.2 and 3.3) it was noted that the ages at marriage were distributed over a range of about 18 years, say from 12 to 30 in case of men, and about 14 years, say, from 7 to 21 in case of women. This entire range had been sub-divided into several class intervals both for men and women. The ages at marriage were not always very accurately given and so may be considered as approximates. For instance, it may be stated that, if a girl was married at the age of 16, there was every likelihood that after some time people would say that she was married at the age of 15/16 or 16/17. In order to avoid any lag between two class-intervals the end points were presented in the decimal form.

The two tables 3.2 and 3.3 given below show the percentage distribution of ages at marriage recorded from all the five castes.

Table no. 2.2 shows that age of marriage of husbands were distributed over the age-group, say from 15.5 to 33.5 and above. Within this wide range the preferred age of the Brahmans was between 15.5 and 27.5 where 83% of marriages were recorded. There were very few marriages below the age of 15 and above 30.

The same for the Kayasthas were between 18.5 and 30.5 within which 77% of marriages were recorded. There were very few cases below the age of 18 and above 33.

TABLE NO. 3.2

Percentage distribution of ages at Marriages — Husband

Castes	AGE GROUPS								
	Below	15.5	18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5	and above.
	15.5	18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5		
Brahman	3.1	19.3	19.3	24.9	19.8	9.6	3.6	—	
Kayasthas	—	7.6	23.7	20.8	18.1	15.0	10.5	3.9	
Gandha-baniks	6.2	27.5	36.9	16.4	8.6	3.7	0.7	—	
Byagra-									
Kshattriyas	1.8	38.0	40.8	15.0	4.4	—	—	—	
Hadis	64.4	22.9	9.5	3.0	—	—	—	—	

TABLE NO. 3.3

Percentage distribution of ages at Marriages — Wife

Castes	AGE GROUPS									
	below	7.5	9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5
	7.5	9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5	above
Brahmans	—	19.3	21.5	17.4	17.7	10.0	9.4	2.1	1.7	0.4
Kayasthas	—	—	23.9	26.2	15.2	12.6	7.4	5.5	6.1	2.4
Gandha-										
baniks	3.4	20.8	21.1	22.2	19.9	8.3	3.2	0.7	—	—
Kshattriyas	—	39.9	54.7	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hadis	53.4	35.6	10.5							

The preferred age of the Gandha-baniks was between 15.5 and 24.5 within which 80% of marriages were recorded. Similarly among Byagra-Kshattriyas the maximum concentration was recorded between 15.5 and 21.5, the proportion being 73%; and among Hadis from below 15.5 to 18.5, the proportion being 86%. The sudden drop of percentage of marriages below the age group 15.5 for husbands and 7.5 for wives in the case of Byagra-Kshattriyas as compared to those of Gandha-baniks was due to the fact that the percentage frequencies for Gandha-baniks in those age-groups had been markedly influenced by the data of the third ascending generation. While Byagra-Kshattriyas could not usually state the details of marriages for the third ascending generation as stressed earlier. The Hadis had the smallest range of marriageable age and the range increased in case of the higher castes. The highest preferred age was recorded from the Kayasthas, then came Brahman and Gandha-baniks. The distribution clearly showed that there were differences in respect to caste practices.

Similarly Table no. 2.3 showed the preferred age and the total range of marriageable age of wives for all the five castes. The range

for the Brahmans extended from 7.5 to 23.5, the preferred age being 7.5 to 15.5 which accounted for 76% of marriages. There was no marriage below 7.5 and above 19.5. The total range of marriageable age which could be recorded for the Kayasthas was between 7.5 to 23.5, the preferred age being between 9.5 and 17.5, which accounted for 69% of marriages. The maximum concentration for the Gandha-baniks was recorded between 7.5 and 15.5 though the total range extended from below 7.5 to 21.5. In case of Byagra-Kshattriyas the highest number of marriages were recorded between 7.5 and 11.5 the percentage being about 94%.

As regards wife's age the table showed that there was caste-wise variation with respect to preferred age as well as total range of marriageable age. Here also the range increased in case of the higher castes.

The above tables split into different generations for each caste are given below —

The frequency distribution of Age at Marriage of Husbands over different generations

TABLE NO. 3.4 — Brahman

Generations	below	15.5	18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5
	15.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	above
		18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5	
Recent	—	2.9	10.0	21.1	34.4	19.9	9.5	—
1st Ascending	—	13.1	21.3	38.5	20.3	6.0	0.5	—
2nd Ascending	—	40.6	26.6	24.0	6.0	2.6	—	—
3rd Ascending	27.2	45.4	23.3	3.7	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.5 — Kayasthas

Recent	—	—	1.5	8.9	25.3	28.3	26.1	9.7
1st Ascending	—	4.0	26.8	25.7	17.7	14.8	7.4	3.4
2nd Ascending	—	7.8	41.4	28.9	14.0	5.4	2.3	—
3rd Ascending	—	42.5	27.6	14.8	10.6	4.2	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.6 — Gandha-baniks

Recent	—	5.5	36.1	31.3	19.0	6.0	1.0	—
1st Ascending	0.5	26.5	55.9	10.9	3.3	1.8	0.9	—
2nd Ascending	6.5	66.5	25.0	2.0	—	—	—	—
3rd Ascending	47.8	50.7	—	1.5	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.7 — Byagra-Kshattriyas

Recent	0.5	31.6	46.6	15.4	5.6	—	—	—
1st Ascending	2.8	35.8	36.9	19.3	5.1	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	2.6	62.0	35.3	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.8 — Hadis

Recent	46.1	30.9	15.0	7.7	—	—	—	—
1st Ascending	63.8	25.9	9.2	1.3	—	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	87.4	9.1	3.3	—	—	—	—	—

In the tables nos. 3.2 and 3.3 the range of marriageable age appeared to be very wide because the data for all the different generations were pooled together. On splitting the table and dividing the marriage records into different generations for each caste separately it was found that the range of marriageable age was reduced considerably and showed a preferred range for each generation, round which the sample fluctuated within narrow limits.

There was a clear shift in age from generation to generation rising up in the scale according to the caste tradition fostered by the educational and economic environments. The tempo of social change in recent generation was remarkable in the case of the three upper castes. The Kayasthas were found to top the list in the sense that 64% of their marriages in recent generation took place at the age from 27 to 33 and above, whereas in case of Brahmans almost the same proportion was recorded within the age from 24 to 33.

Out of these two castes—Brahman and Kayasthas the latter showed a sharp and steep rise in age specially in recent generation. It might be due to the influence inherent in their caste tradition. Their hereditary occupation was that of government officials, especially in Revenue department.

The next in order of social status i.e., Gandha-baniks also showed a trend towards higher ages at marriage but this tendency was not as pronounced as in the case of the first two castes. The modal age for Gandha-baniks was lower than that for Brahmans and Kayasthas. Even among the last two castes, there was definite shift towards higher ages though it was rather slow.

It was found in case only of the ascending generations that even among the first two castes there was a dominant tendency towards early marriage. On the strength of our knowledge of the Brahmanical injunctions together with the tendencies shown in the table it might safely be presumed that about seventy-five years ago the behaviour pattern as regards the age at marriage for all the castes were more or less the same. It might even be possible that the lower groups had slightly higher age at marriage which were reduced owing to the new consciousness of caste—i.e., the desire to rise in social status and the endeavour to do so by imitating Brahmanical practices. This common pattern was disturbed due to the impact of modern ideas and technological changes. The effect was highly pronounced in case of the two most literate castes. It was moderate in the case of the merchant caste and very little in the case of illiterate labourers.

The tables given below show the age at marriage of wives for all the five castes—

The frequency distribution of Age at Marriage of Wives over different generations

TABLE NO. 3.9 — *Brahman*

Generations	below	7.5	9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5
	7.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	above
		9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5	
Recent	—	0.8	4.1	10.3	26.9	21.9	24.4	4.9	4.9	1.2
1st Ascending	—	3.5	31.4	30.9	24.3	6.5	2.0	1.0	—	—
2nd Ascending	—	36.6	42.6	16.6	3.3	0.6	—	—	—	—
3rd Ascending	—	84.4	9.0	6.4	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.10 — *Kayasthas*

Recent	—	—	—	6.0	10.5	24.7	18.7	15.0	15.7	9.0
1st Ascending	—	—	14.2	29.7	28.0	13.7	5.7	4.0	4.5	—
2nd Ascending	—	—	44.5	45.3	7.0	3.1	0.7	—	—	—
3rd Ascending	—	—	76.5	19.1	4.2	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.11 — *Gandha-baniks*

Recent	—	—	11.5	20.6	37.3	20.2	8.3	1.9	—	—
1st Ascending	0.4	12.7	35.5	35.0	15.0	0.9	—	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	2.7	53.7	27.7	14.8	0.9	—	—	—	—	—
3rd Ascending	26.3	71.6	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.12 — *Byagra-Kshatriyas*

Recent	—	27.7	59.3	12.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st Ascending	—	39.7	60.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	—	69.3	30.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 3.13 — *Hadis*

Recent	29.8	40.0	29.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st Ascending	56.1	33.4	10.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	79.7	19.2	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The findings of these tables were similar to those of the husbands studied before. Like the age of husbands there was more or less parallel upward movement of the ages of wives. Among the Kayasthas apparently the wives were always a little older than among the other castes.

In recent years most of the girls married among the Brahmans, were below 23 years of age; and as many as 9% of Kayastha girls married after the age of 23.

Among Gandha-baniks most get married before 20, among Byagra-Kshatriyas before the age of 14 and in case of Hadis before they were 12. It appeared that both the last two castes preferred pre-puberty marriage even in present times.

If the figures for the third ascending generations of the three higher castes were compared with those for the second ascending generations of the two lower castes, it was observed that at the end of the 19th and early 20th century all the castes had very similar practices as regards the age at marriage of the wife. The first three castes had moved away from the common pattern which the majority of the people in the last two castes still follow.

The broad findings of the tables stated above were synthesised and presented concisely in the figure no. 3.1. In this figure the age at marriage for all the five castes, their variation from generation to generation, the differential pattern of shift observed in case of husband's and wife's age and the difference in the total range of marriageable age of husband and wife were presented graphically. When viewed horizontally within a caste the graph showed the shift of the modal value (i.e. most common age at marriage) from generation to generation. Viewed vertically it showed shift of the total distribution from caste to caste. It was also evident that the total range of marriageable age for wives was consistently smaller than that of the husbands for each of the castes studied.

The following tables show the region-wise variation of average age at marriage —

The tables stated above showed that there was a marked shift from generation to generation among the higher castes with a higher average age among the urban husbands and wives. The shift from first ascending to recent generation both in urban and rural cases was significant. The lower castes as usual show very little progress.

As the increase in the average age of husband was followed by the increase in that of wife, the difference in age between husband and wife remained more or less constant in course of the generations. It varied approximately from 8-11 years. A glance at the table revealed that for the rural sample of the Brahman, Kayasthas, Byagra-Kshatriyas and Hadis, the difference in ages for the husband and wife, were the same and remained constant for the last few generations. This showed that the ages for husband and wife moved up in a parallel way. As regards the urban sample the difference was uniformly higher which meant that the ages at marriage of wives had not moved up as much as those of husbands. The significant increase in the age of urban husbands among the Brahman and Kayasthas had increased the difference to a little extent because of the absence of corresponding increase in wife's age. In the urban sample, among the Gandha-baniks the difference in the ages of husband and wife was smaller than that of all the other castes.

The detailed tables illustrating this aspect with reference to habitat both for husband and wife are given below —

TABLE NO. 3.14

Distribution of average ages of Husband and Wife over the Urban and Rural areas, and the age difference between the two (rounded to nearest six months)

Generation	URBAN			RURAL		
	Average age of Husband	Average age of Wife	Age diff. between H. & W.	Average age of Husband	Average age of Wife	Age diff. between H. & W.
<i>Brahman</i>						
Recent	27.5	17.5	10.0	24.5	15.5	9.0
1st Ascending	23.5	13.5	10.0	21.5	12.0	9.5
2nd Ascending	21.5	10.5	11.0	18.5	10.0	8.5
<i>Kayasthas</i>						
Recent	30.0	19.5	10.5	26.0	16.5	9.5
1st Ascending	24.5	14.5	10.0	23.0	13.5	9.5
2nd Ascending	22.5	12.5	10.0	20.0	11.5	9.5
<i>Gandha-baniks</i>						
Recent	22.5	14.5	8.0	—	—	—
1st Ascending	20.0	11.5	8.5	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	17.0	8.5	8.5	—	—	—
<i>Byagra-Kshattriyas</i>						
Recent	—	—	—	20.0	10.5	9.5
1st Ascending	—	—	—	19.0	9.5	9.5
2nd Ascending	—	—	—	17.5	8.0	9.5
<i>Hadis</i>						
Recent	—	—	—	17.5	8.5	9.0
1st Ascending	—	—	—	16.5	7.5	9.0
2nd Ascending	—	—	—	15.5	6.0	9.0

The detailed distributions confirmed the findings regarding the significant changes of age at marriage due to region and with generation. Further it showed that not only the average age at marriage was shifted but the distribution as a whole was influenced by region and with time.

Figure no. 3.2 presented in the form of bar diagram illustrated in brief the broad findings of the four tables given earlier. It showed the urban rural variation in age at marriage of husbands and wives for both Brahmans and Kayasthas. It was evident that the age at marriage for urban and rural husbands and wives had increased consistently from generation to generation and at the same time always maintained a difference of age at marriage between urban and rural within a generation. The age difference between husband and wife had remained more or less constant for rural samples whereas the same for the urban population had increased slightly towards the recent generation.

Frequency Distribution of Age at Marriage of Husbands with respect to Region, i.e. Urban and Rural.

<i>Brahman</i>		TABLE No. 3.15						<i>Urban</i>	
Generations	Below	15.5	18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5	above
		15.5	18.5	21.5	24.5	27.5	30.5	33.5	
Recent	—	—	3.9	17.0	42.6	27.9	8.5	—	—
1st Ascending	—	—	17.7	47.7	27.7	5.5	1.1	—	—
2nd Ascending	—	20.8	35.8	31.3	10.4	1.4	—	—	—
<i>Brahman</i>		TABLE No. 3.16						<i>Rural</i>	
Recent	—	6.2	21.4	25.8	25.0	10.6	10.6	—	—
1st Ascending	—	24.2	24.2	30.8	14.0	6.5	—	—	—
2nd Ascending	—	56.6	19.2	18.0	2.4	3.6	—	—	—
<i>Kayasthas</i>		TABLE No. 3.17						<i>Urban</i>	
Recent	—	—	—	6.5	19.5	29.3	34.8	9.8	—
1st Ascending	—	0.9	18.5	25.9	27.7	13.8	6.4	6.4	—
2nd Ascending	—	2.2	32.2	36.6	17.7	7.7	3.3	—	—
<i>Kayasthas</i>		TABLE No. 3.18						<i>Rural</i>	
Recent	—	—	2.5	15.4	41.0	23.0	15.4	2.5	—
1st Ascending	—	6.9	10.3	41.4	24.1	10.3	6.9	—	—
2nd Ascending	—	27.2	56.8	13.6	2.2	—	—	—	—

Frequency Distribution of Age at Marriage of Wives with respect to Region, i.e. Urban and Rural.

<i>Brahman</i>		TABLE No. 3.19								<i>Urban</i>	
Generations	below	7.5	9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5	above
		7.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	—	9.5	11.5	13.5	15.5	17.5	19.5	21.5	23.5	—	
Recent	—	—	—	6.2	12.5	25.0	37.5	8.6	7.8	2.3	
1st Ascending	—	—	24.4	36.7	25.5	8.9	3.3	1.1	—	—	
2nd Ascending	—	28.3	46.2	25.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<i>Brahman</i>		TABLE No. 3.20								<i>Rural</i>	
Recent	—	1.8	9.0	15.2	43.7	18.6	9.0	2.7	—	—	
1st Ascending	—	6.7	37.6	26.4	23.5	4.8	—	—	—	—	
2nd Ascending	—	41.8	39.5	11.3	6.6	1.1	—	—	—	—	
<i>Kayasthas</i>		TABLE No. 3.21								<i>Urban</i>	
Recent	—	—	—	2.2	7.7	17.6	20.8	19.8	20.8	11.0	
1st Ascending	—	—	—	38.0	34.2	12.3	7.6	4.8	2.9	—	
2nd Ascending	—	—	36.9	47.8	9.8	4.4	1.1	—	—	—	
<i>Kayasthas</i>		TABLE No. 3.22								<i>Rural</i>	
Recent	—	—	—	10.0	17.5	47.5	17.5	5.0	2.5	—	
1st Ascending	—	—	15.8	38.1	28.0	15.8	5.2	3.5	—	—	
2nd Ascending	—	—	52.5	45.4	2.1	—	—	—	—	—	

It would be interesting at this stage to institute a comparison between the findings of the National Sample Survey³ with those of the present study. The survey was conducted on an all India basis. The following table shows the broad findings in respect of age at marriage.

TABLE NO. 3.23

Distribution of adjusted average ages at Marriage (in years) of the husband and the wife for different marriage cohort groups.

Partner	Sector	PERIOD					
		before 1910	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-45	46-51
Husband	Rural	19.4	20.4	18.8	20.5	20.3	20.2
Husband	Urban	21.6	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.5	23.0
Wife	Rural	12.9	13.5	13.6	14.1	14.6	14.6
Wife	Urban	14.0	14.5	14.3	14.7	15.6	16.4

The table given earlier showed that the average ages at marriage of urban husbands and wives were different from those of the rural partners. It was stated that there was very little change in the ages at marriage particularly among rural men in course of the last 50 years. The group that had changed most was the urban wife and even in this group the average age had not increased by more than 2½ years. The age difference between partners had narrowed down in the urban sector and was 6.6 years for the most recent marriages. The higher age difference in urban sector was due to the comparatively higher age at marriage of the husband.

As the table stated above was based on the data collected from whole of India, the findings did not tally entirely with the findings of the present study. The present study was confined to a few castes inhabiting a definite region, but still there were certain points of similarity, viz., both showed upward trend of age at marriage and the difference due to habitat.

The disparity between the findings of the two studies was due mostly to the difference in the mode of approach. The authors themselves admitted that as the survey was conducted on national basis the findings might not be applicable to any particular region. Even within a zone conditions in different States might vary. According to the N.S.S. the average ages at marriage of husband and wife in West Bengal came out as 22.4 and 13.3 years respectively for the period of 1930 and after. This period covered recent as well as some part of the first ascending generation. The age difference between husband and wife was stated to be as high as 9.1 years in West Bengal as against 6.2 years in eastern zone. As compared to this the age difference between husband and wife as obtained in the present study varied from 8-11 years among the five

castes. Thus the findings of the National Sample Survey when viewed for the particular region under consideration compared favourably well.

It would be worth-while to find out in this context what role education plays in changing the behaviour of a community. Educated, in the present sample included school and college educated as well as those who had received specialized training. On this perspective the husband had been grouped under the following categories —

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) Urban School educated | (c) Rural School educated |
| (b) Urban College educated | (d) Rural College educated |

As the proportion of College educated girls was meagre and most of them were school educated, the wives were not grouped separately, but were treated in the analysis as the wives of School and College educated husbands. There were cases particularly in the rural sample where the girls had never been sent even to Schools and read at home only up-to the primary standards. Usually such girls were chosen as wives by the school educated husbands. In recent years education is acquiring prominence and working as a limiting factor in the choice of partners. There is an expressed tendency among the College educated boys to have College educated wives.

It will not be out of place to mention here that as the present section deals with the effect of education on age at marriage the last two castes viz., Byagra-Kshatriyas and Hadis were excluded from the present study. The data collected from those two castes showed that they were mostly illiterate and very few of them could read or write. The present section was thus restricted to the analysis of the observations related to the first three castes viz., Brahmans, Kayasthas and Gandhabaniks.

The study revealed that the proportion of College educated persons had increased in course of the last three generations. The table stated below shows the rate of increase both in urban and rural areas.

TABLE NO. 3.24

Percentage distribution of College educated persons in different generatinos, over urban and rural areas.

Castes Generation	URBAN			RURAL	
	Brah- man	Kayas- tha	Gandha- banik	Brah- man	Kayas- tha
Recent	64.3	68.8	25.0	13.2	28.2
1st Ascending	67.7	72.6	18.0	7.7	16.6
2nd Ascending	41.7	58.7	13.0	5.6	5.2

The table clearly shows that the number of college educated people had increased both in urban and rural areas, in course of the last three generations. As usual the number of college educated persons was the highest among Kayasthas. This position was maintained by the Kayasthas in all the generations particularly in the urban sample. In the rural sample the difference in number occurred in the first ascending generation, and the number for the Kayasthas was more than double of those of the Brahmans in recent generation. The number for the Gandhabaniks though marked an increase was still meagre compared to those of the other two castes.

The sudden fall in the proportion of College educated persons in recent generation among Brahman and Kayasthas, was due to the non-inclusion in the data, the higher educated and fairly aged persons who were unmarried even at the time of inquiry. The number of College educated persons for Gandhabaniks did not show any decline mainly due to the fact that firstly the number itself was small and secondly they used to marry early and were found to continue studies afterwards.

The smaller proportion of College educated persons in rural areas was due to some extent to the absence of adequate facilities for higher education in rural areas as well as the migration of educated people to places of service. The people who could afford usually went to the nearest possible places for education. But this economic and physical strain reduced the number who could have otherwise benefited themselves by gaining higher education.

It had already been stated that the average age at marriage varied with region, and the urban husbands and wives were found to have higher average than those of the rural partners. It was observed in dealing with the effect of education that the average age at marriage varied with education within a definite region. Thus for instance the urban College and School educated persons had different ages at marriage.

With regard to the wife's age it was already stated that the urban husbands chose wives from higher age group than the rural husbands. It was further noted that out of these urban and rural samples the wives of the urban College educated husbands had a higher average than the wives of the urban school educated husbands. Similar was the case with the rural samples. The findings of the present section have been summarized and are presented below in the tabular form. The table remains self explanatory.

The change in age at marriage thus recorded has mainly been ascribed to the inter-action of four factors, viz., education, economic condition, urbanization and social enactment. It will be interesting to examine the relative role of the different forces, if possible.

TABLE NO. 3.25

Average age at Marriage of College and School Educated Husbands and their respective wives.

(Correct to nearest 6 months)

Region Education		Average age at Marriage					
		Brahman		Kayastha		Gandha-banik	
		Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Rural	Sch. Educated	24.0	14.5	26.5	16.0	—	—
	Col. „	25.0	15.5	27.0	17.0	—	—
Urban	Sch. „	26.0	18.0	28.0	18.5	22.0	14.0
	Col. „	27.0	18.5	30.5	20.5	23.0	14.5

To start with if we consider the lower castes who are mostly illiterate, or have studied upto primary standards; the effect of the education on their social life is expected to be nil. Secondly, as the data represents the rural population of the castes studied, their economic life is in the least perturbed by the incidence of urbanization and the modern means of production. May be that they have changed their respective caste occupation and it is long since they have been working as labourers in agriculture; but this change has not interrupted the equilibrium of their economic life. Thus it may be noted that the three factors, viz., education, urbanization and economic condition are not effectively influencing the age at marriage of these lower castes. So the little increase observed in their age at marriage can be mainly ascribed to the impact of social reform. The increase, however, is negligible and has not even come up to the mark sanctioned by law. It is, therefore, perhaps indicative that social enactments should preferably be preceded by over all education of the public.

Now coming up in the social scale if we take up the case of the Gandha-Baniks, it is noted that still they are not subjected to modern specialized education, to the extent, as is found among the three higher castes. Their economic life, is, also, more or less stable as they are pursuing their traditional caste occupation. So the increase in their age at marriage can be mainly ascribed to the combined effect of urbanization and social enactment. There being two dominant factors, responsible for the increase, it is expected that the rate of increase will be more rapid as compared to the lower castes. It is gratifying to note the findings in conformity with the expectation.

In case of the higher castes all the four factors are exercising significant influence. In their case the spread of education and economic plight is palpable. The effect of urbanization and social enactment have deeper roots too. All these factors would tend to increase the age at

marriage independently, and as such their combined effect could only accelerate the reaction. Nothing, therefore, remains surprising when we observe the rapid rate of increase in the age at marriage of these higher castes.

2. *Age at Second and subsequent unions*

The present section deals with age as observed in remarriages. Since remarriage is purely an accidental phenomenon and is not an imperative in the life of an individual, it does not follow any definite pattern as was observed in case of the first marriages. The practices followed by different castes with regard to remarriages may broadly be classified into two categories — Hindu Society in the upper level is simply polygynous i.e., a man can have more than one wife simultaneously or can marry after the death of the first one. On the other hand among the lower castes while the pattern for men is as that of the higher castes women also can and do marry after divorce from the first husband or his death.

Various attempts were made by the leading personalities headed particularly by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar during the later half of the 19th century to improve the lot of child widows by introducing widow remarriage in the upper strata of society. But orthodox people as well as women themselves were opposed to it. So the widow Remarriage Act of 1856 remained a dead letter only. It was argued by the patrons of the upper castes that it was very difficult to get the daughters married in families of one's own rank, and the situation would be all the worse if the widows enter the competition. Moreover, the parents had already paid a sufficient amount as dowry to get her married and would naturally be unable to pay a second and probably a higher one to get her married again.

Whereas the castes which permit the widows to remarry know nothing of hypergamy and as a rule pay for brides and not for bridegrooms. So the marriage of a widow is not a problem to the parents. Besides, the amount of bride-price increases considerably if a man wants to choose a maiden for his second or subsequent marriage. On the other hand, he need not pay anything as bride-price in case he selects a widow for second or subsequent marriages. So the social convention itself promotes the system of widow remarriage among these castes. The difference between these two practices is important as the latter process does not disturb the balance of the sexes, while the former does. It also seems probable that the social ban on widow remarriage leads to the differential rate of fertility between the higher and lower strata of society, as it withdraws many women from potential motherhood. Thus the prevalence of widow-remarriage has got special significance in the life of a society. And the data have been studied keeping the above consideration in view.

From the data it was observed that the tendency of marrying a second time during the life time of the first wife was diminishing rapidly among the higher castes. There were 93 cases of second marriages where the man married for the second time. Out of these only in few cases the man married during the life time of the first wife.

TABLE NO. 3.26
Details of Remarriages.

Castes	Total No. of 2nd marriages	No. of 2nd marriage during the life time of the 1st wife	No. of 2nd marriages after the death of 1st wife.
Brahman	30	1	29
Kayastha	23	1	22
Gandha-baniks	27	2	25
Byagra-Kshattriyas	13	1	12
Total	93	5	88

It was observed that in earlier generations men married more than once and even thrice to beget sons, or to show magnanimity and wealth or due to personal attraction.

The most interesting factor in all these marriages was that, whatever be the age of husband 30/35/40, they preferred wives from the lower age group, so that the wife's age varied from 10 to 16, with the variation in generations. The age difference between husband and wife tended to increase in case of second and subsequent marriages. It was also noted that even if the first wife died generally people did not go for the second marriage after the age 40/45.

The study of the data pertaining to the lower castes revealed a completely different picture. Both among the Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis, men and women were allowed to marry more than once. Besides the practice of paying bride-price which favoured remarriage of women, they had the privilege of staying with their new husbands along with the issue they obtained through their first husbands. These children therefore did not create any difficulty on the way of their subsequent contract.

There were certain differences in the practices followed by these two castes with regard to the remarriage of women. Widow remarriage — though socially sanctioned was not found to be practised frequently by the Byagra-Kshattriyas. Out of the entire data there were only 4 such cases. Usually men went for a virgin of tender age say 9/10 and maintained a huge age difference sometimes even 30 years. Widows had been chosen only in those cases where both the partners came in contact and liked each other and married. They had very little age difference

say of one or two years only. All the normal rituals of marriage were performed even in case of widow remarriage. They characterise such unions with the sanctity of marriage and treat it accordingly.

The Hadis, however, consider marriage as something different and allow only their men to marry more than once, whereas the subsequent union of their women except the first, is termed as *sanga*. So that whether a man will marry or will do *sanga* depends entirely on his liking. A woman, on the other hand, can marry only once and can do *sanga* as many times as she likes. Thus whether a union is a marriage or a *sanga* can be understood from the status of the woman — whether she is a maiden or not.

Another factor which differentiates the practices of the two castes is the system of divorce. The procedure followed in order to secure a divorce is rather simple. The candidates concerned state in presence of 10/12 persons of the locality belonging to their own caste, the reasons why they want to be separated. Usually on such occasions the demand for divorce is granted by the assembly. On the same occasion the candidates may also put forth their proposal for next choice and the name of the prospective candidates. Such proposals are also granted without much interference.

The Byagra-Kshattriyas, though allow their widows to marry, rarely practice divorce. Their women do not come into marital contract with any other man in the lifetime of their husbands, whereas among the Hadis divorce is quite common. It has already been shown that their (Hadi's) age at marriage is considerably low, even lower than that of the Byagra-Kshattriyas. Pre-puberty marriage is their normal practice. If for some reason or other the wife fails to come up to the expectation of the husband's family and cannot lend substantial support to their economic stress she is divorced and both of them generally go for a suitable match. In case of separation the children may live either with the father or the mother. In case of death they live with the living parent. Among the higher castes the children always belong to and live with the father's family. Thus the Hadis live a precarious and unstable life so that the fathers kin is not always in a position to support the children who live with her and follow her to a second home if she marries again.

It is of interest to note that the Sanga wife may or not use the iron bangles and vermilion, the symbols of marriage recognized in Bengal. Generally the widows do not use these two symbols even after the *sanga*, since they believe that with the death of their first husband they have lost the pride of using them. Sometimes the women do not use these two after separation from the first husband.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the age difference between husband and wife was found to increase in case of second mar-

riages both among the higher and the lower castes. Only in case of widow remarriage or sanga the age difference tended to decrease and left practically no margin —

TABLE NO. 3.27
Age difference in 1st marriage, subsequent marriage and Sanga.

Caste	Brahman	Kayastha	Gandha- banik	Byagra- Kshattriyas	Hadis.
Age difference in years— 1st marriage	9.5	10.0	8.5	9.5	9.0
Age difference in years— subsequent marriage	18.0	17.0	18.5	20.0	13.0
Sanga	—	—	—	—	3.0

3. *Effect of habitat in selecting marriage partners*

Earlier it has been observed that the urban and rural people differ in their standard of education and along with it in their ways of life. Consequently in the concluding section a study has been made to see how the urban and rural habitat is affecting the selection in marriage.

As a rule parents want to marry their children particularly their daughters, in such places where they are expected to have the normal facilities to which they are accustomed. Thus it was observed in course of the analysis that there was conscious endeavour on the part of both the groups (urban and rural) to maintain the homogeneity of each. Starting with the educated well-to-do urban families it was observed that rarely did they turn to rural areas in selecting partners. They preferred to be in big cities and chose partners who would be accustomed to the higher standard of living, and would be sufficiently accomplished to fulfil their liking and aspiration.

Out of the five castes studied only the Brahman and Kayastha samples could be collected from both urban and rural areas. The Gandhabaniks were represented only from urban areas and the last two castes from rural areas. The first two castes are expected to show more prominently the regional concentration of marriages, if any. So far as the other castes are concerned though the data have been collected exclusively from urban or rural areas, the behaviour of these castes will not fail to indicate the influence of region. The table given below shows the distribution of urban and rural marriages among all the castes.

In the following table frequency given under columns 2 & 3 indicates the number of marriage details collected from the families visited in urban and rural areas respectively. Frequencies given under columns 6 & 7 have got specific significance. Those under column 6 indicate the

combination of urban boys and rural girls while the other under column 7 gives the number of marriages between rural boys and urban girls.

TABLE NO. 3.28

Regionwise Distribution of Marriages.

Castes	No. of Marriages			Regionwise Combination			
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban- Urban	Urban(x) Rural(y)	Rural(x)- Urban(y)	Rural- Rural.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Brahman	370	338	708	340	28	40	300
Kayastha	333	185	518	290	26	24	178
Gandha-banik	753	—	753	710	22	21	—
Byagra- Kshatriyas	—	457	457	—	—	—	457
Hadis	—	418	418	—	—	—	418

It is evident from the table that all the castes are sufficiently sensitive towards the region. Out of 370 marriage details recorded from Brahman families in urban areas 340 marriages were contracted within urban areas. Similarly out of 338 marriage details recorded from Brahman families visited in rural areas, as many as 300 marriages were contracted within rural areas. Similar tendencies could also be marked among Kayasthas and Gandha-baniks. There were only a few cases of urban-rural combinations. In case of urban-rural combination there was not sufficient evidence to conclude that whether husbands or wives mostly belonged to, say urban or rural areas.

Byagra-Kshatriyas and Hadis as a rule restricted their choice within rural areas. Further, they preferred to confine their selection within the adjacent villages or else at least within the same district. The practice of selecting partners from adjacent villages is in glaring contrast to the practices followed in northern zone, where the families do not marry among themselves, the boundaries of whose villages touch on another. This practice is known as "brotherhood of boundaries".⁴

Among the higher castes, too, the sensitivity towards region was so acute that certain sectors were left to themselves for marriage purposes. For instance, the Brahmans of northern Bengal were rarely contacted for marital purposes by those belonging to southern Bengal. Region thus plays a decisive role in the choice of partner. The lower the caste the greater the regional concentration.

In summing up it may be stated that during the period 1900-19 (second ascending generation) where the data were available for various castes, it was found that they were all nearer to each other as regards

ages at marriage of husbands and wives. This homogeneity of behaviour was even more apparent if we look back to the data of 1880-1900 (third ascending generation). It may thus be inferred that when the impact of the West was absent all castes had more or less the same pattern of behaviour in this respect.

The difference in caste practices in respect of ages at marriages became evident with the descending generations. This was mainly because of the urbanization, education and economic pursuit of the higher castes. The Kayasthas and Brahmans were the most affected by these processes and had shown higher age at marriage. The Gandha-baniks though urban was found to be a comparatively, conservative group as it came under the influence of modern education very recently, and had shown lesser increase in age at marriage. The Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis did not show sharp or steep rise in age with the descending generation. But the pattern of their total distribution had changed.

So far as remarriage is concerned it was found that there was sharp contrast in the practices followed by the higher and lower castes. Among the higher castes the age difference between husband and wife tends to increase in case of second or subsequent marriages. The same is true of lower castes also. But in case of widow remarriage and *sanga* the age difference between husband and wife tends to be reduced appreciably.

It also became clear that region had an important role to play in the selection of partner. There were regional concentrations in urban and rural areas so far as selection of partner was concerned. Even in recent generation the urban-rural combinations were far too few.

4. *References.*

1. Sarkar, J. N., History of Bengal, Vol. I & II (1948), Dacca University Publication.
2. O'Malley East & West.
3. "Sankhya" The Indian Journal of Statistics Vol. 16, Part 3 & 4, April, 1956, Statistical Publishing Society, Calcutta.
4. Karve, I. Kinship Organization in India (1953), pp. 119, Poona.

PREVALENCE OF DOWRY SYSTEM

Marriage is generally associated with the inter-change of gifts between the families united. The gifts consist partly of money transaction including presentation of ornaments and partly of essential goods like clothes, furniture etc. So far as the essential goods are concerned both the parties have their due share. But in respect of money transaction or presentation of ornaments there is generally uni-directional flow. When the money goes from the bride's family to that of groom, the system is known as Dowry. The process is reversed in case of lower castes who pay for the bride and not the groom. This is paid mostly in response to the demands expressed by either of the two parties.

The system of Dowry, it appears, has its root deep in a very tender sentiment of the parental heart. Marriages in ancient societies were mostly arranged between a young couple. And the Dowry was a sort of economic aid from the parental side to enable the young husband to establish a new household, which he alone might not have been able to manage satisfactorily. It is this sentiment which has formed the principal justification for Dowries. As a joint household is to be formed it is only just that the two families involved should contribute towards its establishment. This constituted a sort of minature set up with which the couple can start a new home. Besides the perishable goods, other things, generally belonged to the bride as "Stri-dhon" which she could cash or utilize in her later life if so required. There was also an underlying sentiment in our society that the amount of gifts both in cash and kind brought by the bride at the time of her first arrival in husband's house used to show the status of her father and was welcomed accordingly by her in-laws. It is therefore expected that parents would exercise their best to ensure a prosperous and peaceful life to their daughters. But the system has assumed a gloomy and problematic appearance in recent years particularly because the parents are now to pay in response to the definite demands made by either of the contracting parties. It became a real evil when parents having daughters of marriageable age began to compete with one another to secure suitable match for their daughters by offering highest bids. Worst of all the amount paid by the bride's parents are now-a-days mostly appropriated by the groom's parents, so the young bride is left with nothing for her future security.

So long as the selection in marriage was dominated by the sense of social superiority based on *Kula* or *Kaulinya* the evil of the system

was concentrated within the upper strata. Because the amount of Dowry to be paid depended on and varied to a great extent with the freedom of choice. It was extremely difficult for the Kulin girls to have a suitable match and for them the payment was the highest as their field of choice had been very much restricted. Formerly the Dowry was taken generally at a flat rate i.e., about rupees sixteen or so. But the difficulty of finding suitable bride-groom led to the increase in amount at subsequent stages.

The system of money transaction in marriages was found among all the castes in different form. It was observed in course of the analysis that both the practices of paying Dowry and bride-price were prevalent among the higher castes, though the normal and common practice among them was to pay Dowry. The system was found among all the three higher castes viz., Brahman, Kayastha and Gandha-baniks, while the Byagra-Kshattriya and Hadis followed the practice of paying bride-price.

Certain practical difficulties were experienced in collecting the accurate information with regard to the amount of Dowry paid or received. There was a tendency to state that the amount taken as Dowry in case of son's marriage was far less than that had been spent in daughter's marriage. Usually such type of difficulties had to be tackled by contacting in-laws houses wherever possible. In rural areas particularly where a group of people used to sit together during the time of enquiry helped each other in exposing the necessary details. The difficulty in getting the information was particularly felt among the higher castes who were at the same time well-educated. Since the evil of Dowry is well recognized and at the same time it cannot be denied that the practice also remains in vogue, such people could not but conceal at least the amount demanded. Attempt was however made by putting indirect tactful questions to such families which in turn evoked proper response.

For better understanding the present study had been made under two broad groupings — (1) dealing with the castes who follow the practice of paying Dowry, (2) and the other following the practice of paying bride-price. The following table illustrates the broad distribution of marriages into two groups showing the proportions in which Dowry had been accepted or not. In the presentation of the table it may be stated that the data for the third ascending generation were not generally available and therefore could not be incorporated. Further dowry referred to in the table mostly relates to cash transaction.

Thus it will be seen that the prevalence of Dowry is not specifically concentrated among any particular caste. The total frequencies of marriages for the different castes would appear to be less than the total number of marriages recorded for such castes. This was mainly because the data in which the amount of Dowry was not specified could not be

TABLE NO. 4.1
Prevalence of Dowry

Castes	Number of Marriages		
	Dowry taken	Dowry nil	Total
Brahman	312	96	408
Kayastha	289	86	375
Gandha-banik	366	100	466

included. Further the non-response rate was also to a certain extent responsible for the exclusion of some of the marriage details from the above table.

The table above clearly shows that in spite of the hue and cry raised against dowry system there were at least about 75% cases in which Dowry had been demanded. In the remaining 25% cases though the amount of dowry was stated to be nil, it did not mean that those people had spent less or had enjoyed any concession.

The table stated below shows the amount paid as Dowry by the first three castes —

TABLE NO. 4.2
Distribution of the Amount of Dowry taken by the different castes.
(Correct to nearest '00 or '000 Rupees)

Castes	AMOUNT OF DOWRY										
	100	200	500	1000	1500	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000	7000 & over
Brahman	141	42	61	32	15	13	3	5	—	—	—
Kayastha	115	18	64	25	21	22	18	6	—	—	—
Gandha banik	—	—	51	95	48	55	53	36	12	4	11

It is clear from the above table that the Gandha-baniks had spent the highest on Dowry the minimum amount being Rs. 500/-/- and it had gone up as high as Rs. 10,000/-/-. Being a trading community they were economically well-off and perhaps could spend such heavy amount as Dowry. So far as the Brahmans and Kayasthas were concerned they were more or less at par. In case of about 50% of marriages recorded from these two castes the amount of Dowry was found to be round about Rs. 100/-/-. In the higher scale i.e. Rs. 1,500/-/- onwards the Kayasthas had greater concentration than those of the Brahmans. The greater concentration in the lower scale was mostly due to the combined presentation of all the generations. It had always been reported by the people belong-

ing to these castes that the Dowry system was never so acute and stressed to such an extent in the past.

The amount stated in the table referred mostly to cash transaction. The amount spent on ornaments though depended on the demands of the groom's family had not been included in the above table. The inclusion of the amount spent on ornaments had the chance of vitiating the findings, because it was difficult to get correct information with regard to the weight of gold in tola received or presented some two generations ago. Moreover, the price of gold has fluctuated to a great extent during the period over which the study is extended. Further it may be mentioned here that the lower amount of Dowry had on occasions been supplemented by the presentation in kind. The demand for gold in earlier generations was not very dominant. The bride's parents had the privilege of spending according to their capacity. It was observed in recent generation that those who paid Rs. 500/-/- to 1,000/-/- or even more as Dowry usually spent 3,000/-/- to 4,000/-/- on ornaments and other essentials like groom's wrist-watch, dress etc.

In order to have finer picture and also to attain greater homogeneity the different castes have been separately treated in the subsequent sections.

Brahman — The normal practice among the Brahmans was to pay the Dowry. But the hypergamous divisions of the Radhiya Brahmans (stated in earlier chapters) created considerable hardship and misery particularly for the Radhiya Kulin girls who had a very limited field of choice. The woeful tales were amply presented in the Bengali literatures of 19th as well as early 20th century.

In earlier generations when the family status depended mainly on the consideration of Kula the tendency of the non-Kulins was to rise up in social status by contracting marriages with the Kulins. For instance, if a non-Kulin girl could be married in a Kulin family, the social prestige of her father's family usually increased. But it was thought to be covetable by the non-Kulins to have a Kulin girl as bride. So there was a tendency among the non-Kulins to pay heavy amount of dowry to contract marriages with the Kulins. The Kulins on the other hand sometimes took advantage of the situation and mostly being forced by poverty accepted money and in return married their daughters in non-Kulin families. Thus both the practices of paying Dowry and bride-price were found among the Radhiya Brahmans, though the latter system is fast disappearing among the Kulins.

It had been reported by the elderly people in some villages that the Kulins paid and accepted bride-price on definite occasions. The Kulins in those days had no definite age for marriage, neither were they ashamed

of marrying handsome young girls in old age. So whenever they got a beautiful young girl of poor parents who were not able to marry her to a suitable match, tried to trap the poor parents by offering some money to them. The same was the case with the Bhangas (degraded Kulins). It has been reported that a well-known Kulin family of that particular village used to marry their daughters to non-Kulins and demanded Rs. 800/-/- to 1,000/-/- as bride-price in each case.

The non-Kulins too were giving up the practice and as the system was not favoured by the caste people it was very difficult to get a correct picture of the situation. However, out of the fifty marriages recorded from the Srotriya families there were hardly five cases where bride-price had been accepted instead of Dowry. The amount varied from Rs. 5/-/- to Rs. 500/-/-. These cases had been recorded from the Suddha and Kastha Srotriya families.

The table narrated below shows the variation in the proportion of Dowry paid in course of the last three generations.

TABLE NO. 4.3
Variation in the proportion of Dowry over the Generations
BRAHMAN

Generations	AMOUNT IN RUPEES								
	100	200	500	1000	1500	2000	3000	4000	5000 & over
Recent	31	24	27	20	8	10	1	—	—
1st Ascending	56	10	28	10	7	3	2	5	—
2nd „	54	8	6	2	—	—	—	—	—

The table narrated above illustrates the apparent increase in the amount of Dowry over the three generations. The increase in amount in first ascending generation is significant in the sense that both (1st and 2nd) refer to the period prior to second world war, so that the price level and the Rupee value was not incomparable as is the case in recent years. The amount of dowry has increased in recent generations. This is mainly because of the post war inflationary trend. But ultimately if the money is devaluated and made comparable with the past it is quite likely that a diminishing trend in the amount of Dowry demanded will be revealed. It may therefore be stated that real value of cash transaction is not the cause of alarm to the parents.

The difficulties relating to Dowry are now due to the operation of various other factors. Firstly due to economic crisis and overall rise in the cost of living it has become extremely difficult to carry on with the essentials of life. Over and above, the price of gold has increased three

times or even more, so that it is really difficult to procure the necessary amount of gold demanded by the groom's family according to the old tradition. Last but not the least is the change in the outlook of the recent educated boys who desire that their wives should also be educated, the standard of which varies according to their own accomplishment. This has become a source of trouble for a middle class family having on the average 4-5 children to finance their education as well as to provide for the Dowry.

In order to examine whether there is any variation in the amount of Dowry demanded for marriages in urban and rural areas, the data have been further sub-divided. The following tables give the details of Dowry demanded for marriages in urban and rural areas, the data expected to show also the characteristic variations according to different generations.

TABLE NO. 4.4

Variation in the Amount of Dowry over the different Generations — Rural

Generations	AMOUNT OF DOWRY						
	Rs.	100	200	500	1000	1500	Total
Recent		20	20	10	4	3	67
1st ascending		56	5	6	—	—	67
2nd „		51	—	—	—	—	51

TABLE NO. 4.5

Variation in the Amount of Dowry over the different Generations — Urban

Generations	AMOUNT OF DOWRY									
	Rs.	100	200	500	1000	1500	2000	3000	4000	Total
Recent		1	4	17	16	5	10	1	—	54
1st Ascending		—	5	22	10	7	3	2	5	54
2nd „		3	8	6	2	—	—	—	—	19

It appears from the above table that in rural areas the situation is somewhat better in the sense that the amount demanded is not so high. But in case the groom happens to be a graduate, it is told that he is considered as an asset of the whole village and everybody expects something extraordinary in his case and naturally the demand shoots up. The demand for Dowry is definitely high in urban areas.

It was observed in dealing with the urban data that education did not affect the amount of Dowry significantly. It is quite likely that the families where the members are highly educated will esta-

blish affinal ties with families having similar standard. Naturally the amount spent by them will be high enough compared to one representing the middle-class income group. On the contrary it was found that middle-class families with some amount of ancestral property, say a building, and moderate educational standard were more particular about Dowry and usually tried to cover up a substantial portion of marriage expenses with the amount taken as Dowry from the bride's family.

The absence of any positive correspondence between dowry and education was due to the interplay of certain factors. The opinion of one section of the educated public was to take advantage of their education and thus to exact exorbitant amount from the bride's parents. The sentiment of the other section was to inculcate liberal attitude and to stick to the practice of avoiding dowry. It is quite illuminating that the younger generation as a whole has become quite conscious of the evils of dowry and are earnestly trying to marry without accepting anything in cash. As the marriages were mostly arranged under the supervision of parents such cases were rare upto the time of enquiry. The amount of dowry to be given thus depends on the ability of the bride's people as well as the social status, economic condition and education of the groom.

It was also observed that poor parents having 3/4 daughters, were forced to marry the young girl to aged persons as their second or third wife just to avoid the payment of Dowry. Ten such cases had been recorded from rural areas. The age difference between husband and wife varied from 25/30 years. This type of marriage could be found even in recent generation in villages but was not found in urban areas.

There was another way of avoiding the Dowry viz., to avoid cash transaction through exchange marriage. It refers to the Cii type of marriages which (cf. chapter I), ensure reciprocal and two directional movement of brides and grooms. This practice was found in both urban and rural areas and can be practised without evoking social criticism.

Kayasthas — Similar situation was observed among the *Kayasthas*. The normal practice among them was to pay Dowry. They too had the convention that in case of Kulin and maulika union whichever party be maulika either the bride or the groom should pay the cash to the Kulin. This was not considered as bride-price but termed as *Kula-maryada*. There were five cases of maulika and Kulin marriage where the grooms belong to maulika and bride to the Kulin family, so the groom's party paid *Kula-maryada* to the bride's parents. Such instances occurred in the 1st, 2nd and third ascending generations. Out of five, four of the brides belonged to Khulna District of Eastern Bengal. The system was perhaps more common there than in Western Bengal. The practise was not favoured in recent years and was fast disappearing.

The following table shows the changes in the amount of Dowry taken in course of the last three generations.

TABLE NO. 4.6

Variation in the amount of dowry taken in course of the last three Generations.

Generations	AMOUNT IN RUPEES							
	100	200	500	1000	1500	2000	3000	5000 and above
Recent	47	11	27	12	8	6	11	3
1st Ascending	42	6	32	9	8	10	7	3
2nd „	26	1	5	4	5	6	—	—

There was significant increase in the amount of Dowry taken from the second to the first ascending generation. The increase was not very remarkable from the first to the recent generation. Moreover, if the money taken as Dowry in recent generations be devalued and made comparable to that of the 1st ascending generation it would be found that the amount had not perhaps increased at all. So the problem of Dowry as commonly reported in recent years was due not so much to the absolute increase in the amount as was influenced by various other considerations, already stated while dealing with the Brahmans.

In order to study whether there were any specific variations in the amount of Dowry accepted for urban and rural marriages, the data had been further classified into the following two tables.

TABLE NO. 4.7

Prevalence of Dowry (Kayastha — Rural)

Generations	Rs.				Total
	200 & below	500	1000	1500	
Recent	51	17	4	2	74
1st Ascending	32	18	5	—	55
2nd „	23	2	—	—	25

TABLE NO. 4.8

Prevalence of Dowry (Kayasthas — Urban)

Generations	Rs.							Total
	200 & below	500	1000	1500	2000	3000	5000	
Recent	7	10	8	6	6	11	3	51
1st Ascending	16	14	4	8	10	7	3	62
2nd „	4	3	4	5	6	—	—	22

It is clear from the previous two tables that there was greater demand for Dowry in urban areas than what was observed in rural areas. The rural data showed gradual increase in the amount of Dowry in course of the three generations. In case of the urban data the increase was marked from the second to the first ascending generation.

So far as the influence of education was concerned it was observed that education by itself had not a very dominant role to play. Like the Brahmans in case of Kayasthas too the Dowry depended on the family status, economic stability of the family as well as on the candidate's personal attainment.

Just like the Brahmans the Kayasthas also had the tendency to marry young girls to old persons so that the payment of Dowry could be avoided. Three such cases were recorded from rural areas. All the three cases recorded belong to the recent generation. The age-difference in those cases between the husband and wife was found to be between 15 and 20 years. Such cases were not looked on with favour and people did not go for such union, unless forced by economic pressure.

The Kayasthas too practise exchange marriages the number of which had already been stated in Chapter I. As usual Dowry is avoided in exchange marriages.

Gandha-banik — The system of Dowry was equally prevalent among the Gandha-baniks. It has already been said that amount of Dowry in their cases generally exceeded the amount of Dowry transacted for other castes. In order to study the prevalence of Dowry in various generations data have been classified according to the information available for three generations. From the following table it will be observed that the information about the acceptance of dowry could not be recorded for all the marriages from the Gandha-banik families. The data give details about the dowry in only about 366 cases, but it is expected that the same would give a broad picture of the system as existing among the Gandha-baniks.

TABLE NO. 4.9
Prevalence of Dowry in different Generations.

Generations	Dowry taken	Dowry nil	Total
Recent	173	37	210
1st Ascending	121	46	157
2nd "	72	27	99
Total	366	100	466

From the above table it would be evident that dowry was prevalent amongst the Gandha-baniks in all the generations. The number of cases in which the dowry had not been demanded was relatively small.

Since the Gandha-baniks are a trading community and are economically very well placed, it would be illuminating to examine the exact amount of Dowry transacted in their marriages. Thus the data specifying the various amounts transacted are recorded in the following table for different generations.

TABLE NO. 4.10
Amount of Dowry.

Generations	Rs. 500	1000	1500	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000	7000 and over
Recent	9	30	27	28	30	25	12	3	9
1st Ascending	22	38	9	18	19	11	—	1	3
2nd „	20	27	12	9	4	—	—	—	—
Total	51	95	48	55	53	36	12	4	12

As usual the amount of dowry had an increasing trend with the descending generation. In recent generation there were cases where the amount of dowry demanded was as high as Rs. 10,000/-/-. But in view of the inflationary tendency it can be observed that the absolute increase in the net amount of dowry is perhaps insignificant in terms of previous price index.

So far as influence of education is concerned, it was observed that generally the marriages amongst the Gandha-baniks took place at a tender age and they were continuing their studies, if at all after the marriages in many cases. Thus the education and the corresponding maturity of decision could not obviously influence the system of dowry in their cases.

A special feature has been investigated in case of marriages for the Gandha-banik caste. Generally the first marriage in a family is associated with greater pomp and grandeur. It is well known that the parents exert their maximum to derive pleasure out of the occasion by entertaining a large number of friends and relations. Thus it would be illuminating to observe if there is any variation in the amount of Dowry demanded in case of marriages of the first son as compared to others. The following table gives a broad picture of the dowry accepted in 75 such cases.

TABLE NO. 4.11
Amount of Dowry accepted and corresponding No. of Marriages.

Recent Generation	Rs. 1000	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000 & above	Total
First sons	6	16	12	3	5	—	42
Other sons	5	8	6	6	4	4	33
Total	11	24	18	9	9	4	75

The frequency distribution given in the previous table does not prove any radical change in attitude in the two cases. The percentages if slightly graduated would show almost similar pattern of distribution. The four extreme cases when taken into account along with the rest would weigh in the direction of other sons. It would be worth while pointing out here that though the marriages in case of other sons did not take equally gorgeous shape, the increasing family encumbrances were in many cases responsible for boosting up the amount of Dowry. A detailed study of the data in respect of Kulin and non-Kulin marriages also indicated that the Kulin were more prone to dowry transactions, both in case of their sons and daughters marriages.

Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis — There is good deal of difference in the practices followed by the higher and lower castes. The cash paid in their marriages passes from the groom's to the bride's family. This system known as bride-price was observed among the Byagra-Kshattriyas as well as Hadis.

The normal practice among the Byagra-Kshattriyas was to pay some amount as a matter of rule which might vary from even Rs. 5/-/- to Rs. 10/-/-. As they were not economically well-off they could not afford to spend more as bride-price. It was reported by the caste elders that as a poor community they did not always get protection from the parents. In case of the absence of father or his untimely death the candidate had to work mostly as a labourer from a very tender age and had to save a little portion of his earning. This he paid as bride-price at the time of his marriage. It was further stated that if the groom failed to pay the total amount demanded he was allowed to marry at least after half payment and on condition that he should pay the other half either in cash or by manual labour. This condition itself being humiliating the normal tendency was to pay the total amount at the time of marriage.

It may be mentioned here that out of the total data (number of marriages — 457, including first and subsequent marriages) only in case of 200 marriages the amount of bride-price paid could be recorded. It was found in course of the analysis that the amount of bride-price had increased gradually in course of the last 2/3 generations. The following table narrates the amount of bride-price which could be recorded. All the generations were pooled together and were presented jointly.

TABLE NO. 4.12
Showing the amount of bride-price paid in first marriages.
Byagra-Kshattriyas.

	Rs. 15	20	25	30	35	40	50	60	80	100 & Total above	
Byagra-Kshattriyas all generations.	48	35	28	21	11	12	15	12	7	11	200

The table shows that out of 200 marriages the bride-price did not exceed Rs. 40/- in more than 3/4 of the cases. Though the numbers are presented for all the generations, it may be stated that the increase in the amount of Bride-price is associated with the descending generation.

The most significant factor which needs mention in this connection is that the amount of bride-price increases considerably in case of second or third marriages. This is a sort of compensation paid by the groom for his higher age and for the absence of the privileges of first marriage. In case of 13 second marriages recorded from the Byagra-Kshatriyas the amount of bride-price varied from Rs. 50/-/- to as high as Rs. 125/-/-. The single case of third marriage recorded the amount of bride-price was about Rs. 200/-/-. This is in sharp contrast to the practices followed by the higher castes where the dominance of dowry diminishes monotonically in case of second or subsequent marriages.

The Hadis, as stated above, also followed the practice of paying bride-price i.e., the groom or his family was to fulfil the demands of the bride's family. It was observed in course of analysis that they preferred to have the bride-price in kind and not in cash. Out of the total data (418 marriages which included 40 cases of Sanga and 6 remarriages) there were 125 cases where cash transaction took place. Even in case of cash payment the amount varied from Rs. 5/-/- to Rs. 15/-/-. There were only 10 cases where the amount exceeded Rs. 40/-/-. The normal practice among them was to pay the bride-price in kind and that was known as *Saj*. It consisted of clothes, paddy, sweets etc., and were sent to the bride's family by the groom on the day of marriage. It was also reported to be incumbent on the groom's family to present a goat to the bride's family along with the bride-price paid either in cash or in kind. In case the groom failed to send the goat he should compensate the same in cash.

They were found to be very particular about the age of the groom. If for any reason the age exceeded the normal average age he should have to pay fine for it. For instance, there was a case where the age of the groom happened to be 25 years. Due to poverty and other encumbrances he could not manage to secure the necessary amount for bride-price within the normal age at marriage. So he had to pay a fine of Rs. 30/-/- and two mds. of rice along with *Saj*.

Unlike the Byagra-Kshatriyas the Hadis did not pay bride-price for their subsequent unions known as sanga. In case of the few second marriages recorded the usual type *Saj* was presented by the groom. The popularity of Sanga among the Hadis was mostly due to the absence of the payment of bride-price. Since they were economically hard pressed than the Byagra-Kshatriyas they found it difficult to pay even Rs. 15/-/- or Rs. 20/-/- as bride-price.

Thus in summing up it may be stated that in spite of all anti-dowry movements the system still exists among the higher castes. Out of the three higher castes the Gandha-baniks were found to pay the highest amount as dowry, then came the Kayasthas and Brahmans. The amount of dowry was found to vary with region, the amount being higher in urban areas. Ultimately it was found that dowry depends mostly on the family status, economic condition and cultural background of the family. It was also observed that in case of higher caste the payment of dowry was avoided in case of second and exchange marriages.

The two lower castes were found to practise the system of paying bride-price; among Bygra-Kshatriyas the amount of bride-price was found to increase in case of second marriages. It worked as a sort of check against second marriages. On the other hand, in case of Sanga the Hadis were not to pay anything as bride-price and that accounted for its popularity.

It is expected that the rights of intestation, divorce and the adoption of the Hindu Code Bill will open up a new horizon before Indian women. These recent enactments are expected to bring about far reaching results in the near future. The liberty so sanctioned will have a new impact on the problems of marriages and dowry. States like U.P. and Delhi have already taken active steps by suitable enactments in that direction. There is no denial of the fact that today on the intellectual level we discard the dowry system as a barbarous mediaeval taboo, but its social habit has not yet been discarded, the system has come to stay. It is recognized that dowry cannot repair the fortune. The fact, however, remains whether the legislation can mend or end this system.

RESUMÉ

In the present analysis marriages regarding five castes viz., Brahman, Kayastha, Gandha-banik, Hadi and Byagra-Kshattriya, were recorded from different regions of Calcutta, and the Districts of Hooghly and Birbhum. Out of these five castes the Brahman and the Kayasthas belonged to the higher social strata, the Byagra-Kshattriyas and Hadis to the lower and in and between came the Gandha-baniks who represented the middle strata.

The study was related to marriage practices of these castes particularly with reference to the following —

- (a) Kinship considerations associated with selection in marriage.
- (b)
 - i. Endogamous units within a caste,
 - ii. Exogamous units within a caste,
 - iii. Relation of exogamous units and family names,
 - iv. Hypergamous divisions and their inter-relation in respect of marriage.
- (c)
 - i. Age at marriage,
 - ii. Characteristic features of re-marriage.
 - iii. Mode of selection in marriage,
- (d) Dowry and bride-price.

These are in brief the broad findings of the analysis —

- (a) While selecting marriage partner one's own patrilineage, had always been avoided. There were a few instances of cousin marriages (analysed in the body of the note) recorded from each caste, but from, their number itself those might be treated as exceptions. Exchange marriages were recorded from all the five castes, the maximum being found among the Gandha-baniks. Sorrorate marriages were observed among all the five castes in different proportion as men could always go for a second wife during the life time or after the death of the first wife. Since the upper castes and even Byagra-Kshattriyas did not practise widow remarriage, or levirate marriage, such cases could not be recorded from any of these castes. The Hadis had their characteristic institutions of divorce and *sanga* which allowed both their men and women to go for subsequent unions.

- (b) Sub-castes or sub-groups within a caste constituted the ultimate endogamous or outer limit for each caste. This rule was strictly followed by all the castes and was evident from the few inter-caste marriages recorded.

Gotra formed the exogamous unit for the first three castes i.e., Brahman, Kayastha, Gandha-banik, who invariably married outside the gotra. The last two castes had certain gotras but those did not function as exogamous units. Each caste possessed family names which were associated with their respective gotras. Each of these endogamous units were again sub-divided into certain hypergamous classes, sometimes on the basis of family names and sometimes on the basis of gotra.

The orthodox marriage pattern did not allow free interchange of brides and grooms among these classes. The restrictions were gradually disappearing and the disappearance was more pronounced in case of the Kayasthas and Gandha-baniks than among the Radhiya Brahmins. The last two castes though reported to have two broad hypergamous divisions, the genealogies did not show whether these actually functioned as hypergamous classes.

- (c) (i) The analysis showed that marriageable age preferred by each of these castes was different both for males and females. Some three generations ago the age at marriage both for males and females was considerably low and all the castes practised pre-puberty marriage of the girls. Meanwhile, due to the changing social, educational and economic environment the age at marriage had increased in course of the last few (3/4) generations and was remarkably high among the Brahman and Kayasthas in recent years. The last two castes were not affected to this extent by these extraneous forces and were still maintaining comparatively low age at marriage. The urban and rural samples did not show uniform rate of increase. The age-difference between husband and wife was found to be more or less constant in rural samples for all the castes and also among the Gandha-baniks. In the urban sample due to the differential rate of increase in age at marriages of males and females the difference between the husband and wife's age had slightly increased.
- (c) (ii) There was a sharp contrast in the pattern observed in case of the higher and lower castes in respect of the age at second marriages or subsequent unions. (Among the

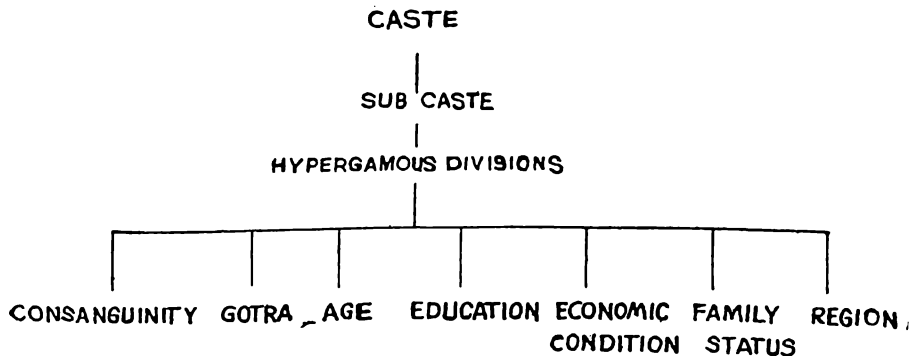
higher castes and particularly in recent years, a man married for the second time usually after the death of the first wife).

The difference in age at the second marriage between husband and wife among the higher castes was twice or thrice the normal difference. Whereas in lower castes and particularly among Hadis the age difference between husband and wife at the second marriage or *sanga* decreased and generally the two partners belonged to the same age group.

(c) (iii) Regional concentration in the mode of selection of partners was observed for all the castes. Community living in rural areas preferred to restrict their choice not only within rural areas but also within the adjacent village if possible. Even among the higher castes in the recent generation the regional concentration was well marked. As such in the whole data the number of urban-rural combination was very few. The higher and educated the caste was the wider the region preferred.

(d) Dowry — The system of money transaction in marriages is found among all the castes. Among the higher castes, the money goes from the bride's family to that of groom. The system is known as Dowry. The process is just the *vice versa* in case of lower castes and is known as Bride price. The amount of Dowry decreases in case of second marriages for higher castes while the bride price increases in second marriages for lower castes. The popularity of *sanga* is due to the fact that no bride price is needed.

Thus the entire analysis revealed that the social limits together with the physical one restricted the choice of partner to a fraction of those who were theoretically accessible. The restrictions in the choice of a mate were of cultural and historical origin. The following diagram shows the factors which led to the restriction of the field of choice in the present sample.



Further scope of research —

Since this study was confined to definite caste and sub-castes inhabiting a particular region, there still remained the other castes in the same linguistic region. It was experienced in course of the present study that these sections of our society which were having smaller population were facing a very difficult problem in selecting suitable mates. Therefore a study of such groups like the Varendra and Vaidika Brahmins, the West Bengal Vaidyas, would provide interesting comparisons with other such groups from West Bengal and may give enlightenment as regards the factors leading to social change. In the same way it would be of utmost importance to study the present pattern of behaviour of the so called lower castes who may represent some characteristic non-Aryan practices.

The ways and means by which the smaller groups are trying to solve their respective problems are expected to show the future trend of our society. We are yet to observe the effect of new laws, like the Hindu Code Bill which enjoins monogamy and makes divorce possible, also the reformed laws of inheritance which put the daughters and mothers on the same footing with the sons. It is expected that this new law will have direct impact on the dowry system.

The marked increase in the age at marriage among the urban educated seems to have its repercussions and they are facing certain practical difficulties. Due to late marriage they are having small children at the time of their retirement and are also experiencing difficulties to finance their education etc. This may lead to a swing back to younger ages at marriage.

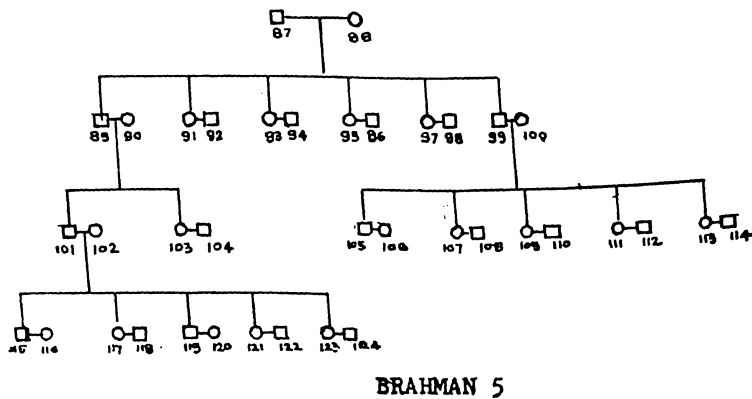
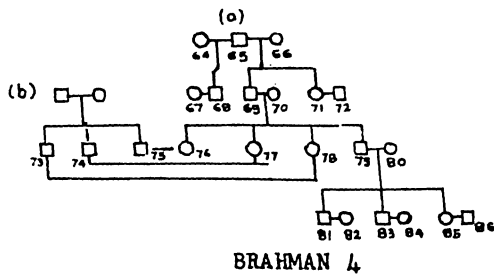
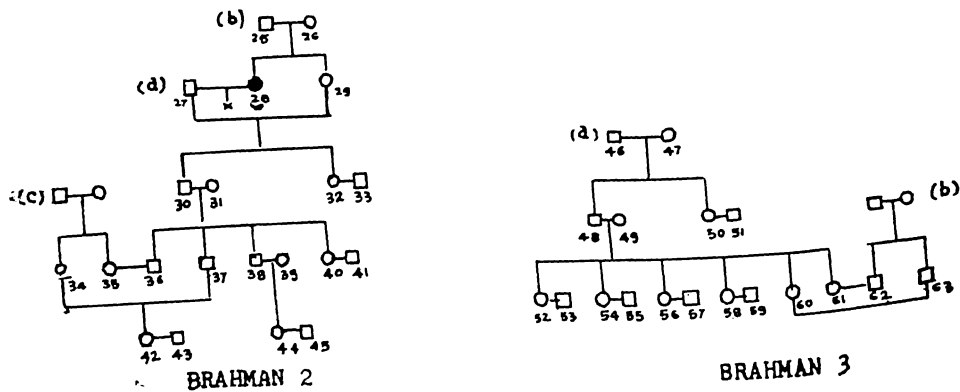
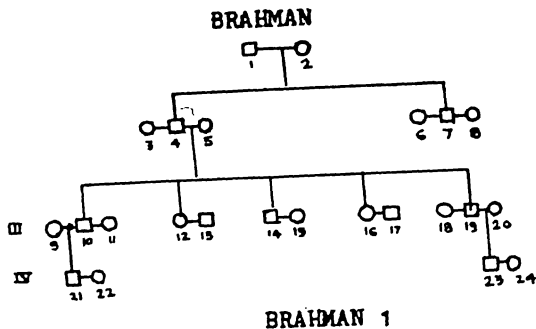
Apart from the laws enacted by the Indian Government the world opinion with regard to marriages seems to be reaching the Indian public. Recently the U.N. Economic and Social Council insisted on the compulsory registration of marriage, whereby prospective spouses can themselves express their consent freely in the presence of a competent civil or religious authority. It also asked to undertake a study of marriage from the point of view of the desirability of free consent and establishment of a minimum age. It remains to be seen how these reforms are put into practice by the different countries as well as by India.

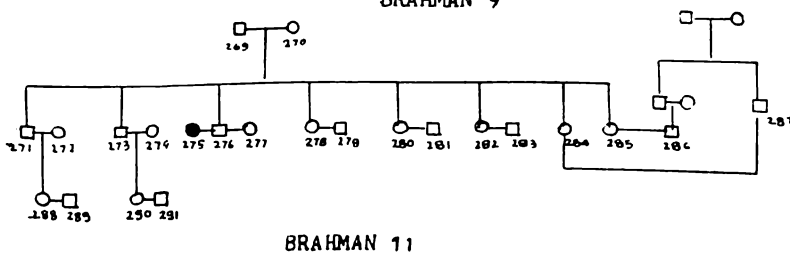
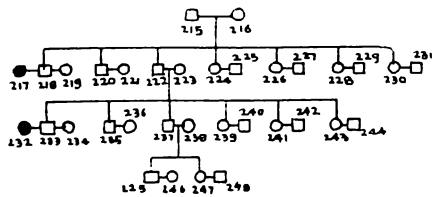
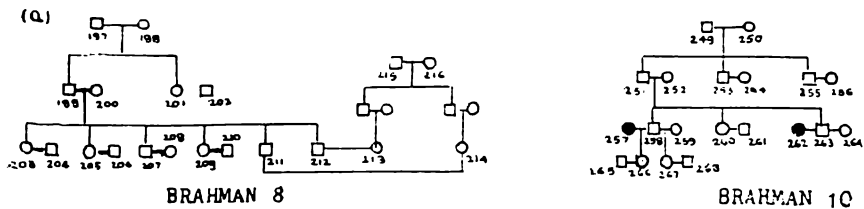
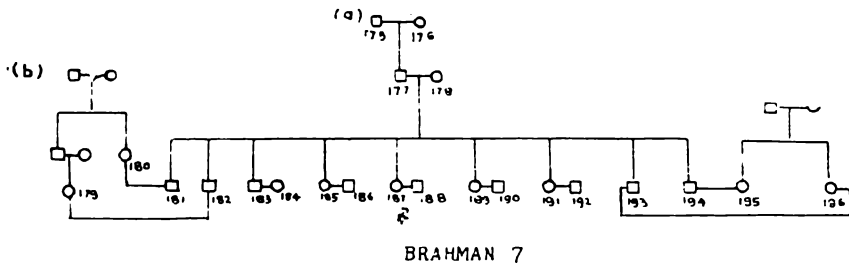
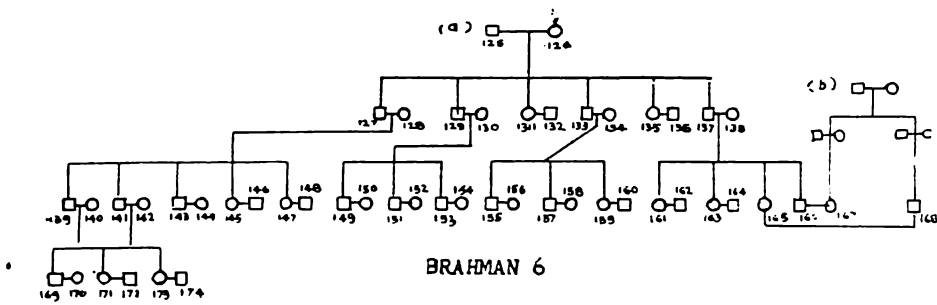
APPENDIX--I

— FAMILY GENEALOGIES —

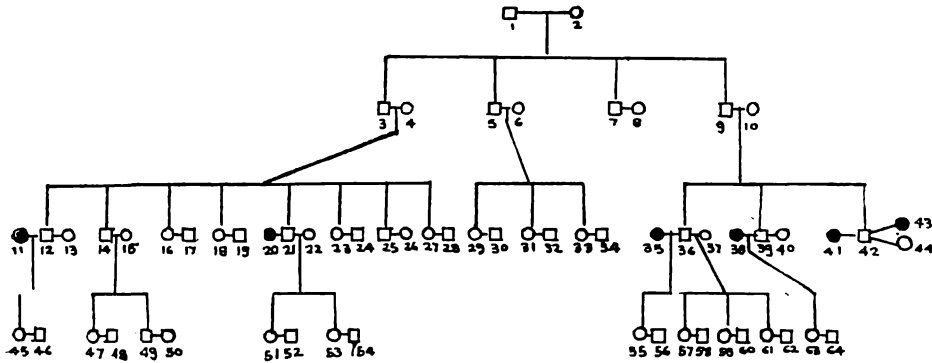
LEGEND

1. MALE = □
FEMALE = ○
DEAD = ●
2. a = REFERS TO THE FAMILY VISITED & b, c, d,
ETC. TO AFFINIES.
3. THE MEMBERS IN THE GENEALOGY ARE NUM-
BERED AS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & SO ON CONTINUOUSLY
FOR EACH CASTE NUMBERS START FROM THE
ASCENDING GENERATION REFERRED TO AT
THE TOP OF EACH GENEALOGY.
4. ABSENCE OF NUMBER IN THE GENEALOGY
MEANS THOSE MARRIAGE DETAILS WERE NOT
RECORDED, BUT REFERRED TO IN THE GENEAL-
LOGY TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP.

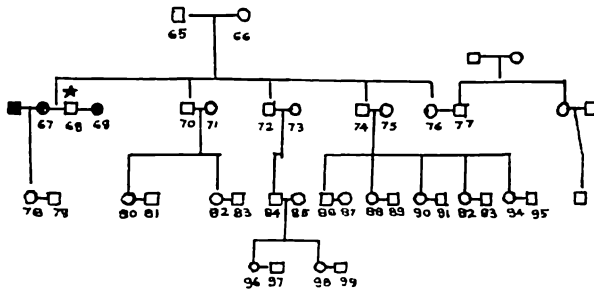




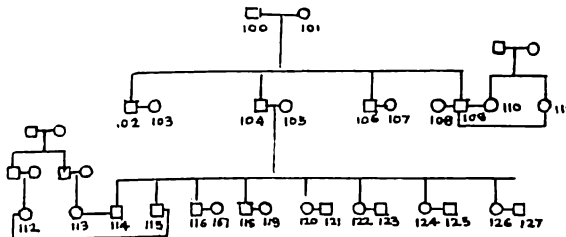
BYAGRA KSHATRIYA



BYAGRA KSHATRIYA No.1



BYAGRA KSHATRIYA No.2



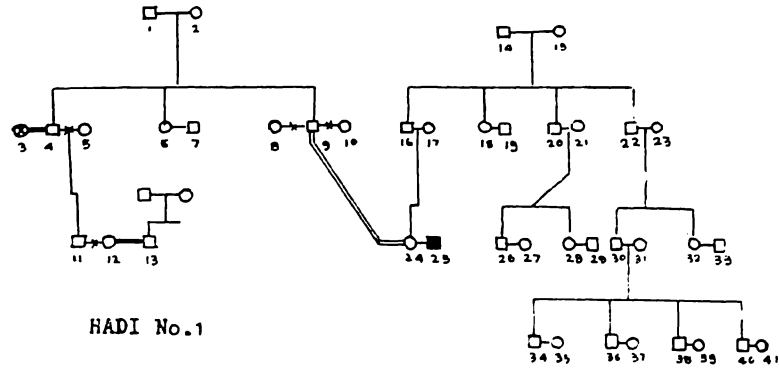
BYAGRA KSHATRIYA No.3

N.B. = No.83 Mentioned twice refers to the same person.

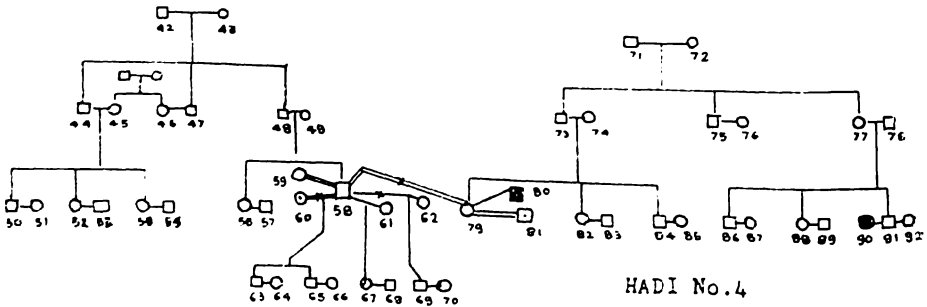
After first wife's death No.68 married a widow

No.67 had a daughter by her first husband.

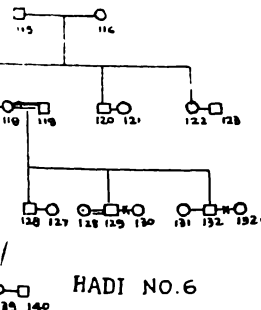
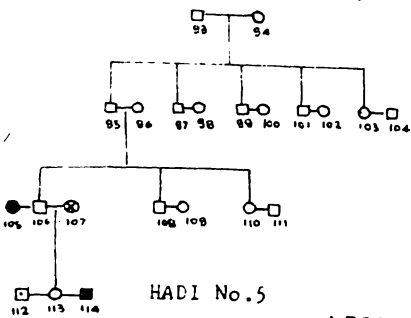
HADI



HADI No. 2



HADI No. 3



LEGEND

- OR ■ DEAD
- OR □ DIVORCED
- ⊗ OR ⊠ WIDOW OR WIDOWER
- MARRIAGE
- SUBSEQUENT UNION i.e SANGA
- *○ MARRIAGE DISSOLVED
- *○ SANGA

BRAHMAN

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence	
1.	Ram Narayan Mukerji	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	2.	.... Chatterji	Shyampore, Hooghly.	
4.	Chandra K. Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.	}	3.	Sukhoda Chatterji	At-pore, Hooghly.
7.	Shyama Charan Mukerji	Shyampore, Hooghly.		5.	Niharbala Banerji	Jhapardaha, Singoor, Hooghly.
				6.	.... Banerji	At-pore, Hooghly.
10.	Dasharathi Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.	}	8.	Mokshoda Chatterji	At-pore, Hooghly.
				9.	Nanibala Banerji	Sengoor, Hooghly.
12.	Niroda Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.	}	11.	Manada Bhatta-Charyya	Domjur, Hooghly.
14.	Tinkari Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.		13.	Rakhal Das Banerji	Sheakhala, Hooghly.
16.	Surodhori Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.		15.	Soroshibala Chakravarty	Rajapore, Howrah.
19.	Sarat Ch. Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.		17.	Sashi Bhusan Ganguli	Sutipore, Nadia.
21.	Bibhuti Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.	}	18.	.... Banerji	Jhapardaha, Nadia.
23.	Anadi Mukherji	Shyampore, Hooghly.		20.	.... Banerji	Nikash, Howrah.
25.				22.	Sabasana Chatterji	Pashpore, Hooghly.
27.	Ambika Ch. Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.		24.	.... Chatterji	Torajorh, Hooghly.
30.	Nirmala Ch. Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.		26.		
32.	Nithor Moni Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	}	28.	Savitri Mukherji	Baichi, Hooghly.
				29.	Gaitri Mukherji	Baichi, Hooghly.
36.	Satya Jivan Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.		31.	Anuja Mukherji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
				33.	Janaki Nath Mukherji (N.B. Stayed as Ghan-jami).	U. Kauchaupara, Bikrampore.
				35.	Tusharika Mukherji	Shantipore, Nadia.

(N.B. Repeated affinal ties — explained in Chapter 1.)

BRAHMAN

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
37.	Satya Kiran Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	34.	Shetalika Mukherji	Shantipore, Nadia.
38.	Satya Ranjan Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	39.	Iva Rani Mukherji	Calcutta.
40.	Amala Banerji	Uttar Para,	41.	Monindra N. Mukherji	Calcutta.
42.	Iva Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	43.	Debi Das Mukherji	Belegkata, 24, Parga.
44.	Mira Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	45.	Sudhin Mukherji	Sonamukhi, Bankura.
46.	Parbati Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	47.	.... Bhattacharyya	Hali Sahar.
48.	Manmalha Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	49.	Promoda Mukherji	Agar-para.
50.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	51.	.... Chatterji	Serampore, Hooghly.
52.	Lila Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	53.	Sarat Chatterji	Serampore, Hooghly.
54.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	55.	Mukherji	Geral-Gachha, Hooghly.
56.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	57.	Mukherji	Calcutta, Hooghly.
58.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	59.	Ghosal	Lucknow.
62.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	61.	Ghosal	Calcutta.
63.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	60.	Ghosal	Calcutta.
65.	Radha Charan Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	}	64. Saroda Chaterji	Tarakeswar, Hooghly.
68.	.... Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.		66. ....	....
69.	Bipin Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.		67. Nalni Mukherji	Calcutta.
71.	Binodini Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	70.	Kumudini Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
76.	Kshetrawoni Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	72.	.... Mukherji	Kalua, Burdwan.
77.	Sarajini Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	75.	Amritalal Mukherji	Kalighat, Calcutta.
78.	Angurbala Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	74.	Keshala Lal Mukherji	Kalighat, Calcutta.
79.	Gopal Ch. Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	73.	Mohon Lal Mukherji	Kalighat, Calcutta.
81.	Sukumar Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	80.	Ratnalata Mukherji	Calcutta.
			82.	Suprova Ghose	Chandan Nagore, Hooghly.

BRAHMAN

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
83.	Subhas Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	84.	Latika Mukherji	Batra, Howrah.
85.	Nibedita Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	86.	Manila Chatterji	Bali, Howrah.
87.	Chandra Narayan Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	88.	Bindu Basini Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
89.	Surendra N. Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	90.	Rajlakshmi Banerji	Calcutta.
91.	Jnanda Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	92.	A. N. Mukherji	Calcutta.
93.	Damayanti Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	94.	P. Mukherji	Calcutta.
95.	Nagendra Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	96.	R. Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
97.	Panna Soshi	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	98.	R. N. Banerji	Calcutta.
99.	Jnanendra Nath Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	100.	Provabati Mukherji	Calcutta.
101.	Phanindra Nath Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	102.	Bivabati Mukherji	Burdwan.
103.	Kamal Kumari Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	104.	Satya Mukherji	Bhagalpore.
105.	Sailen Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	106.	Kanak Prava Mukherji	Calcutta.
107.	Radha Rani Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	108.	Pashu Pati Mukherji	Amta, Howrah.
109.	Binapani Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	110.	Ramrup Mukherji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
111.	Nanda Rani Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	112.	Nalni K. Banerji	Mankunda, Hooghly.
113.	Shanti Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	114.	Debendra N. Banerji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
115.	Rabindra Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	116.	Chhabi Mukherji	
117.	Jutika Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	118.	Biswa Nath Banerji	Calcutta.
119.	Satindra Nath Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	120.	Dipti Mukherji	Calcutta.
121.	Bithika Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	122.	Kirti Roy	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
123.	Shefalika Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	124.	Amarendra Banerji	Baidya-Gati, Hooghly.
125.	Manmatha Nath Chatterji	Uttar Para Hooghly.	126.	Kusum Kumari Banerji	Bali, Howrah.
127.	Nalini Mohan Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	128.	Hemanta Kumari Mukherji	Moongyr.

BRAHMAN

Families Visited

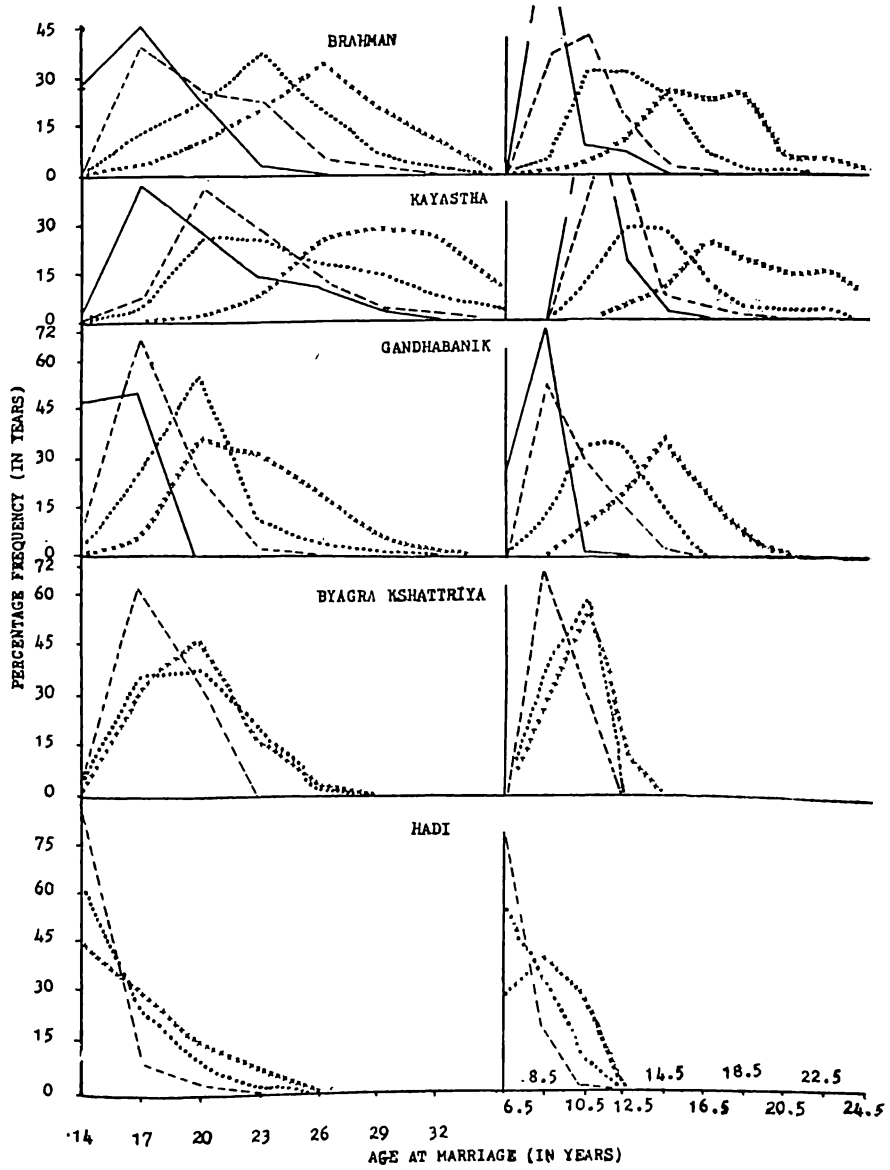
AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
129.	Jamini Mohon Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	130.	Subrana Mukherji	Bali, Howrah.
131.	Kirdubala Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	132.	H. Banerji	Janai, Howrah.
133.	Gupi Mohan Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	134.	Sudhira Mukherji	Mosafferpore.
135.	Sarajabala Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	136.	Chunilal Banerji	Bhagalpore.
137.	Mohini Mohan Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	138.	Nalini Mukherji	Kon-nagar, Hooghly.
139.	Sailendra Chatterji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.	140.	Promita Mukherji	Natogore, 24, Parga.
141.	Alok Nath Chatterji	*Lucknow.	142.	Rama Bhattacharyya	Tippera.
143.	Bomkesh Chatterji	Lucknow.	144.	Dipeti Banerji	Bali, Howrah.
145.	Angurbala Chatterji	Lucknow.	146.	Ardha Chandra Banerji	Janai, Hooghly.
147.	.... Chatterji	Lucknow.	148.	D. N. Mukherji	Bali, Howrah.
149.	Chaitanyadev Chatterji	Lucknow.	150.	Maya Mukherji	Uttar Para, Hooghly.
151.	Gaurangadev Chatterji	Lucknow.	152.	Basanti Ganguli	Serampore, Hooghly.
153.	Ananda Dev Chatterji	Lucknow.	154.	Swapna Banerji	Baranagar.
155.	Sisir K. Chatterji	Lucknow.	156.	Saroja Mukherji	Allahabad.
157.	Saral K. Chatterji	Lucknow.	158.	Gauri Banerji	Bali, Howrah.
159.	Sushama Chatterji	Lucknow.	160.	Harihar Mukherji	Goural-Gaccha.
161.	Supra Chatterji	Lucknow.	162.	Bishnupada Banerji	Uttar Para, Baidya-bati.
163.	Uma Chatterji	Lucknow.	164.	Amar Banerji	Bhadra-Kali.
165.	Prativa Chatterji	Lucknow.	167.	Sumitra Banerji	Bhadra-Kali.
166.	Hrishikesh Chatterji	Lucknow.	170.	Arjali Mukherji	Calcutta.
169.	Ashok Chatterji	Lucknow.	172.	Bhola Nath Chakravarti	Calcutta.
171.	Gita Chatterji	Lucknow.	174.	B. Saxena	Kanpur.

KAYASTHA.

1.	Hara Natu Sen	Calcutta.	2.	Lakshmimoni Bose	Kardaha.	
4.	Brahmanath Sen	Calcutta.	}	3.	Durgamoyee Bose	Calcutta.
6.	Bhoba Nath Sen	Calcutta.		5.	Jagadiswari Mitra	Calcutta.
8.	Monila Sen	Calcutta.		7.	Jaikali Mitra	Janai.
10.	Chandi Charan Sen	Calcutta.		9.	Nirodabala Bose	Calcutta.
12.	Sarala Sen	Calcutta.		11.	Khiroda Mohini Bose	Calcutta.
14.	Subala Sen	Calcutta.	13.	Monindra Lal Mitra	Calcutta.	
			15.	S. K. Bose	Calcutta.	

* Lucknow — This particular branch of the family visited, stays at Lucknow.



REFERENCES

RECENT GENERATION	× × × ×
1st ASCENDING GENERATION	.....
2nd " "	----
3rd " "	-.-.-

Fig. 3-1

VARIATION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO

REGION & GENERATION

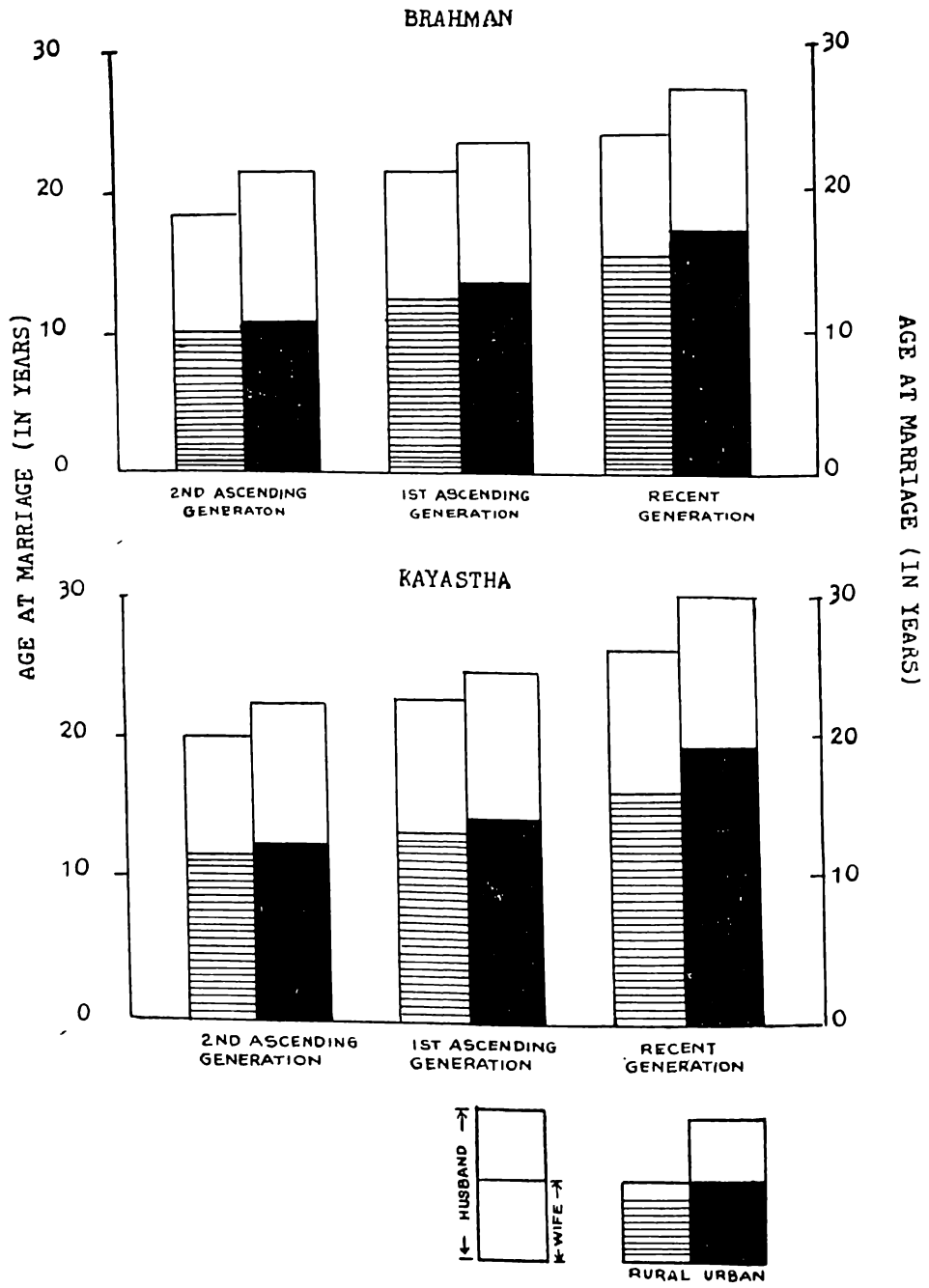
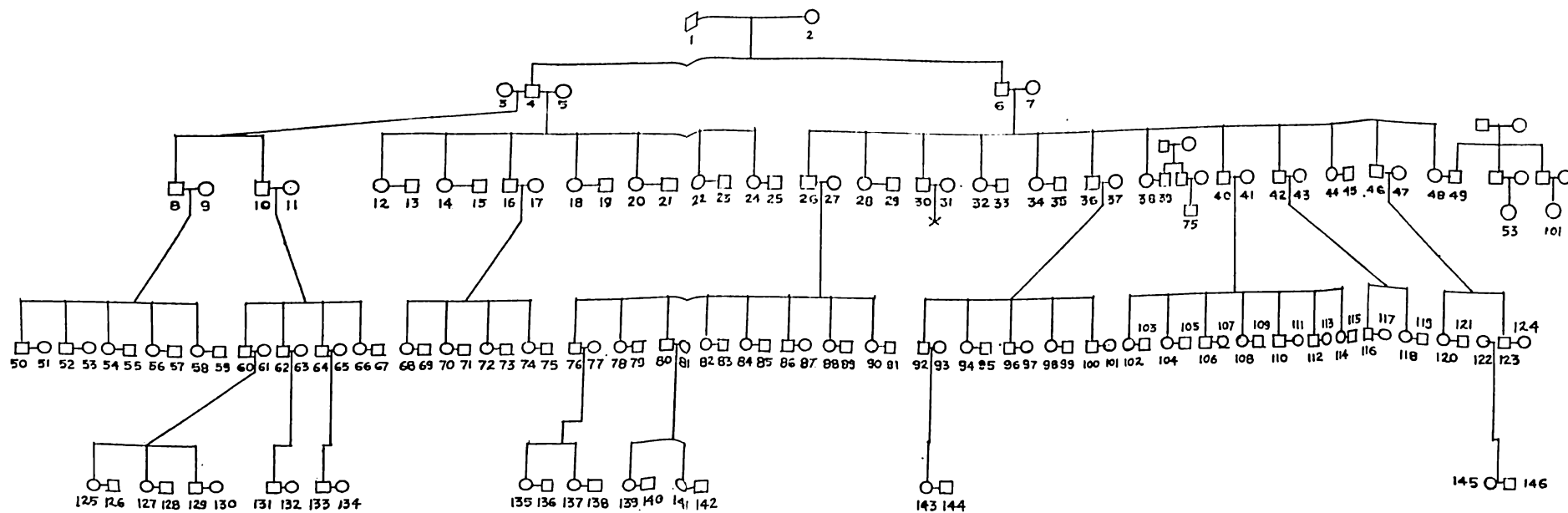


Fig. 3.2

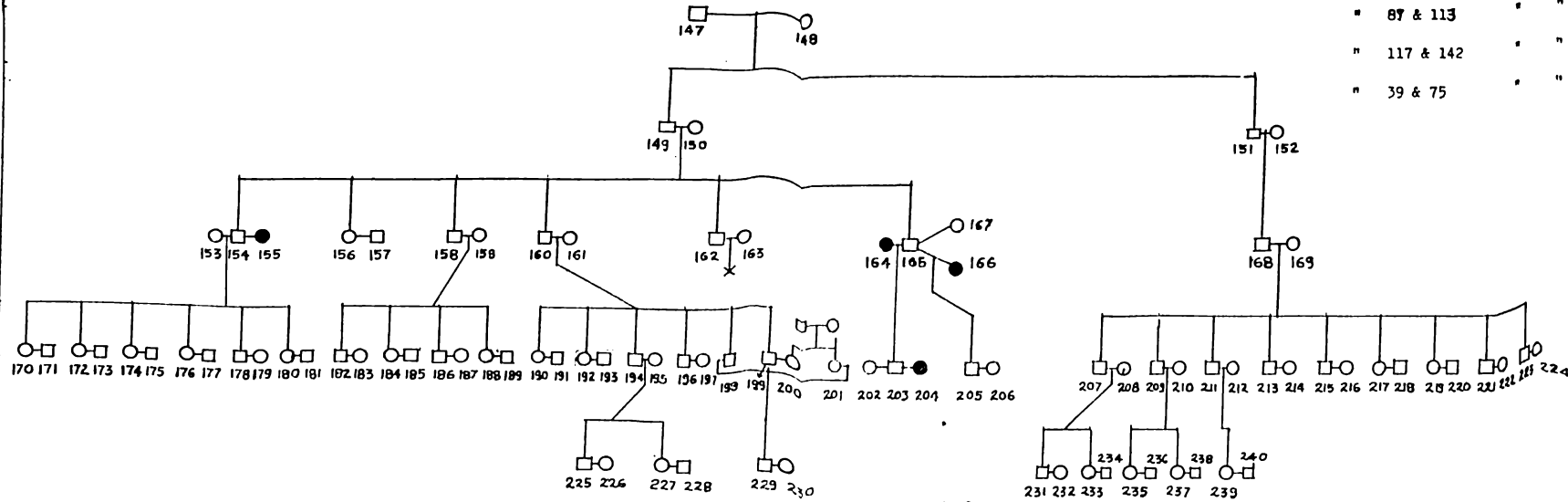
KAYASTHA



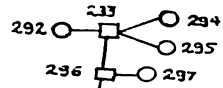
KAYASTHA No. 1.

N.B. - Nos. 49 & 53 & 101 are related as UNCLE AND NIECES.

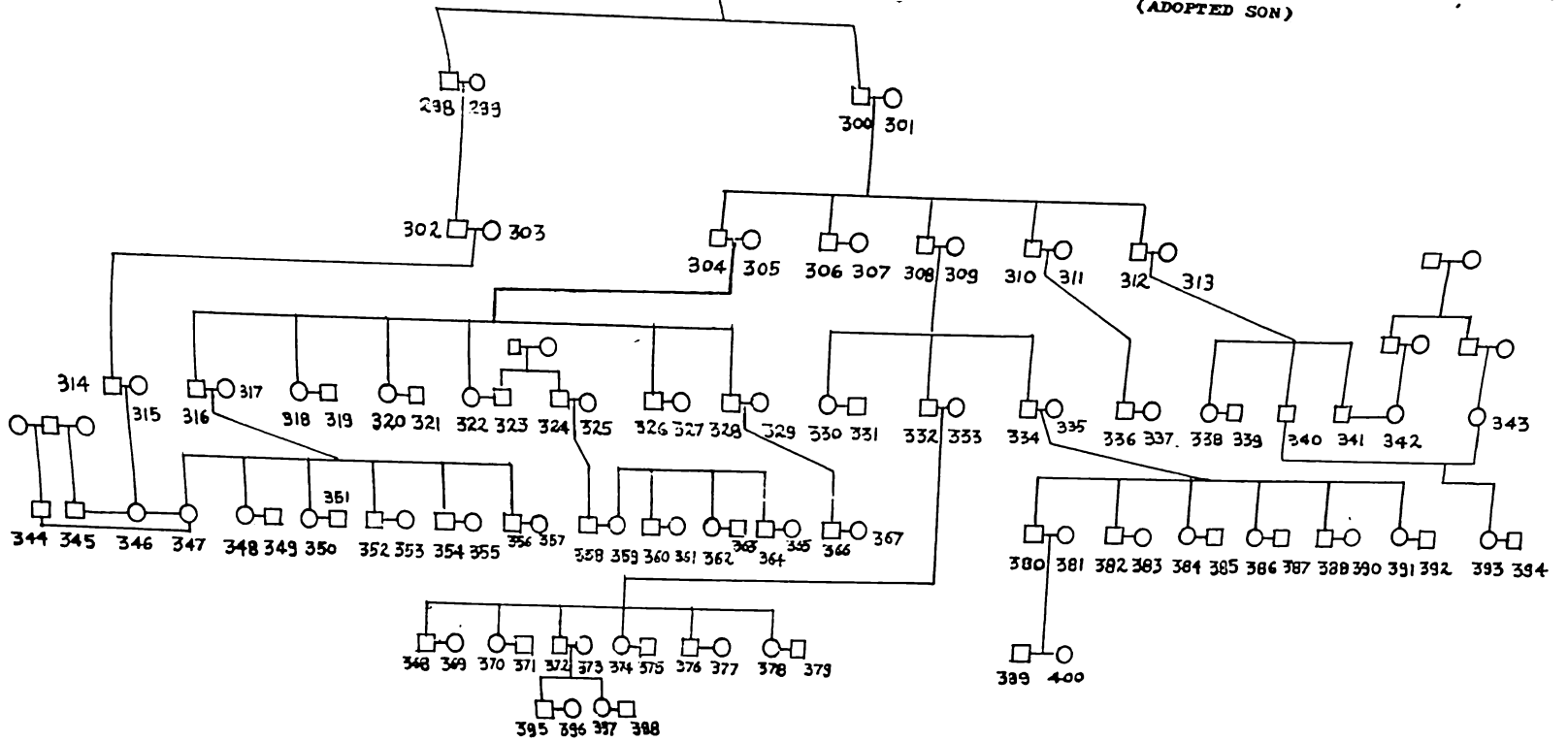
- " 81 & 108 " " " SISTER AND BROTHER.
- " 87 & 113 " " " TWO SISTERS.
- " 117 & 142 " " " SISTER AND BROTHER.
- " 39 & 75 " " " UNCLE AND NEPHEW.



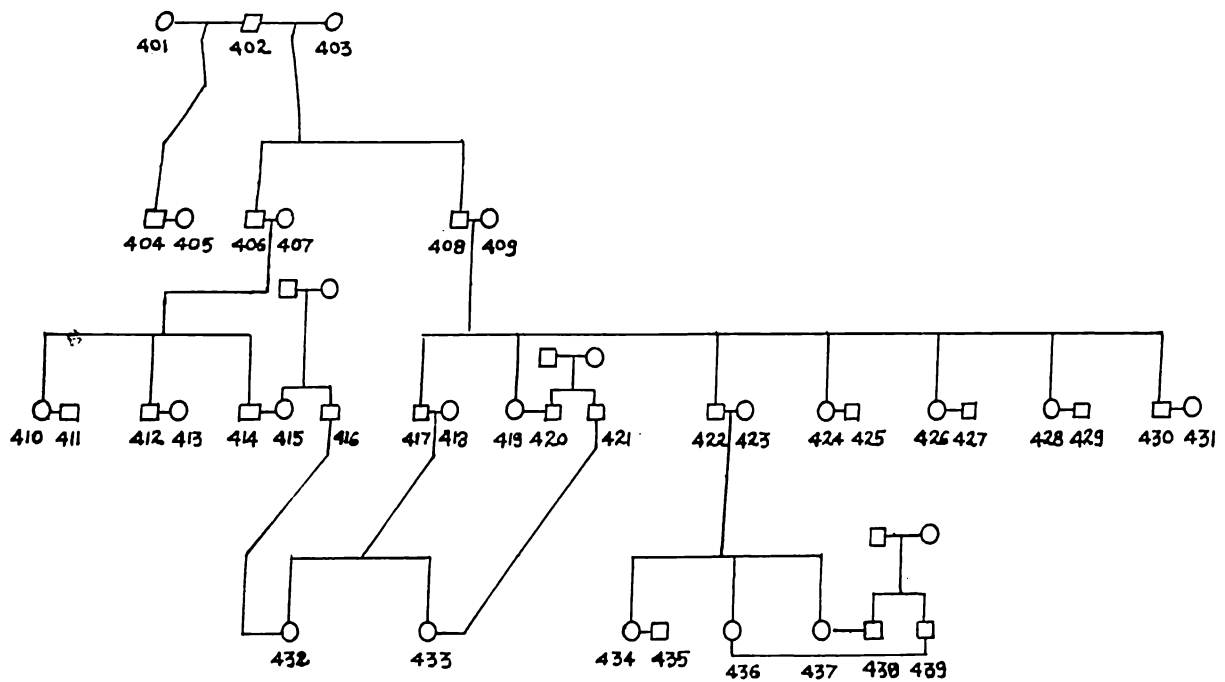
KAYASTHA No. 2



(NONE OF THESE WIVES HAD ANY ISSUE)
(ADOPTED SON)

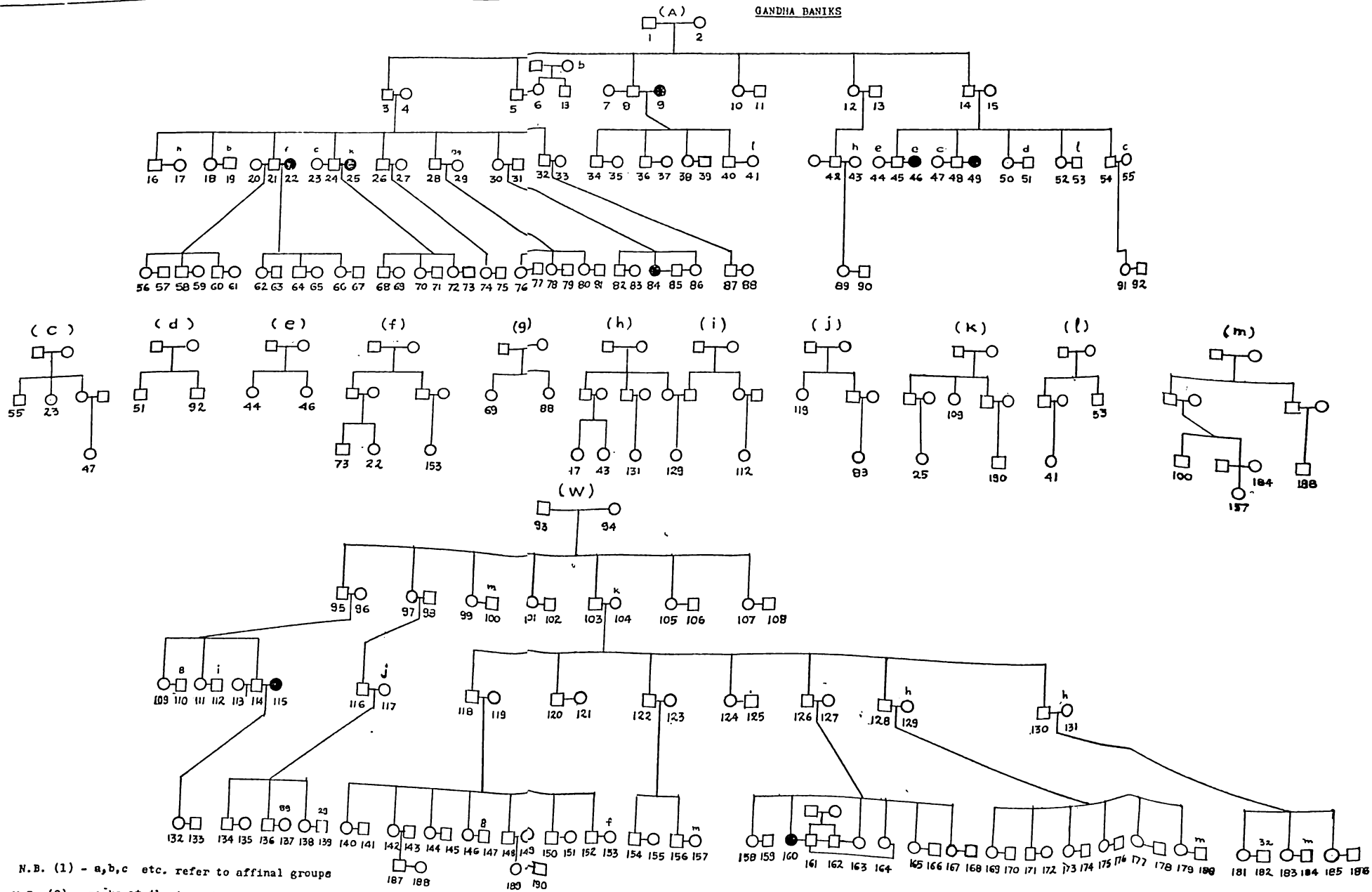


No. BRAHMAN 12



No. BRAHMAN 13

GANDHA BANIKS



N.B. (1) - a,b,c etc. refer to affinal groups

N.B. (2) - marks at the top of □ or ○ imply the original group to which the individual belongs.

KAYASTHA.

Families Visited

AFFINIES.

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
16.	Jibandhon Sen	Calcutta.	17.	Snehalata Mitra	Calcutta.
18.	Charubala Sen	Calcutta.	19.	Monindra Bose	Calcutta.
20.	Namrabala Sen	Calcutta.	21.	Indu Bhusan Mitra	Midnapore.
22.	Indubala Sen	Calcutta.	23.	Nani Gopal Ghose	Rajpore, 24, Parga.
24.	Ushabala Sen	Calcutta.	25.	Dhirendra N. Mitra	Taltala.
26.	Priya Nath Sen	Calcutta.	27.	Kiran Bose	Calcutta.
28.	Basanta Kumari Sen	Calcutta.	29.	Atul Bose	Calcutta.
30.	Manmotha Nath Sen	Calcutta.	31.	.... Bose	Calcutta.
32.	Hemanta Kumari Sen	Calcutta.	33.	.... Bose	Calcutta.
34.	.... Sen	Calcutta.	35.	Probodh Mitra	Calcutta.
36.	Hemnath Sen	Calcutta.	37.	Saroda Sundarin Mitra	Calcutta.
38.	Sukumari Sen	Calcutta.	39.	Purna Ch. Bose	Calcutta.
40.	Satish Ch. Sen	Calcutta.	41.	.... Mitra	Calcutta.
42.	Sirish Ch. Sen	Calcutta.	43.	.... Bose	Barasat, 24, Parga.
44.	.... Sen	Calcutta.	45.	.... Bose	Calcutta.
46.	Nandu Lal Sen	Calcutta.	47.	.... Mitra	Calcutta.
48.	Sorat Kumari Sen	Calcutta.	49.	P. Bose	Calcutta.
50.	Rabindra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	51.	Sulata Mitra	Calcutta.
52.	Dinabandhu Sen	Calcutta.	53.	Phul Rani Bose	Jogulia- 24, Parga.
54.	Prova Sen	Calcutta.	55.	Sorat Ch. Mitra	Ballygunj, Calcutta.
56.	Bimala Sen	Calcutta.	57.	S. K. Bose	Calcutta.
58.	Gunamoni Sen	Calcutta.	59.	M. L. Basu Mullick	Calcutta.
60.	Narendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	61.	Nandu Rani Bose	Katagore.
62.	Jnanendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	63.	Parul Bose	Hoogly.
64.	Birendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	65.	Jamuna Mitra	Najilpore, 24, Parga.
66.	.... Sen	Calcutta.	67.	Devendra Nath Bose	Calcutta.
68.	Naya Lata Sen	Calcutta.	69.	Sailendra Nath Mitra	Panchanantula, Howrah.
70.	Ila Sen	Calcutta.	71.	.... Mitra	Calcutta.
72.	Bela Sen	Calcutta.	73.	Arun De	Calcutta.
74.	Ava Sen	Calcutta.	75.	Pronat Kumar Bose	Bakul.
76.	Dhirendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	77.	Karibala Bose	Calcutta.
78.	Manorama Sen	Calcutta.	79.	Jnanendra Nath Bose	Calcutta.
80.	Dwijendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	81.	Chameli Mitra	Calcutta.
82.	Anupama Sen	Calcutta.	83.	J. Bose	Calcutta.
84.	Sushma Sen	Calcutta.	85.	Manindra Nath Mitra	Calcutta.
86.	Jitendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	87.	Amiya Bose	Calcutta.
88.	Nirupama Sen	Calcutta.	89.	Bimala Prasanna Bose	Calcutta.
90.	Annapurna Sen	Calcutta.	91.	.... Ghose	Calcutta.
92.	Sochindra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	93.	Renuka Mitra	Calcutta.
94.	Bive Sen	Calcutta.	95.	Anil Bose	Hooghly.
96.	Sudhia Sen	Calcutta.	97.	Indira Bose	Calcutta.

KAYASTHA.

<i>Families Visited</i>		<i>AFFINIES</i>			
Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
98.	Nirmala Sen	Calcutta.	99.	P. Mitra	Calcutta.
100.	Satyendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	101.	Amala Mitra	Calcutta.
102.	Protiva Sen	Calcutta.	103.	R. Ghose	Calcutta.
104.	Binapari Sen	Calcutta.	105.	S. Ghose	Calcutta.
106.	Haridash Sen	Calcutta.	107.	Sneha Ghose	Calcutta.
108.	Tamalini Sen	Calcutta.	109.	Saral K. Mitra	Calcutta.
110.	Krisna Sen	Calcutta.	111.	Mira Sarkar	Calcutta.
112.	Bishnu Sen	Calcutta.	113.	Kamala Bose	Calcutta.
114.	Mrinalini Sen	Calcutta.	115.	.... Dutt Choudhri	Calcutta.
116.	Samiran Sen	Calcutta.	117.	Rekha Dev	Calcutta.
118.	Hironmoyee Sen	Calcutta.	119.	Sudhir Dutt	Calcutta.
120.	Kamala Sen	Calcutta.	121.	Hiren Bose	Calcutta.
123.	Khagendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	122.	Gauri Bose	Calcutta.
125.	Sudha Sen	Calcutta.	124.	Bijoli De	Calcutta.
127.	Bani Sen	Calcutta.	126.	Keshab Ch. Bose	Calcutta.
129.	Amarendra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	128.	Madan Chandra Bose	Calcutta.
131.	Jogindra Nath Sen	Calcutta.	130.	.... Bose	Calcutta.
133.	Dipli Sen	Calcutta.	132.	.... Bose	Calcutta.
135.	Lakshmi Sen	Calcutta.	134.	.... Ghose	Calcutta.
137.	Mira Sen	Calcutta.	136.	Kamala Prasad Dutt	Calcutta.
139.	Roma Sen	Calcutta.	138.	.... Ghose	Calcutta.
141.	Ira Sen	Calcutta.	140.	Saroj Kumar Mitra	Calcutta.
143.	Sabita Sen	Calcutta.	142.	Samar Dev	Calcutta.
145.	Sneha Sen	Calcutta.	144.	K. Ghose	Calcutta.
			146.	Pranab Masumdar	Calcutta.

GANDHA-BANIK

1.	Bala Krisna Pal	Calcutta.	2.	Mrinmoye Nag	Calcutta.
3.	Bhat Nath Pal	Calcutta.	4.	Sushila Dutt	Rishra, Hooghly.
5.	Haripada Pal	Calcutta.	6.	Subashini Nag	Calcutta.
8.	Hari Shankar Pal	Calcutta.	7.	Saramila Dutt	Calcutta.
10.	Jnanamoyee Pal	Calcutta.	9.	Mangal Moyee Dutt	Calcutta.
12.	Karidashi Pal	Calcutta.	11.	.... Haldar	Shalkia, Howrah.
14.	Harimohan Pal	Calcutta.	13.	Rajendra Nath Dutt	Calcutta.
15.	Purna Ch. Pal	Calcutta.	15.	Nirmala Daw	Calcutta.
18.	Kamalini Pal	Calcutta.	17.	Rashmoni Daw	Calcutta.
21.	Gourhari Pal	Calcutta.	19.	Govinda Saran Nag	Calcutta.
24.	Nipai Chorani Pal	Calcutta.	22.	Nripabala Dutt	Calcutta.
26.	Pasherpali Nattu Pal	Calcutta.	20.	Ashima De	Calcutta.
28.	Kanai Lal Pal	Calcutta.	25.	Nalini Bala De	Calcutta.
30.	Nanda Rani Pal	Calcutta.	23.	Monimala Daw	Calcutta.
32.	Satya Rani Pal	Calcutta.	27.	Annapurna Lata	Calcutta.
			29.	Parul bala Dutt	Calcutta.
			31.	Sishir Kumar Dutt	Calcutta.
			33.	Kirti Ch. Daw	Calcutta.

GANDHA-BANIK.

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
34.	Bimal Krisna Pal	Calcutta.	35.	Basanti Das	Calcutta.
36.	Amal Krisna Pal	Calcutta.	37.	Mina Rani Daw	Calcutta.
38.	Abhoya Pal	Calcutta.	39.	Kasa Mohon Dutt	Calcutta.
40.	Anil Krisna Pal	Calcutta.	41.	Sulekha Daw	Calcutta.
42.	Biswa Nath Dutt	Calcutta.	43.	Nirmala Daw	Calcutta.
45.	Subal Krisna Pal	Calcutta.	46.	Durga bala Dutt	Calcutta.
48.	Chandi Charan Pal	Calcutta.	44.	Jayani Dutt	Calcutta.
50.	Kripamoyee Pal	Calcutta.	49.	Anima Dutt	Calcutta.
52.	Sudhamoyee Pal	Calcutta.	47.	Kanak Lata Daw	Calcutta.
54.	Radha Rani Pal	Calcutta.	51.	Birenda Nath De	Calcutta.
56.	Maya Rani Pal	Calcutta.	53.	Sujoy K. Daw	Calcutta.
58.	Tarak Nath Pal	Calcutta.	55.	Kashi Nath Laha	Calcutta.
60.	Sambhu Nath Pal	Calcutta.	57.	Krishna Kumar Nag	Calcutta.
62.	Kalyani Pal	Calcutta.	59.	Padmabati Nag	Calcutta.
64.	Amar Nath Pal	Calcutta.	61.	Ila Rani Pal	Calcutta.
66.	Mira Rani Pal	Calcutta.	63.	Rabindra Laha	Calcutta.
68.	Anath Natu Pal	Calcutta.	65.	Kanak Rani Laha	Calcutta.
70.	Suniti Pal	Calcutta.	67.	Madhu Sudar De	Calcutta.
72.	Anjali Pal	Calcutta.	69.	Gayatri Dutt	Calcutta.
74.	Purabi Pal	Calcutta.	71.	Madan Mohan Haldar	Calcutta.
76.	Sabita Pal	Calcutta.	73.	Baidya Nath Dutt	Calcutta.
78.	Indira Pal	Calcutta.	75.	Tapan Kumar Dutt	Calcutta.
80.	Subata Pal	Calcutta.	77.	Satya Kinkar Dutt	Calcutta.
82.	Amiya K. Dutt	Calcutta.	79.	Binoy K. Nag	Midnapore.
84.	Renuka Dutt	Calcutta.	81.	Paresh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.
86.	Manika Dutt	Calcutta. }	83.	Sujotamoyee Nag	Dodhpore.
87.	Banku Behari Daw	Calcutta.	85.	Deb K. Daw	Rishra.
89.	Pravati Dutt	Calcutta.	88.	" "	"
91.	Lalika De	Calcutta.	90.	Sashi Charan Haldar	Rishra
93.	Nabin Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	92.	Gopal Ch. Daw	Rishra.
95.	Haridhon Dutt	Calcutta.	94.	Bagalamoyee Daw	Calcutta.
97.	Nirodabala Dutt	Calcutta.	96.	Mahari Daw	Calcutta.
99.	Nistarini Dutt	Calcutta.	98.	Akshoy K. Laha	Calcutta.
101.	Jnanoda Dutt	Calcutta.	100.	Kedar Nath Dutt	Calcutta.
103.	Sashi Bhusan Dutt	Calcutta.	102.	Upendra Nath Daw	Calcutta.
105.	Mokshoda Dutt	Calcutta.	104.	Dhiromoyee Daw	Calcutta.
107.	Saradamoyee Dutt	Calcutta.	106.	.... Daw	Calcutta.
109.	Saramila Dutt	Calcutta.	108.	.... Daw	Calcutta.
111.	Anila Dutt	Calcutta.	110.	Hari Shankar Pal	Calcutta.
114.	Jyotish Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	112.	Panchanan Dutt	Calcutta.
116.	Girindra K. Laha	Calcutta.	113.	Sudhamoyee Daw	Calcutta.
118.	Sarat Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	115.	Lakshmi Das	Calcutta.
120.	Provash Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	117.	.... Daw	Calcutta.
			119.	Sushila bala Nag	Calcutta.
			121.	Shova Rani Dutt	Calcutta.

GANDHA-BANIK.

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
122.	Probodh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	123.	Durgamoya Dutt	Calcutta.
124.	Saralabala Dutt	Calcutta.	125.	Bhuban Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.
126.	Sirish Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	127.	Chandimoyee Daw	Calcutta.
128.	Satish Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	129.	Yashodamoyee Daw	Calcutta.
130.	Nil Ratan Dutt	Calcutta.	131.	Niharbala Pal	Calcutta.
132.	Rekha Rani Dutt	Calcutta.	133.	Gaurhari Bindh	Calcutta.
134.			135.		
136.			137.		
138.	Annapurna Laha	Calcutta.	139.	Pashupati Nata Pal	Calcutta.
140.	Nirmala Dutt	Calcutta.	141.	Hrishikesh Daw	Calcutta.
142.	Sudhamoyee Dutt	Calcutta.	143.	Nehou Haldar	Calcutta.
144.	Parbati Dutt	Calcutta.	145.	Lalit Mohon De	Calcutta.
146.	Mangala Dutt	Calcutta.	147.	Hari Shankar Pal	Calcutta.
148.	Naresh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	149.	Tarubala Dutt	Calcutta.
150.	Romesh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	151.	Snehalata Nag	Calcutta.
152.	Jogesh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	153.	Subarana Nata Dutt	Calcutta.
154.	Bhupesh Ch. Dutt	Calcutta.	155.	Bandana Daw	Calcutta.
156.	Biswanath Dutt	Calcutta.	157.	Ramala Dutt	Calcutta.
158.	Ushangini Dutt	Calcutta.	159.	Bata Krisna Daw	Calcutta.
160.	Taranjeni Dutt	Calcutta.	161.	Amarendra Kundu	Calcutta.
163.	Manorma Dutt	Calcutta.	162.	Bharat Ch. Kundu	Calcutta.
164.	Annapurna Dutt	Calcutta.	161.	Amarendra Kundu	Calcutta.
165.	Pankajini Dutt	Calcutta.	166.	Jitendra Nath Pal	Calcutta.
167.	Anupama Dutt	Calcutta.	168.	Lalit Mohon Pal	Calcutta.
169.	Sushama Rani Dutt	Calcutta.	170.	Modan Mohon Pal	Sibpore.
171.	Sailendra Nath Dutt	Calcutta.	172.	Champa Dutt	Calcutta.
173.	Makhom Dutt	Calcutta.	174.	Kartik Ch. Daw	Calcutta.
175.	Dali Dutt	Calcutta.	176.	Jiban Krisna Nag	Domjoor, Hooghly.
178.	Umarani Dutt	Calcutta.	178.	Phanindra De	Mirjapore.
179.	Menaka Dutt	Calcutta.	180.	(N.B. 178 and 180 same person).	
181.	Parul bala Dutt	Calcutta.	182.	Kanai Lal Pal	Calcutta.
183.	Mukul Dutt	Calcutta.	184.	Satya Bhusan Dutt	Calcutta.
185.	Angurbala Dutt	Calcutta.	186.	Sisir K. Daw	Calcutta.
187.	Madan Haldar	Calcutta.	188.	Sunil Pal	Calcutta.
189.	Amala Dutt	Calcutta.	190.	Nani Gopal Daw	Calcutta.

BYAGRA-KSHATTRIYAS

1.	.....	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	2.	.....	Sheakhala, Hooghly.
3.	Nidhu Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	4.	.....	Raghnatupore, Hooghly.
5.	Jadu Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	6.	Gani Pakre	Jangal Para, Hooghly.
7.	Haba Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	8.	.....	Kumir Mora, Hooghly.

BYAGRA-KSHATTRIYAS

Families Visited

AFFINIÉS

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
9.	Bidha Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	10.	Katu Bag	Ouse Basi, Hooghly.
12.	Jaladhar Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	11.	.... Malik	Mostikri, Hooghly.
14.	Bipin Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	13.	.... Malik	Gangadharpore, Hooghly.
16.	Kirou Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	15.	Sara Pakre	Banipore, Hooghly.
18.	Saibe Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	17.	Ka Malik	Some Nagar, Hooghly.
21.	Gaur Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	19.	Satya Roy	Sheakhala, Hooghly.
23.	Shova Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	20.	.... Majhi	Kumir Mora, Hooghly.
25.	Nitai Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	22.	.... Patra	Jangal Para, Hooghly.
27.	Thako Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	24.	H. Dhara	Paya, Hooghly.
29.	Shushila Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	26.	.... Malik	Panch Bera, Hooghly.
31.	Tulshi Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	28.	P. Bag	Gangadharpore, Hooghly.
33.	Billa Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	30.	Sadhu Sadra	Sandhipore, Hooghly.
36.	Basan Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	32.	H. Malik	Jagat-pore, Hooghly.
39.	Sashi Malik	Sheakhala, Hoogly.	34.	.... Majhi	Basu bali, Hooghly.
42.	Upen Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	35.	Khelu Pakre	Jangal Para, Hooghly.
45.	Kochi Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	37.	Khudi Malik	Khanda-Pukur, Hooghly.
47.	Tarak Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	38.	.... Bag	Ouse Bali, Hooghly.
49.	Silen Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	40.	Kali Roy	Kalighat, Calcutta.
			41.	Netra Bag	Para-Hooghly,
			43.	Bino Khan	Jangal Para, Hooghly.
			44.	Shila Pakre	Bamipore, Hooghly.
			46.	Dharani Patra	Kinkar-Bali, Hooghly.
			48.	Akshoy Moshel	Kasba Rampore, Hooghly.
			50.	Angur Pakre	Monampore, Hooghly.

BYAGRA-KSHATTRIYAS

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
51.	Kauchan Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	52.	Manik Malik	Agne, Hooghly.
53.	Bhasi Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	54.	Phani Majhi	Kasta Rampur, Hooghly.
55.	Rama Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	56.	Purna Hati	Parbati pore, Hooghly.
57.	Laksmi Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	58.	K. Majhi	Simul Puukur, Hooghly.
59.	Sara Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	60.	B. Satra	Gobra, Hooghly.
61.	Sati Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	62.	K. Bag	Sheakhala, Hooghly.
63.	Sishu Malik	Sheakhala, Hooghly.	64.	L. Hati	Mashat, Hooghly.

HADI

1.	Makhoen Hazra	Bolpore.	2.	Khukubala Hazra	Rakhoswar, Birhuni.	
4.	Renupada Hazra	Bolpore.	}	3.	Bhadu Hazra	Bholpore, Birbhum.
6. Hazra	Bolpore,		5.	Saratni Hazra	Bhubandanga, Birbhum.
9.	Abinash Hazra	Bolpore,	7.	.... Hazra	Bolpore,
11.	Mahadev Hazra	Bolpore, Birbhum.	}	10.	Chanchala Hazra	Banune, Birbhum.
				8.	Nidu Hazra	Bundhgora, Birbhum.
13.	No. 12's second husband, name not known.		24.	Dashibala Mandal Baral	"	
14.	Baneswor Hazra	Salon.	12.	.... Hazra	Dubrajpore, Birbhum.
15.	Rajkumari Hazra	Salon.	15.	Rajkumari Hazra	Salon, Birbhum.	
16.	Upendra Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	17.	.... Hazra	Bandgora, Bandhgora, Nasowa, Birbhum.
18.	Biriji Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	19.	Gobordhon Hazra	Nasowa, Birbhum.	
20.	Mohindra Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	21.	Chitta Hazra	Sattor, Birbhum.	
22.	Monmalha Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	23.	Kunti Hazra	Salon, Birbhum.	

HAII

Families Visited

AFFINIES

Sr. No.	Names	Residence	Sr. No.	Names	Residence
24.	Dashibala Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	}	25.	Sarat Hazra Barokahan, Birbhum.
26.	Rabi Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.		27. Hazra Faridpore, Birbhum.
28.	Putra Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	29.	Sambhu Hazra Bolpore, Birbhum.	
30.	Gurn Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	31.	Basan Hazra Maldihi, Birbhum.	
32.	Bhuban Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	33.	Sashi Hazra Ganora, Birbhum.	
34.	Saktipada Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	35.	Mati Hazra Bandhgora, Birbhum.	
36.	Moni Ram Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	37.	Sata Hazra Goal para, Birbhum.	
38.	Renupada Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	39.	Radha Hazra Bolpore,	
40.	Sishu Hazra	Bandhgora, Birbhum.	41.	Ambika Hazra Bandhagora, Birbhum.	

N.B. To Appendix — II.

The names given in Appendix — II in respect of some of the genealogies narrated in Appendix I, are only illustrative. Lack of space has restricted the number of illustrations.

